



Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam
Volume 6 No. 2. July-December 2022
ISSN: 2549 – 3132; E-ISSN: 2549 – 3167
DOI: 10.22373/sjkh.v6i2.12571

The Family Background and Cultural Landscapes of Youth in Banda Aceh: An Ethnographic Account

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Abstract: This article examines the background of youth families in Banda Aceh and their views on issues related to radicalism in Indonesia. The study of radicalism among youth is essential to understand their thoughts on societal problems often associated with radicalism issues. There is a view that youth is the target of changes in understanding and religious and social behavior from groups that claim to be radicalized. Therefore, the understanding and perspective of youth will be beneficial to see the issue of social-religious movements in Aceh. This study is based on an ethnographic study in which the author conducted several interviews in Banda Aceh and several areas in Aceh province. In addition to conducting a bibliographical study, the authors conducted in-depth interviews to understand the informants' backgrounds. To find out their views on the issues in the radicalism movement, the author conducted an FGD with several youths. This study found three youth groups in the study of Islamic movements in Aceh: A first group is an underground group, which is not so visible among the younger generation of Muslims, but among activists of Islamic organizations and specific figures who continue to make upgrades. A second group is a group that prioritizes the power of social media and always carries out a process of religious discussion and responds to any current issues related to "threats to Islam." Third, those who have good relationships with various religious and community leaders. This study will undoubtedly provide meaningful input for academics and policymakers in understanding and dealing with the problem of radicalism among youth.

Keywords: Radicalism, Banda Aceh, Muslim youth, culture, religion, social media.

|| Submitted: February 12, 2022 || Accepted: December 25, 2022 || Published: December 31, 2022

Abstrak: Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji tentang latar belakang keluarga pemuda di Banda Aceh dan pandangan mereka terhadap isu-isu dalam persoalan radikalisme di Indonesia. Kajian tentang radikalisme di kalangan pemuda memang sangat diperlukan untuk mengetahui pemikiran mereka tentang masalah-masalah dalam masyarakat yang sering dikaitkan dengan persoalan radikalisme. Selama ini ada anggapan bahwa pemuda menjadi target dari perubahan pemahaman dan perilaku sosial keagamaan dari kelompok-kelompok yang diklaim sebagai radikal. Karena itu, pemahaman dan cara pandang pemuda akan sangat membantu untuk melihat bagaimana isu gerakan sosial keagamaan di Aceh. Studi ini berdasarkan studi etnografi, dimana penulis melakukan beberapa wawancara, tidak hanya di Banda Aceh tetapi juga di beberapa kawasan di provinsi Aceh. Selain melakukan kajian bibliografis, penulis juga melakukan wawancara mendalam untuk memahami latarbelakang informan. Untuk mengetahui pandangan mereka terhadap isu-isu yang berkembang dalam Gerakan radikalisme, maka penulis melakukan FGD bersama beberapa pemuda di kota Banda Aceh. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa tiga kelompok pemuda dalam studi gerakan Islam di Aceh: Kelompok pertama adalah kelompok bawah tanah, di mana di sini tidak begitu terlihat di kalangan generasi muda Islam, tetapi di kalangan aktivis organisasi Islam dan tokoh-tokoh tertentu yang melanjutkan, untuk melakukan penaikan. Kelompok kedua adalah kelompok yang mengutamakan kekuatan media sosial dan selalu melakukan proses diskusi keagamaan dan merespon setiap isu terkini yang berkaitan dengan “ancaman terhadap Islam.” Ketiga, mereka yang membangun jaringan dengan berbagai tokoh agama dan masyarakat. Kajian ini tentu akan memberikan masukan berarti bagi akademisi dan pengambil kebijakan di dalam memahami dan menangani persoalan radikalisme di kalangan pemuda.

Kata Kunci: radikalisme, Banda Aceh, Pemuda muslim, Budaya, Agama, media sosial.

Introduction

The article aims to discuss the family background and cultural landscapes of youth's attitudes and behavior in Banda Aceh. Some scholars also have researched the Islamic movement in Aceh, especially after Tsunami.¹ It appears that in Aceh, there is a dynamic that is quite active in the

¹Moch Nur Ichwan, 'Official Ulema and the Politics of Re-Islamization: The Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama, Shari'atization and Contested Authority in Post-New Order Aceh', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 22, no. 2 (2011), p. 184–214. Arskal Salim and Adlin Sila, eds.,

Islamic movement, especially after the terrorism incident in Jalin Jantho, Aceh Besar in 2010.² It is argued that investigating Aceh is always linked to conflict problems, politics, Islamic shariah, and Aceh's relationship with the central government.³ Therefore, this study is attempting to revive the previous studies⁴ by focusing more on Islamic youth in Banda Aceh.

