

Countering Radicalism in Social Media by Campaigning for Religious Moderation

Paelani Setia,^{1*} Mochamad Ziaul Haq²

¹UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung;

²Fakultas Filsafat, Universitas Katolik Parahyangan.

* Corresponding Author: setiapaelani66@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Harakatuna;
media online;
religious moderation;
nonviolence;
Islamic cyber environment.

Article history:

Received 2023-03-27

Revised 2023-04-15

Accepted 2023-04-20

ABSTRACT

This paper will discuss online media sites implementing religious moderation campaigns in Indonesia. The case study in this paper is the online media Harakatuna.com. The research method is qualitative, collecting data through virtual ethnography or online observations of the Harakatuna.com media page and Harakatuna Media's Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook social media accounts. This research found it inappropriate if the religious moderation campaign was only done through conventional methods such as seminars, recitations, and workshops. Therefore, Harakatuna.com is present as a campaign agent for religious moderation by taking a role in social media. Consequently, Harakatuna.com carries out counter-narrative radicalism by introducing peaceful religious moderation in Indonesia with digital methods such as webinars, scientific publications and opinion writing. Furthermore, Harakatuna.com also carries out a counter-ideological role against the Caliphism ideology that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) echoes. Harakatuna.com carries out the counter-ideology through the Pancasila ideology campaign as the foundation of the nation and state following the values of religious teachings, including Islam. The roles carried out by Harakatuna.com are the actualization of the concept of Cyber Islamic Environment, a new virtual world environment that can be used for the benefit of Muslims, one of which is the delivery of messages of religious moderation.

This is an open access article under the [CC BY-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.



1. INTRODUCTION

Radical-extreme Islamic movements have tarnished the name of Islam globally (Islam & Khatun, 2015). Moreover, the disruption era makes them noisy by utilizing social media to attract public sympathy (Sabiruddin, 2019). Resistance is also carried out to fight radicalism and terrorism through various efforts to understand and describe these groups. As a result, the universe of contemporary Islamic knowledge is filled with the discourse of Islamic fundamentalism-radicalism and impacts the scarcity of research on religious moderation (Nurdin, 2005). Therefore, an effort is needed to restore the image of a peaceful and tolerant Islam through a moderate Islamic campaign following the era of globalization.

The strengthening of radicalism targets the younger generation (Siegel et al., 2019). Moreover, the younger generation (millennials) is a group of people who are identical to internet use. Therefore, one of the channels for spreading radicalism among the younger generation is the internet. The information network has become a source of learning and interaction among today's young generation.

As a result, there is an increasing potential for radicalism on social media. Data from PPIM UIN Jakarta in 2017 states that 84.94% of young people are exposed to radicalism due to high access to the internet, and only 15.06% are moderate because they do not have internet access. Moreover, if you look at the data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2019 states that most internet users in Indonesia are young people, namely 67.05% with an age range of 19-49 years (Nisa et al., 2018).

The young generation affected by radicalism also targets students in educational institutions. Based on data from the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), 39% of students on seven state campuses are exposed to radicalism. The data was also previously revealed by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), which studied students in 15 provinces. The results showed that 39% of students were sympathetic to radicalism (Bayhaqi, 2018). Furthermore, a survey by Alvira Research Center and Mata Air Foundation stated that 23.4% of students agreed with jihad for the establishment of an Islamic state or caliphate; 23.3% of high school students agreed with jihad for the establishment of an Islamic state or caliphate; 18.1% of private employees stated that they did not agree with the ideology of Pancasila; 19.4% of civil servants said that they did not agree with the doctrine of Pancasila; and 9.1% of BUMN employees did not agree with the ideology of Pancasila (Putri, 2017).

The threat is even more accurate if we look at the facts in the field. Radical groups actively control cyberspace through their messages. Iqbal's research (2017) found that Indonesian Salafi groups with very conservative religious beliefs are relatively adaptable in embracing and using the internet to spread their ideology (Iqbal, 2017). The Salafi movement is evolving into a modern, tech-savvy movement. As a result, they have recently gained control over Indonesia's religious culture. This has been noted, for example, by Bubalo & Fealy (Bubalo & Fealy, 2007), who state that the Salafist movement is among the most developed movements in Indonesia.

This study's findings show that internet adoption by "radical" Islamic groups has become much easier and more effective. Including research conducted by Setia (2020), which also mentions the fact that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is very active on social media, especially mobilizing its members to "master" opinions (trending) on social media such as Twitter and smart news processing on Instagram. From a political perspective, HTI's behavior tends to be post-truth, for example, issuing certain matters to gain public sympathy after being officially disbanded by the government in 2017.

Thus, if this is allowed, it will threaten the life of diversity as a characteristic of a multicultural nation (Arifianto, 2018). Therefore, the solution that can be done is the promotion of religious moderation or strengthening moderate, tolerant, peaceful, and respectful Islamic views. However, for the promotion of religious moderation to be accepted by millennials confined by the internet and addicted to social media, an innovative strategy is needed so that the moderation message is delivered in a targeted manner. Adopting contemporary life principles to instill peaceful Islamic values is mandatory.

So far the religious moderation campaign is still being implemented conventionally (Akhmadi, 2019). This can be seen from the mainstream of religious moderation being socialized to the public through seminars, workshops, and recitations. This method of socialization is certainly not popular with the younger generation because it is not following their character and culture.

Religious moderation programs also tend to be focused on mainstream religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah (Asroor, 2019). This is natural because in their work these two religious organizations are considered the "champions" of religious moderation in the country. Among the messages and teachings conveyed by the two religious organizations is the implementation of the instructions of Muslims as Ummatan Wasathan. Both organizations in their work reflect the teachings of Ahlussunnah wa al-Jama'ah which recognizes tolerance and peace in preaching (Fahri & Zainuri, 2019). Therefore, Hilmy concluded that the moderate vision of Islam of NU

and Muhammadiyah is appropriate for a multicultural country like Indonesia (Hilmy, 2013). Including what Arifianto revealed, NU's efforts in grounding "Islam Nusantara" through international conferences are appropriate to moderate Muslims in Indonesia (Arifianto, 2016).

Thus, realizing the importance of conveying messages of religious moderation to the younger generation, a delivery method suitable for the internet era is needed. The media that is familiar with their world is social media. Therefore, disseminating religious moderation on social media becomes necessary and even mandatory to embrace today's young generation. Through the study of virtual ethnography, this paper offers how the role of online media in the religious moderation campaign as run by a press called Harakatuna.com.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This paper uses qualitative methods (Silverman, 2015). The data collection process was done by virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000) or online observation to analyze the information on the Harakatuna.com website. The online observation was conducted between January 13, 2020 and June 17, 2021. Furthermore, supporting data was obtained from Harakatuna's social media accounts on various social media platforms: Instagram, Twitter, Youtube, and Facebook. A direct search of the Harakatuna.com website was conducted at the link <https://harakatuna.com/>. Finally, data was also collected through online interviews with Harakatuna.com activists.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Case Study: Harakatuna.com

The media focused on in this paper that campaigns for religious moderation is the website Harakatuna.com. Initially, this site only presented online-based information. Still, along with the development and needs of the readers, Harakatuna published a printed version of the bulletin distributed every Friday in the mosques of major cities in Indonesia (Harakatuna, 2018). Although most of its products are made for online consumption. This site is under PT Harakatuna Bhakti Ummat as the primary parent of the media company located in Jagakarsa, South Jakarta, DKI Jakarta, 12620. This site was officially formed in 2018. In its journey for more than four years, Harakatuna.com is committed to broadly providing messages of religious moderation (Harakatuna, 2020e).

Harakatuna.com was founded by three people who love writing, namely M. Nur Faizi, Mahardika Abu Imtiyas, and Dadang Kadarisman. All three are Nahdlatul Ulama youth cadres. M. Nur Faizi, one of the three founders, mentioned that since he was a student, he had seen the seeds of radicalism on his campus. Therefore, he is committed to fighting radicalism narratives in an elegant way, one of which is through online media.

Harakatuna Media comes as part of the responsibility of the nation's children who are worried and anxious about the rise of movements that want to change the state ideology by using religious arguments and religious sentiments. Starting its movement with the counter-narrative of Khilafahism carried by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia with its main propaganda for the establishment of the Islamic Khilafah State (Abdullah, 2020).

As one of the media, Harakatuna offers information that is written. However, there is also audio and visual information directed to Harakatuna's Youtube channel, the Harakatuna Channel. The Harakatuna.com website contains information divided into several pages (theme sections). The pages in question are Editorial, CNRCT, Agenda, Khazanah, Islamic Principles, Akhbar, Islam and the Middle East, Muslim Millennials, and Submit Articles (Harakatuna, 2020a).

The editorial page contains articles written directly by the Harakatuna.com editorial board. The editorial board of Harakatuna.com are: 1. Zainal Abidin; 2. Mustofa; 3. Nur Faridah; 4. Muhammad Mihrob; 5. Ridwan Bahrudin; 6. Rabiatal Adhawiyah. The editorial page is also usually written by a

correspondent and selected by the editorial board to be the front page or lead article. The writing on the editorial page focuses on actual issues in the local, national, and international community (Harakatuna, 2018). The latest article on the editorial page discusses the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Harakatuna, 2021g).

Figure 1: Harakatuna.com website logo



Source: Harakatuna.com, 2022.

Furthermore, there is the CNRCT (Center for Narrative Radicalism and Cyber Terrorism) page. It is known that CNRCT is a center for studying narratives of radicalism and cyber terrorism under Harakatuna. Thus, this page is a report on the results of the CNRCT study center which presents alternative solutions resulting from in-depth studies of narratives and discourses produced by radical groups (Harakatuna, 2020i). The last article on this page discusses the consumptive and bourgeois lifestyle of the Hamas leadership entourage in Doha, Qatar. In the article, they should not be appreciated as sharia fighters because their lifestyle is far from fighting with the Jemaah (Harakatuna, 2021i).