Some important findings in some previous research focus on radicalism and terrorism in Banda Aceh.⁵ In 2013, there was narrative research about radicalism conducted by National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT), and the researcher was also involved.⁶ The outcome of the research is: people's perception of terrorism issue is not relevant in Aceh; Shariatization triggers violence; the issue of Christianization leads to acts of violence; the issue of heresy has triggered much violence; and the West is an enemy who has a conspiracy plan, to infiltrate, with the central government to destroy Aceh and Indonesia.⁷ In 2015, there have been many religious outbreaks of

Serambi Mekkah Yang Berubah: Views From Within (Banda Aceh: ARTI, 2010). Ishak Otto Syamsuddin, *Aceh Pasca Konflik: Kontestasi 3 Varian Nasionalisme*. Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing. (Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2013).

² M. Hasbi Amiruddin, 'Isu Terorisme Dan Respon Aktivis Muda Aceh', *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 22, no. 1 (2014), p. 25–38. Al Makin, M. Hasbi Amiruddin, and Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, 'Narasi Dan Politik Identitas Wilayah Aceh' (Banda Aceh: BNPT, 2014).

³ R. Michael Feener, David Kloos, and Annemarie Samuels, eds., *Islam and the Limits of the State: Reconfigurations of Practice, Community and Authority in Contemporary Aceh* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). R. Michael Feener, 'Social Engineering Through Shari'a: Islamic Law and State-Directed Da'wa in Contemporary Aceh', *Indonesia Law Review* 3, no. 3 (2013), p. 285–310. R. Michael Feener, *Shari'a, and Social Engineering: The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, 'A Current Portrait of Islamic Education in Aceh', *Islamika Indonesiana* 1, no. 1 (2014), p. 1–16.

⁴ Endi Aulia Garadian, 'Youth Camp for Preventing Violent-Extremism: Fostering Youth Dialogue, Encountering Diversity', *Studia Islamika* 25, no. 2 (30 August 2018), p. 423–32, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i2.7924>. Bambang Qomaruzzaman and Busro Busro, 'Doing Hijrah Through Music: A Religious Phenomenon Among Indonesian Musician Community', *Studia Islamika* 28, no. 2 (19 August 2021), p. 385–412, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i2.13277>.

⁵ Sanusi Ismail et al., 'Religious Radicalism and Islamic Universities in Aceh: Between Campus, Environment and Family', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2021). Amiruddin, 'Isu Terorisme Dan Respon Aktivis Muda Aceh'.

⁶ Amiruddin and Ahmad, 'Narasi Dan Politik Identitas Wilayah Aceh'.

⁷ Al Makin, 'Islamic Acehnese Identity, Sharia, and Christianization Rumor: A Study of the Narratives of the Attack on the Bethel Church in Penauyong Banda Aceh', *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 10, no. 1 (2016), p. 1–36. Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, *Memahami Potensi Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Di Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2016).

violence in Aceh, such as the burning of churches in Singkil, the burning of allegedly heretical figures in Aceh Jeumpa, conflict of understanding of religion in the Friday prayer ritual at the Baiturrahman mosque in Banda Aceh, the siege of Banda Aceh city by *Ahlusunnah Wal Jamaah* (ASWAJA) anti-Wahabi movement,⁸ Shi'ism, Communism, and various other acts of violence.⁹ It can be argued that the continuity of radicalism and extremism in Aceh seems to be continuing.

Many scholars have carried out studies on radicalism in Indonesia which, some focus on issues of Islamic history in Indonesia. Some scholars look at the network aspect among religious activists.¹⁰ Meanwhile, transnational ideas are often the focus in viewing radicalism movements in Indonesia.¹¹ Not only that, but studies also that focus on several former terrorist figures are often presented by researchers.¹² I have also seen this aspect from the perspective of the religious experience of da'wah activists.¹³ In fact, in recent years, the focus of studies on radicalism has been carried out by scholars looking at the influence of social media on people's religious behavior.¹⁴ In this context, this study looks more at families' experiences and the younger generation's perspectives on issues considered part of the radicalism movement in Indonesia.