Furthermore, there is an Agenda page that contains information on activities that will be carried out and have been carried out by Harakatuna.com (Harakatuna, 2020a). Then, the 'Khazanah' page contains information about Islamic knowledge regarding book reviews, women's wisdom, Islamic economics, resonance, and readers' voices (Harakatuna, 2020f). The 'Islamic Principles' page contains writings based on Islamic law regarding various aspects of life such as economic, social, and worship (Harakatuna, 2020c). The 'Akhbar' page contains information about Islam on an international, national, and regional scale (Harakatuna, 2020b). Meanwhile, the 'Islam and Middle East' page contains writings about the Islamic world in the Middle East (Harakatuna, 2020d). Interestingly, Harakatuna.com also contains essays related to Islam and the millennial generation. These writings are published on the Millennial Islam page (Harakatuna, 2020g). Finally, the page on the Harakatuna.com website is Submit Articles, which allows readers to submit writings or opinions to Harakatuna.com (Harakatuna, 2020h).

The main objectives of Harakatuna media focus on three counter-radicalism-terrorism movements. First, counter-narrative. Second, counter ideology. Third, counter-propaganda. Harakatuna realizes the three movements above by conducting various programs carried out online and offline. First, some of the programs in question are journalistic training for santri and students as an answer to the dominant content that leads to the doctrine of radicalism-terrorism ideology in cyberspace. The younger generation must be prepared to preach in cyberspace with positive, peaceful and enlightening content for Muslims. The production of memes, videos and short lectures is another effort to promote Islam that is rahmatan lil alamin and religious moderation with unique, creative, and intellectual content choices. Second is the pesantren halaqah, which involves pesantren leaders across community organizations to actively enlighten the public about the dangers of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Third, national and Islamic dialogues concerning experts and academics on campus networks throughout Indonesia aim to fortify students from the massive spread of radicalism-terrorism. Fourth, the Harakatuna Friday bulletin is distributed by involving mosque administrators in major cities in Indonesia. The Friday bulletin is specially prepared as an alternative reading for Muslims amidst the outbreak of Friday bulletins that carry themes that lead to resistance to the existence of the nation-state and indoctrination of radical and fundamental views (Harakatuna, 2021a).

Reporting from the Harakatuna.com website profile, this media is a *da'wah* media that focuses on the issues of Radicalism, Terrorism, Extremism, Intolerance, Khilafatism, Diversity and Rahmatan Lil Alamin Islam. With the presentation of content based on scientific arguments and supported by strong religious text references, Harakatuna positions itself as a reference or reference for the religious literacy

of Muslims in Indonesia (Abdullah, 2020). As a media focusing more on the online market share, Harakatuna integrates their site with various social media platforms that can be accessed simultaneously on the Harakatuna website. This is a consequence of an online media that must be skillful in presenting interesting and easily digestible information for all groups. Social media is now the main source of information reference for Indonesians. Besides, its communicative nature, social media allows users to comment directly. Harakatuna utilizes this opportunity to add their social media pages on their website so that website visitors can enjoy information from Harakatuna on social media through Instagram (@harakatuna), Facebook (Harakatuna), Twitter (@harakatuna), and Youtube (Harakatuna Channel).

Thus, if you look at the page's appearance, completeness, and integration with social media, it can be concluded that the Harakatuna.com site is feasible and easy for visitors to use (user friendly). This follows the concept of internet sites in the modern era, which is the "home" of the entire virtual platform. A site should contain all information connected to users' needs.

3.2. Answering the Lack of Religious Moderation Campaigns in Social Media

The opportunity for religious moderation campaigns on the internet is motivated by the theory of Islamic cyber environment (CIE). This theory explains the existence of a new space, namely virtual media, which can be used in realizing a social movement. The word "Islamic cyber world" refers to what is commonly referred to as "virtual Islam" (Fakhruroji, 2011). The term virtual Islam refers to an abstract environment whose virtual material consists only of pieces of data. One can access this data in any way they wish through the internet. It aims to investigate various aspects of Islamic information in cyberspace.

Gary R. Bunt (2003) sees that Islam is highly compatible with the internet. Hence, the methods used by Muslims constantly adjust to the needs of internet users to influence people's discourse and understanding in local, regional and global contexts. This methodology is comparable to cyberculture studies. It's just that the approach it takes is phenomenological and religious which emphasizes symbolism, authority, plurality, experience, and language. These aims are essential to experience the Islamic world in more detail. With connectivity established in Islamic countries such as strengthening the internet, the demand for Islamic messages has increased tremendously. This has accelerated the growth of Islamic media websites, including information about Islamic identity (Bunt, 2009). Of course, this discourse opens the door for Muslims to bundle Islam with methods that suit the youth market.

In addition, the internet is also a safe place to deliver Islamic messages. Many websites or social media produce Islamic content to enliven the flood of information. This even includes radical and extreme Islamic content (Bunt, 2000). Therefore, it is appropriate if the religious moderation campaign is implemented on social media as a new environment for Islamic expression to counter the narrative of radicalism.

This context is undoubtedly very relevant when relating it to Harakatuna. As one of the media pioneers of peaceful Islamic campaigns in Indonesia, Harakatuna has a spirit of love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in the frame of Indonesian Islam. This is realized to be very important when looking at the phenomenon of radicalism that attacks the joints of national life. "Harakatuna believes that the root of the problem of religious radicalism in Indonesia is the strong desire to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia while provoking Muslims by preaching that the Republic of Indonesia is taghut and kafur, and supporting a taghut country like Indonesia is another form of kafir itself" (Harakatuna, 2020e).

In line with social media as a new environment in religion, this drags various groups, including the media, into their role in social media. This large, highly flexible field promises significant results. This can be seen with Harakatuna's struggle on social media. Various efforts accompanied by innovations align with the theory of Islamic cyber environment on social media. Harakatuna designs a contemporary site according to the needs of visitors, including presenting writings from national Islamic figures, academics, and Islamic activists. Everything is done to answer all the problems of radicalism. On Instagram, Harakatuna has 4,835 followers. Harakatuna's Instagram account also

presents image and video content that campaigns and portrays peaceful Islam. Harakatuna is also active on Twitter through the name @harakatuna with 1,082 followers as a connector of aspirations and other content bridges. On Facebook, Harakatuna also campaigns for Islamic messages and other social media. 90,000 followers have followed Harakatuna's Facebook account @harakatuna.com. Harakatuna is also very prominent on Youtube through collaborative and innovative video content about moderate Indonesian Islam. 1.360 subscribers have followed their Youtube account Harakatuna Media.

As a result, the understanding of the importance of online media as a new space for Islamic propagation has been answered by Harakatuna. This also marks Harakatuna as part of an essential element of the technological disruption era. Media is one of the mandatory needs of today's society in channeling opinions, reading news, and discussing various current issues.

Harakatuna's participation in social media not only answers the void of religious moderation campaigns on social media but also moves by presenting moderate Islamic content. The main goal is to counter the narrative of radicalism. This context aligns with Islam's current extreme nature on social media. Data from the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology states that in 2020 there were 13,032 radical contents on social media is undoubtedly a severe threat (Natalia, 2020). Harakatuna, in this case, is one of the most vocal media against narratives of radicalism in Indonesia, especially on social media. In addition, Harakatuna is also closely related to the media, which became the main "enemy" of HTI radical mass organizations which were first said to control social media. After being disbanded by the government in 2017 (Prasetio, 2019), Harakatuna gained additional external power from the political situation and a vast opportunity to restore the moderate face of Islam because HTI has officially become a banned organization in Indonesia.

3.3. Online Counter-Narrative

The influence of internet media, such as websites and social media, on forming radical attitudes as primary or secondary factors is still debated (Huda, 2019). Some research and studies that specialize in the influence of the internet on extreme attitudes can be the main reason. Various studies mention that the internet network, especially social media, is used by radical terrorist groups as a medium for propaganda and recruitment.

Another study mentioned that thousands of social media are "used" to launch radicalism propaganda. If categorized, the propaganda of radicalism carried out by radical groups is blatantly inviting to plunge into jihad. Still, some are "shy" by only narrating their extreme religious doctrines (Muhaimin, 2020). It is undeniable that cyberspace today is like a crowded room with various harmful content with nuances of hatred, incitement, hostility, and invitation to violence. Hence, radical groups are often labeled "small but noise", a small but boisterous group on social media with its various contents (Fealy, 2004). As in the perspective of hate studies, *"hatred and enmity are destructive, capable of destroying human beings, destroying social order, and even covering up all goodness and virtue in others, especially those who are the target of hatred"* (Haq & Sen, 2021).

Thus, is it possible to counter the online narrative in this condition? Counter-narrative is a systematic effort to prevent radicalism. Meanwhile, online counter-narrative is an organized effort to transform cyberspace, which is currently filled with radical content, into non-radical content or counter the influence of extreme content in cyberspace so that readers are not affected by radical content.

The massiveness of the spread of radical content, propaganda, and recruitment that occurs in cyberspace with the assumption that internet media has become an effective medium that nourishes the phenomenon of radicalization has caused online counter-narratives to emerge over the reaction. Omar Ashour, an expert and researcher on jihadist deradicalization, tries to give attention to the issue of online counter-narratives by mentioning that it is still a debate whether the internet is a primary or secondary factor makes someone become radicalized. However, despite the debate, various studies have proven that radical terrorism groups have effectively utilized the internet to promote and publicize their narratives, including facilitating the recruitment process of its members. The facts of

internet use by radical-terrorist groups show that society must face a great danger in cyberspace. Therefore, in response to this phenomenon, Ashour suggested that the internet and other media should be used to counter the narratives and propaganda of radical terrorist groups. The role of the internet is vital in promoting and delivering counter narratives and facilitating counter radicalism in cyberspace. This is because the internet has two sides that are positively beneficial but have a negative impact if used for radicalism propaganda (Ashour, 2010).

Thus, this opportunity is taken by Harakatuna.com to counter online narratives against radicalism. Harakatuna.com's online counter-narrative efforts are realized in establishing Pustaka Harakatuna as a scientific and academic-based literacy movement with its main focus on themes that lead to strengthening national and Islamic pillars. The advanced products of Pustaka Harakatuna are in the form of organizing discussions and book reviews held on campuses, Islamic boarding schools and other public places. In addition, Pustaka Harakatuna also conducts webinars as an effort to counter online narratives. One webinar in April 2021 was titled: "Fighting Radicalism and Terrorism to Achieve Moderation in Religion". The webinar was held in collaboration with the Student Executive Board of the Faculty of Adab and Humanities of UIN Jakarta by inviting a former terrorism convict Haris Amir Fatah (Harakatuna, 2021a).