⁸ Nirzalin and Yogi Febriandi, 'ASWAJA Mobilization and Intolerance: Sub-State Ideology, Religious Vigilantism in Aceh, Indonesia', *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (31 December 2022): 2089382, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2089382>.

⁹ Ahmad, *Memahami Potensi Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Di Aceh*.

¹⁰ Martin van Bruinessen, '1. Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the "Conservative Turn" of the Early Twenty-First Century', in *I. Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the "Conservative Turn" of the Early Twenty-First Century* (ISEAS Publishing, 2013), p. 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-005>.

¹¹ Farish A. Noor, Martin van Bruinessen, and Yoginder Sikand, eds., *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789053567104>.

¹² David Duriesmith and Noor Huda Ismail, 'Masculinities and Disengagement from Jihadi Networks: The Case of Indonesian Militant Islamists', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 0, no. 0 (20 February 2022): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2034220>.

¹³ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, *From Islamic Revivalism to Islamic Radicalism in Southeast Asia: A Study of Jamā'ah Tablīgh in Malaysia and Indonesia* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

¹⁴ Nafik Muthohirin, 'Da'wa in Social Media: The Views of Ustad Hanan Attaki and Felix Siauw to The Hijrah Phenomenon', *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 17, no. 2 (24 December 2021). <https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v17i2.12671>.

After the introduction, this article will discuss the experience of conducting ethnographic research with young people who were informants in this study. Furthermore, the author presents the mapping of youth groups in Banda Aceh. They are students and students, as well as activists who actively respond to religious issues. Next, this study will describe the family background of the youth in Banda Aceh. Several significant findings in this study will be presented in the conclusion.

Engaging with the Informants

In this study, the recruitment of informants has indeed been carried out continuously. Since the beginning of research on radicalism and extremism in Banda Aceh, the primary informants or figures have been identified. Some informants were researched from college students studying at the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry (UIN). In addition, because I often become a facilitator in several FGD events in Banda Aceh, Calang, and Meulaboh, informants from the youth group have also been obtained. The researcher also has a *Whatsapp* discussion group known as SKBA (*Sahabat Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad*), in which there are activists, students, and young writers who have a variety of scientific backgrounds. They are actively discussing various current issues in Aceh. Some of them have studied in post-graduate programs in the Islamic Thought study program, where they are familiar with various thought traditions, from traditionalist, and modernist, to liberalist. The author has also been a speaker at some forums held by government agencies, both regional and national, where participants are college students and students in Banda Aceh. During discussions, they frequently asked what exactly a radical concept is. Why is the radical issue only attached to Islam? Why is the closer to Islam, the more it is suspected as a radical group? This study, as seen in virtual groups, is interested in using the term virtual ethnography through social media phenomena.¹⁵

¹⁵ On this method, see generally Soila Lemmetty et al., 'Capturing Actions of Communities: Towards Virtual Ethnography and Digital Tools in Researching Organizations and Workplace Learning', in *Methods for Researching Professional Learning and Development: Challenges, Applications, and Empirical Illustrations*, ed. Michael Goller et al., Professional and Practice-Based Learning (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), p. 397–418, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-08518-5_18. Nicholas Gibbs and Alexandra Hall, 'Digital Ethnography in Cybercrime Research: Some Notes from the Virtual Field', in *Researching Cybercrimes: Methodologies, Ethics, and Critical Approaches*, ed. Anita Lavorgna and Thomas J. Holt (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), p. 283–99, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74837-1_14.

In addition, several religious and community leaders have also resourced persons in this study. Some become lecturers, movement figures, ulema, educators, bureaucrats, researchers, and other professionals. The presence of research assistants was also very helpful in recruiting interviewees and conducting interviews with them. Interviewees who have emotional closeness are interviewed in-depth. This research was conducted in Banda Aceh, which experienced a Tsunami disaster in 2004 and the conflict for almost 30 years. Also, we met several figures of Islamic movements in the province of Aceh; for example, to see how the practice of religious life tolerance, researchers could visit Kuta Cane. In this district, the author interviewed the leader of Khilafatul Muslimin, an Islamic organization which is based in Lampung, where Aceh was in Gayo Lues. In addition, there was also a meeting with the GMKI chairman, the only one in Aceh to be in Kuta Cane. Other data from the author's trip to Calang and Meulaboh were obtained. The data obtained outside Banda Aceh helped to understand the youth movement dynamics. For example, when the researcher interviewed one of the Muslim youths in Banda Aceh who wrote several books and was active at Muslim Students' Association (HMI) when they met with other HMI activists in Kuta Cane, the researcher could conduct a research process on the discourse of movement in the student movement. The multi-setting research ethnography research model provides a dynamic discourse on the data obtained using the snowball framework.