Webinars organized by Harakatuna.com in collaboration with other institutions are held almost every month. The main media used are online media and social media. This is a form of countering online narratives. In June 2021, Harakatuna also held another counter-narrative webinar on radicalism in collaboration with the School of Strategic and Global Studies (SKSG) of the University of Indonesia titled, "Reintegration of Former Terrorism Prisoners in Indonesia". The webinar highlighted one of the roles Yayasan Dekat Bintang di Langit (Debintal) played in accommodating former terrorism prisoners who were then empowered as free individuals and played a role in the deradicalization process in Indonesia (Harakatuna, 2021b).

Then the main thing of the establishment of Pustaka Harakatuna is to produce scientific publications that are distributed online. Several discussions and book reviews were published, such as a book by Muhsan Elmuhammad entitled "Islam Develops Without the Drums of War, Without the Swing of the Sword (Terrorism, Jihad, and Da'wah)". The results of this book discussion were then simplified as a discussion report and disseminated on the Harakatuna.com website and social media (Faizi, 2021).

Harakatuna's online counter-narrative against radicalism in Indonesia is carried out by offering a moderate Islamic narrative. This can be traced not only in the purpose of this media but also in almost every article published on the Harakatuna.com website. The moderate Islamic narrative has even become one of the most visited writings, for example in the article entitled "The Meaning of Mercy in Al-Qur'an Al-Karim". The article implies a message that is following the context of moderate Islam, namely mercy in Islam, one of which is love for fellow creatures of Allah SWT. Furthermore, this message of mercy is a form of the essence of religious moderation that always prioritizes nonviolence in carrying out religious orders. This article written by the Harakatuna editorial team has been visited by 21372 users (Harakatuna, 2021e). As Harakatuna argued about nonviolence, the choice and commitment to the principle of nonviolence as social capital can form nonviolent communities, which have waves of change and greater power in fighting, from personal transformation to social transformation. At this point, nonviolence based on religion is an important part, of the efforts to fight for peace (Haq & Sen, 2021).

The message of moderate Islam is also contained in another popular article entitled, "Digital Cadre Strengthens Tolerant Attitudes". The article argues that the primary solution to radicalism in Indonesia is to make the concept of moderate Islam the key to living social life. Furthermore, the author also highlights moderate Islamic organizations that must be more persistent in carrying out counter-radical narratives, including being able to move dynamically in online media by recruiting cadres with technological and scientific capabilities. This is considered very important when the internet has become a primary need for life in the current era (Harakatuna, 2021d).

3.4. Counter Ideology of "Khilafahism"

Furthermore, the role carried out by Harakatuna.com is to carry out counter-ideology. Here the author will focus on one of the ideologies that Harakatuna.com continues to fight against, namely *Khilafahism* or the understanding initiated by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) through the re-establishment of the Islamic Dawlah (*Khilafah Islamiyyah*).

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is one of the transnational movements that carry the narrative of a return to a single Islamic state worldwide (Osman, 2018). Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani in Palestine founded Hizbut Tahrir. In Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir developed in the 1980s, initially brought by Abdurahman Al-Bahdadi - the leader of HT Australia and KH. Abdullah bin Nuh from the Al-Ghazali pesantren in Bogor (Alles, 2016). HTI, with its Khilafah ideology, found power after the reformation occurred. Freedom of expression and association led HTI to various Khilafah propaganda efforts in Indonesia. The peak was in 2007 when HTI gathered nearly 100 thousand people at Gelora Bung Karno, Jakarta to hold the International Caliphate Conference.

Furthermore, HTI is also closely associated as a mass organization capable of managing social media as an instrument of its movement. Hence, this makes this organization called "two-faced". On the one hand, it is against the West and globalization, on the other hand, it is transformed into a player and interpreter of globalization itself (Setia & Rahman, 2021). This is also not without reason, HTI is smart in branding and bringing up young figures on social media, one of which is Felix Siauw, a Muslim convert with 4.8 million followers on Instagram. Indonesia's younger generation favors his systematic lectures, and many were revealing the other side of Islamic history. Plus, his books are fascinating and follow the language and discussion of the current millennial generation. However, in every lecture and book, Khilafah ideas are often inserted which are the antithesis of this young da'i figure.

Besides its young figures, HTI is fluent in mobilizing its members on social media. Several times HTI has been able to master topics on social media such as Twitter (Setia & Syarif, 2022). The issues played by HTI are often tucked away with their Khilafah campaign. For them, the Khilafah is a comprehensive solution to all the world's problems today. Although many are rejected because most Indonesian people are moderate Muslims, due to the expertise of packaging, many people are sympathetic to the Khilafah campaign echoed by HTI. In fact, the "virus" spread by HTI has affected the younger generation as revealed by PPIM at the beginning of the article (84% of the younger generation is exposed to radicalism).

Thus, on this basis, Harakatuna.com has established itself as a media that firmly opposes the Khilafah narrative built by HTI. Harakatuna.com's effort in countering HTI's Khilafah ideology is to counter ideology by offering Pancasila ideology as the foundation and solution to all the nation's problems. Therefore, the campaign against the Khilafah ideology is very contrasting, addressed by Harakatuna.com.

Harakatuna.com showed the first counter-campaign to the Khilafah ideology through the media vision that was built, namely, "Making Harakatuna Media as a joint da'wah movement in providing awareness and enlightenment that diversity is the peak of diversity and the peak of diversity is humanity. Peace and peace are the main messages in Islam and Islam prohibits all forms of violence in the name of religion" (Harakatuna, 2020e). If examined, two things need to be underlined from the vision of Harakatuna.com: the media as a da'wah movement, and the central message of Islam is to bring peace. This means that Harakatuna, apart from being an Islamic preaching media that preaches Islam worldwide, also makes peaceful Islam the goal of its preaching. This is in stark contrast to radical ideologies that justify violence, both verbal and non-verbal, in preaching Islam.

Furthermore, Harakatuna's counter-ideology is also manifested in the writings published on their website. The latest is an article written by the Harakatuna.com editorial team entitled, "Should NU-Muhammadiyah Negotiate (with) Radical Organizations?" The article argues that radical organizations such as HTI, FPI, Salafi, and MMI often infiltrate Indonesia's two largest mass organizations and often

campaign using the big names of the two NU-Muhammadiyah organizations. This could have been resolved by negotiation (between NU-Muhammadiyah and radical groups) to solve the nation's problems jointly. However, it still cannot work because it has a contradictory ideology. NU and Muhammadiyah should be more assertive in taking a stand against radical organizations in Indonesia (Harakatuna, 2021c).

The counter-ideology implemented by Harakatuna.com is by campaigning for the ideology of Pancasila as the basis of the state in which Islamic values apply to all religious communities in Indonesia. According to Harakatuna.com, Pancasila does not conflict with Islam and contains Islamic Sharia values (Harakatuna, 2021h). According to the author's search, the Harakatuna.com website found at least 119 writings discussing Pancasila and Islam in 2020-2021.

According to the writing of one of the activists of Harakatuna.com, Ayik Heriansyah, the problem of questioning Pancasila at this time is the undermining of Pancasila by radical ideas imported into Indonesia by Middle Eastern activists. Plus, most people still do not consider Pancasila as the nation's ideology because Pancasila is not a religion and is against religion. Therefore, it is essential to strengthen the ideology of Pancasila to formal religious communities with a socio-ideological approach so that Pancasila enters their minds.

If asked, Pancasila is not a religion, why should it be recognized as an ideology? Yes, we must answer: Pancasila is not a religion, but the precepts in Pancasila are extracted from religious teachings. There is no evidence that any of the precepts or points of Pancasila violate or contradict religion, let alone (contradict) Islam. Indeed, Pancasila is not the text of a holy book, but the meaning of Pancasila is following what is contained in the holy book. Hence, Pancasila was formulated through an *ijtihadi* (thinking) process because it is very standard with how religions formulate specific laws (Heriansyah, 2021).

According to the writing of another activist, Khalilullah, the expertise of the HTI mass organization in frying a particular issue is because it always clashes it with the ideology of Pancasila. In fact, according to him, HTI always accuses that Indonesia is a kufr country because it applies the wrong ideology. "Lately we have been treated to the issue of determining the birthday of Pancasila because there were many pros and cons when June 1 was set. Unfortunately, this issue has been "fried" by radical orams as the government's defiance of Pancasila itself," Khalilullah wrote in his article entitled "Khilafah Proponents Seek Opportunity Amid Pro-Contra on June 1 as the Birth Day of Pancasila". Khalilullah added that the campaign for religious moderation and Pancasila as the nation's ideology must continue to be promoted, especially since the current government has disbanded radical organizations. This means, for Khalilullah, we should not be lax because we think that the enemies who want to change Pancasila have been dissolved. For him, the internet and social media are the main grounds for this campaign to be carried out (Khalilullah, 2021).

Thus, Pancasila is the foundation of national life suitable for Indonesian multiculturalism (Harakatuna, 2021f). The challenge is how the Pancasila ideology campaign continues to be promoted and can be easily understood by the wider community, especially the younger generation. Through the Harakatuna.com website, which is part of the implementation of the Islamic space in cyberspace, the Pancasila ideology campaign is carried out. It is hoped that the campaign built through this site, readers can be increasingly aware of the ideology of the nation that is right and must continue to be practiced (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019). This reason is why Harakatuna.com continues to persist in campaigning for peaceful Islam to realize Pancasila's ideals.

4. CONCLUSION

The argument that religious moderation can only campaign through conventional means seems hasty. In addition, the parameters of the religious moderation campaign are only addressed to large organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. The religious moderation campaign is an obligation of

all citizens that can be implemented according to the desired method, including through social media. This is based on the moderate life in Indonesia that the founding fathers created since the beginning of the republic. This erroneous conclusion is based on the observation that few religious moderation campaigners use modern methods such as social media.