In this study, respondents found are from youth groups and activists aged below 25 years old. Respondents obtained in this study are divided into several categories. As for determining the criteria in this study, those considered under 25 years old are seen as a youth. Some of them come from groups of high school students involved in religious activities at school, campus students, and they are involved in socio-religious issues. Some are active in social-religious movements, even though they have completed their studies on campus, but are still actively involved in activities and ideas.

Senior High School Students

Students attending public senior high schools or Islamic senior high schools are involved in religious activities. This group is seen as a group that can provide insight into what they think about their religious experience and anyone who influences their religious behavior. It is just that, in the context of Banda Aceh, the researcher managed to understand the students' thoughts who attend Fatih Bilingual School. This school is an international standard and has both local and international curriculums. Their presence in this study wanted

to give the impression that students in Banda Aceh had gained general knowledge of English. However, in their daily lives, especially in the dormitories, they still carry out religious activities and various programs offered by schools. The religious practice found in this school is that those female students are prohibited from wearing a *niqāb*, both at school and in the dormitory, but some use it out of school, where it is not the school's responsibility.

Besides, there are also students from Islamic Senior High School (MAN). This school is a place where activists of Banda Aceh were born because the school has formed REDA (Da'wah Youth). Researchers who have attended the school through Special Program have seen how REDA has worked for almost two decades. Many da'wah activists of Banda Aceh and some other urban districts in Aceh are ex-member of REDA. Therefore, when interviewed or even in FGD (Focus Group Discussion) events, the role of REDA is still very significant. This role exceeds Rohani Islam's (ROHIS) role that has emerged in recent years. Therefore, ROHIS students' perspective is dynamic, especially when ICT appears in da'wah activities. However, in one interview session, Islamic senior high school students were still more interested in discussing with the teacher than only receiving from a smartphone/android.

There are a group of students who are not seen as part of activists in public spaces. In this study, in-depth interviews were also conducted with students studying at two-state campuses in Banda Aceh, namely Syiah Kuala University (UNSYIAH) and Ar-Raniry State Islamic University (UIN). The impression gained from several interview sessions was found that there was a paradigm change that occurred among students, that is when responding to current issues. These changes will be explained in the trends or propensity section. It's just that students are very familiar with current issues, especially those who have access to social media.¹⁶

However, they become such information only for private circles, not for movement. This is because they are not activists who actively respond to religious issues in Banda Aceh. However, they are more familiar with national and international issues, rather than local issues that are developing in Aceh province; for example, there were female students interviewed at Islamic State

¹⁶ See also Muhammad Wildan and Alimatul Qibtiyah, 'Parenting Style and the Level of Islamism Among Senior High School Students in Yogyakarta', *Journal Of Indonesian Islam* 14, no. 1 (1 June 2020), p. 187–209, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2020.14.1.187-209>.

University who did not even know any charismatic ulema in Aceh. They do not understand the issues that developed in Aceh, such as the issue of the implementation of Islamic Sharia. They are more acquainted with figures who preach on YouTube, such as Hannan Attaki,¹⁷ Abdul Somad,¹⁸ Habib Rizieq,¹⁹ and other figures who can decorate the charm of religious life.²⁰ Therefore, in this category of respondents, it can be said that they still depend on their religious understanding of what they get from cyberspace.

University Students

As college students and activists, various variants of imagination about religious movements developed in Banda Aceh, activists have interviewed the member of the Student Executive Board (BEM), Campus Dakwah Institute (LDK), National Front of Indonesian Muslim (KAMMI), Muslim Students' Association (HMI), Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), Student Lover of Nature (MAPALA), and other student organization as a regional organization. Because of Banda Aceh, every region or district has an organization that promotes a sense of unity among students who migrated to Banda Aceh. It seems that this group does follow every spiritual development that appears at the national/international/local level. Therefore, the data in the research will tend to be found substantively from this circle because sometimes they have their ideology. For example, HMI students tend to start their thinking from the concept of Indonesians and Islam. One concept that Nurcolish Madjid has offered. As for PMII will tend to open their discussions on Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) stages of thinking. Here, the influence of thinking from Java through training is sometimes the basis of thought when responding to a developing issue. For example, one PMII activist from UNSYIAH can

¹⁷Nafik Muthohirin, 'Da'wa in Social Media: The Views of Ustad Hanan Attaki and Felix Siauw to The Hijrah Phenomenon', *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 17, no. 2 (24 December 2021), p. 249–270, <https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v17i2.12671>.