The media, which is claimed to be one of the essential elements of the digitalization of society, is now said to be the source of the strengthening of radicalism. However, the media also has a function in countering the phenomenon of radicalism. Thanks to its adaptability, Harakatuna Media can restore the position of the press as an agent of religious moderation campaigns, which on the other hand are also filled with narratives of radicalism. Thanks to the existing resources, the Harakatuna.com website is present and becomes a center of information, studies, and responses to hot Islamic and national issues in society.

In its efforts to campaign for religious moderation, the Harakatuna.com website focuses on counter-narrative and counter-ideology efforts. Counter-narrative is believed to be a real effort to counter the opinions built by radical groups. Through the narrative that is built, namely the moderate Islamic narrative, Harakatuna.com firmly contrasts it with ideologies that want to enforce Islam formally. Harakatuna.com implements several programs to continue campaigning for religious moderation online. While in counter-ideology efforts, Harakatuna.com is more straightforward in fighting the radical ideology of Khilafahism initiated by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. In response to the Khilafahism narrative, Harakatuna.com campaigns for the importance of the Pancasila ideology in the life of a unique nation like Indonesia. Harakatuna.com considers that the Khilafahism ideology promoted by HTI can only be countered by the Pancasila ideology, which has been proven to accommodate all Indonesian people. As a result, the author hopes that authorities and religious organizations with moderate tendencies should contribute to this initiative. The aim is to restore the balance of knowledge in cyberspace, dominated by views expressed by irresponsible groups through extreme thinking.

References

- Abdullah, H. (2020). Harakatuna.com: Media Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/harakatuna-media-rahmatan-lil-alamin.html>
- Akhmadi, A. (2019). Moderasi Beragama dalam Keragaman Indonesia. *Inovasi-Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan*, 13(2), 45–55.
- Alles, D. (2016). *Transnational Islamic Actors and Indonesia's Foreign Policy*. Routledge (Taylor and Francis Group).
- Arifianto, A. R. (2016). Islam Nusantara: NU's Bid to Promote 'Moderate Indonesian Islam.''. *RSIS Commentary*, 114.
- Arifianto, A. R. (2018). Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia: Promoters of Moderation or Radicalism? *Asian Security*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1461086>
- Ashour, O. (2010). Online de-radicalization? Countering violent extremist narratives: Message, messenger and media strategy. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(6), 15–19.
- Asroor, Z. (2019). Islam Transnasional vs Islam Moderat: Upaya NU dan MD dalam Menyuarakan Islam Moderat di Panggung Dunia. *AT-TURAS: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 6(2), 171–213.
- Bayhaqi, A. (2018). BIN Benarkan BNPT: 39 Persen Mahasiswa Di Tujuh Kampus Negeri Simpati Radikalisme. *Merdeka.Com*. <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/bin-benarkan-bnpt-39-%0Apersen-mahasiswa-di-tujuh-kampus-negeri-simpatiradikalisme.html>.
- Bubalo, A., & Fealy, G. (2007). *Jejak Kafilah: Pengaruh Radikalisme Timur Tengah di Indonesia*. Mizan Pustaka.
- Bunt, G. R. (2000). *Virtually Islamic: Computer-mediated communication and cyber Islamic environments*. University of Wales Press.

- Bunt, G. R. (2003). *Islam in the digital age: E-jihad, online fatwas and cyber Islamic environments*. Pluto Press.
- Bunt, G. R. (2009). *iMuslims: Rewiring the house of Islam*. Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Fahri, M., & Zainuri, A. (2019). Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia. *Intizar*, 25(2), 95–100.
- Faizi, M. N. (2021). Pesantren dan Tantangan Narasi Islam-Kebangsaan. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/tantangan-pesantren-terhadap-narasi-islam-dan-kebangsaan.html>
- Fakhrurroji, M. (2011). *Islam Digital, Ekspresi Islam di Internet*. Sajjad Publishing.
- Fealy, G. (2004). Islamic radicalism in Indonesia: The faltering revival? *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2004(1), 104–121.
- Haq, M. Z., & Sen, H. (2021). Transforming Hate into Compassion as an Islamic Nonviolent Thought of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 6(1), 13–30.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v6i1.13159>
- Harakatuna. (2018). Redaksi Harakatuna.com. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/redaksi>
- Harakatuna. (2020a). Agenda. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/category/agenda>
- Harakatuna. (2020b). Akhbar. *Harakatuna.Com*.
- Harakatuna. (2020c). Asas-asas Islam. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/category/asas-asas-islam>
- Harakatuna. (2020d). Islam dan Timur Tengah. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/category/kajian-khilafah>
- Harakatuna. (2020e). Istiqamah Merawat Ideologi Bangsa. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/profil>
- Harakatuna. (2020f). Khazanah. *Harakatuna.Com*.
- Harakatuna. (2020g). Milenial Islam. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/category/milenial-islam>
- Harakatuna. (2020h). Submit Artikel. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/submit-article>
- Harakatuna. (2020i). Tentang CNRCT. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/cnrct>
- Harakatuna. (2021a). Agenda Kegiatan: Melawan Paham Radikalisme dan Tindak Terorisme Untuk Mencapai Moderasi dalam Beragama. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/agenda-kegiatan-melawan-paham-radikalisme-dan-tindak-terorisme-untuk-mencapai-moderasi-dalam-beragama.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021b). Agenda Kegiatan: Reintegrasi Mantan Napi Terorisme di Indonesia. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/agenda-kegiatan-reintegrasi-mantan-napi-terorisme-di-indonesia.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021c). Haruskah NU-Muhammadiyah Negoisasi (dengan) Ormas Radikal? *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/haruskah-nu-muhammadiyah-negoisasi-ormas-radikal.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021d). Kaderisasi Digital Mengokohkan Sikap Toleran. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/kaderisasi-digital-mengokohkan-sikap-toleran.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021e). Makna Rahmat dalam Al-Qur'an Al-Karim. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/makna-rahmat-dalam-al-quran-al-karim.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021f). Masyarakat Harus Kedepankan Toleransi Pancasila dan Bhineka Tungga Ika. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/masyarakat-harus-kedepankan-toleransi-pancasila-dan-bhineka-tungga-ika.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021g). Mengapa Jokowi Harus Mendukung Penuh Palestina. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/mengapa-jokowi-harus-mendukung-penuh-palestina.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021h). Pancasila Tidak Bertentangan dengan Syariat Islam. *Harakatuna.Com*.
<https://harakatuna.com/pancasila-tidak-bertentangan-dengan-syariat-islam.html>
- Harakatuna. (2021i). Qiyadah Borju Jamaah Terjepit. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/qiyadah-borju-jamaah-terjepit.html>

- Heriansyah, A. (2021). Pancasila Dalam Menghadapi Ideologi Khilafah. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/pancasila-dalam-menghadapi-ideologi-khilafah.html>
- Hilmy, M. (2013). Whither Indonesia's islamic moderatism?: A reexamination on the moderate vision of Muhammadiyah and NU. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 7(1), 24–48. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.1.24-48>
- Hine, C. (2000). *Virtual ethnography*. Sage.
- Huda, A. Z. (2019). Melawan Radikalisme Melalui Kontra Narasi Online. *Journal of Terrorism Studies*, 1(2), 1.
- Iqbal, A. M. (2017). *Cyber-activism and the Islamic Salafi movement in Indonesia*. Murdoch University.
- Islam, T., & Khatun, A. (2015). "Islamic Moderation" in Perspectives: A Comparison Between Oriental and Occidental Scholarships. *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, 3(2), 69–78. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijni.v3i2.1414>
- Kementerian Agama RI. (2019). *Moderasi Beragama*. Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Khalilullah. (2021). Pengusung Khilafah Mencari Kesempatan di Tengah Pro-Kontra Tanggal 1 Juni sebagai Hari Lahir Pancasila, Harakatuna.com. *Harakatuna.Com*. <https://harakatuna.com/pengusung-khilafah-mencari-kesempatan-di-tengah-pro-kontra-tanggal-1-juni-sebagai-hari-lahir-pancasila.html>
- Muhaimin, H. A. (2020). *Transformasi Gerakan Radikalisme Agama*. Rasibook.
- Natalia, K. (2020). Sebanyak 13.032 Konten Radikalisme dan Terorisme Tersebar di Medsos Diblokir. *Kumparan.Com*. <https://kumparan.com/paluposo/sebanyak-13-032-konten-radikalisme-dan-terorisme-tersebar-di-medsos-diblokir-1uB4iuJBICQ>
- Nisa, Y. F., Hendarmin, L. A., Lubis, D. A., Syafruddin, D., & Ropi, I. (2018). *Gen Z: Kegagalan Identitas Keagamaan*. Pusat Pengkajian Islam Dan Masyarakat (PPIM).
- Nurdin, A. A. (2005). Islam and State: A Study of the liberal Islamic network in Indonesia, 1999-2004. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 7(2), 20.
- Osman, M. N. M. (2018). *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and political Islam: Identity, ideology and religio-political mobilization*. Routledge.
- Prasetio, B. (2019). Pembubaran Hizbut Tahrir di Indonesia dalam Perspektif Sosial Politik. *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 19(2), 251–264.
- Putri, B. U. (2017). Survei Alvara: 20 Persen Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Rela Berjihad. *Tempo.Co*. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1029476/survei-alvara-20-persen-pelajar-dan-mahasiswa-rela-berjihad>
- Sabiruddin, S. (2019). Saring sebelum Sharing, Menangkal Berita Hoax, Radikalisme di Media Sosial. *AL MUNIR: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 22–40.
- Setia, P. (2020). Islamic-buzzer dan hoaks: Propaganda khilafah oleh eks HTI Kota Bandung di Jawa Barat. *Skripsi*. <http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/33053/>
- Setia, P., & Rahman, M. T. (2021). Kekhilafahan Islam, Globalisasi dan Gerilya Maya: Studi Kasus Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah Dan Studi Keagamaan*, 9(2), 241–264.
- Setia, P., & Syarif, D. (2022). Reviewing the Role of the Coordinating Board for Campus Da'wah Institutions (BKLDK) In Spreading Radicalism. *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 22(2), 295–324.
- Siegel, A., Brickman, S., Goldberg, Z., & Pat-Horenczyk, R. (2019). Preventing future terrorism: Intervening on youth radicalization. *An International Perspective on Disasters and Children's Mental Health*, 391–418.
- Silverman, D. (2015). *Interpreting qualitative data*. Sage.