¹⁸ Waizul Qarni et al., 'Verbal and Nonverbal Factors Influencing the Success of Da'wah Communication By Ustadz Abdul Somad', *KnE Social Sciences*, 1 August 2019, p. 804–12, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v3i19.4906>.

¹⁹ Helen Pausacker, : 'Habib Rizieq Shihab and Ariel Peterpan: Law, Morality and the Digital Era', in *Crime and Punishment in Indonesia* (Routledge, 2020).

²⁰ Fahmi Imam Fauzy and Aptiani Nur Jannah, 'Islamic on Screen: Religious Narrative on Indonesia's Television', *Studia Islamika* 28, no. 2 (19 August 2021), p. 473–81, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i2.22205>.

understand the context of Ahok's case in Jakarta,²¹ where some of them did not want to get involved in the conflict in this capital city of Indonesia.

Non-Muslim students become activists. In this study, one of the Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI) leaders domiciled in Kuta Cane was successfully interviewed. This college student figure has a strong network with nationalist figures in Jakarta. Back-up funds and issues to be managed are also more likely to face problems at the central level. Then they played the role of supplying information to the Center, especially for Christian figures. As for their daily lives, these students do not have significant problems with Muslims. The tolerance that the Muslims practice that they experience in their hometowns causes these students to understand the diversity of the daily life of Muslims. It is just that, in cases that invite sensitivity, such as the issue of swine breeding, they also do not want to respond frontally because the case of swine breeding is so exciting in Kuta Cane.

Likewise, the life of religious harmony in Banda Aceh does not have significant problems. Even ethnic Chinese can coexist with Muslims in this city.²² In various discussions of *Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* (Interreligious Harmony Forum)²³ organized by National Unity, Politics and Community Protection Agency Aceh Province, non-Muslims said they had no problems with Islamic Ummah. Besides, they also did not question the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Aceh. Therefore, the students' tolerance stated above is not very familiar in Aceh indeed. Then, as found in various discussion forums attended, both as speakers and participants, tolerance issues in Aceh occur more frequently among the internal Islamic community itself, especially regarding issues such as Wahhabism, *Aliran Sesat* (Heretical Sects), and Shi'ism. It seems that this is where various conflicts arose in Aceh. Although Christianization also became an issue that invited a reactive response from the Islamic Ummah at some point.

²¹On Ahok's case, see Michael Hatherella and Alistair Welsh, 'Rebel with a Cause: Ahok and Charismatic Leadership in Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review* 41, no. 2 (2017): 174–190. Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman and Prashant Waikar, 'Fear and Loathing: Uncivil Islamism and Indonesia's Anti-Ahok Movement', *Indonesia*, no. 106 (2018): 89–109.

²²Abdul Rani Usman, *Etnis Cina Perantauan Di Aceh*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor. (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2009).

²³ On FKUB in Aceh, see Nurdin AR et al., 'Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama in Aceh: Strategies, Roles and Barriers in Maintaining Interfaith Harmony', *Ulumuna* 25, no. 2 (2021), p. 306–28.

Student of Religious Movement

Former students later became movement figures among the students themselves. They found that, on average, they were completing their master's program at the UIN Ar-Raniry campus. Among them were those active in the Muslim Students' Association (HMI), National Front of Indonesian Muslim (KAMMI), and Nahdatul Ulama Student Association (IPNU), and former Dayah alumni who continued their bachelor's degrees at Al-Azhar then continued their master's degree at State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry (UIN). From them, it is known how their opinion regarding the grouping of college students, both those who follow the campus organization and those who are alumni of Salafi *dayah*. Because of this, they somewhat understood the dynamics of college student affairs, not only from their experience but also because they had studied concepts of movement and thought in Islam while studying in post-graduate programs. It seems that education and experience are exciting things. Some former campus movement or student movement was found in this group.

Da'wah Activists

Parents who work as civil servants, da'wah activists, brothers in Islamic organizations, and religious figures. Those who have connections with several religious figures have begun to get information on how movements of Islamic organizations appear to the public and underground. Several interviews were conducted in a closed and open place for this group. For example, the researcher interviewed the *Khilafatul Muslimin* figure twice in Kuta Cane and Banda Aceh for the closed ones. In addition, the researcher also interviewed brothers who understood well the underground movements of several Islamic leaders, both in Aceh and nationally. As a result, it was discovered how the Islamic movements developed in Indonesia and Aceh, both in terms of historical and socio religious. This fact shows that the level of dynamics of the Islamic movement in Aceh is very frightening because issues that develop at the national level tend to be responded to actively by religious leaders in Aceh.

From the six profiles of respondents above, it can be said that the results of this study want to presuppose religious phenomena in Aceh in the present context, where there are some further explanations: the social-community context, reproduction of knowledge, media settings in shaping a point of view, cultural development on what happens in Acehese society, and government interference in religious matters, especially in Aceh when there are problems regarding the implementation of Islamic Sharia. These issues are

an essential part of analyzing the patterns and behavior of young Muslim generations in Aceh province, especially in Banda Aceh.

The Socio-Religious Arena of Youth

In understanding the behavior of Islamic youth generations in Banda Aceh, several factors must be re-examined. Banda Aceh is a City of Students. As an area that experienced conflicts in the DI / TII era in 1953, one of the positive responses from the Indonesian government was to establish campuses in Darussalam, namely IAIN (State Islamic Institute) Ar-Raniry and Syiah Kuala University. This area was later renamed Darussalam. To this day, this name is attached, then called the title of the Heart of Acehnese (*jantong hate rakyat Aceh*). Thus, education is a positive response when a conflict between the government of Indonesia and DI/TII. As for the response of the government of the Republic of Indonesia to the conflict with GAM (the Free Aceh Movement), Aceh was given the status of implementing Islamic Sharia.²⁴ This becomes important to understand the socio-historical context of Banda Aceh, which is currently a City of Students, and an example of the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia.²⁵ In this context, the Islamic youth generation in the city of Banda Aceh lives today.

Therefore, this city has become a contestation site for seeking religious awareness. It can almost be said that religious reproduction is triggered more by the reproduction of religious experiences that emerged in the city. Religious experiences and religious thoughts are greatly influenced by the dynamics of interaction in seeking identity as an organized Muslim. The expression of diversity originating from religious experience as generation Z has resulted in social media and non-social media interactions. This trend is inherent in religious behavior, and this trend must be re-examined to be an introductory note in this study. Changes in the landscape of religious ideas can be seen from the following aspects:

Firstly, there is a change in personal or character aspects. Previously, religious understanding among the people of Aceh, socio-religious was more often produced by local ulema or religious figures who were traditional Dayah

²⁴ Zuly Qodir et al., 'The Formalization of Sharia in Aceh to Discipline the Female Body', *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 60, no. 1 (3 June 2022), p. 63–90, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.63-90>.

²⁵ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, *Islamic Law in Southeast Asia A Study of Its Application in Kelantan and Aceh* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Press, 2009).

alumni.²⁶ In one of the writings, the researcher explored the transformation of religious authority from *teungku* to *ustaz*.²⁷ The intent of trend of getting religious teachers who have initially been *cultural-reproduction-religious-knowledge* to *popular-reproduction religious-knowledge* has led to religious understanding among young non-Muslim generations - local culture or local wisdom. This is the initial potential that has become the trend in the diverse lives of young Muslim generations in Banda Aceh.

Their understanding of religion is based on a person's trend or popularity. They do not have endeavored to understand local cultures. They could understand religion, but do not know understand how to adapt its understanding to the social reality of Aceh, for example, religious understanding obtained in someone who does not understand the culture, then makes it a basis for religious behavior, which can create "getting lost in the right path." In the Acehese community, it is known by religious traditions that have followers (*peunutoh*). In the FGD, some participants said that the young Muslim generation in Banda Aceh studying religion had no understanding. Studying religion is as complimentary knowledge, not to achieving ultimate religious knowledge. In other words, religious understanding obtained from the religious teacher is a religious understanding offered to solve problems around life, not to illuminate life that can enter into the inner circle of the soul. The point is to study religion not to become enlightened but to correct wrong behavior.

This pattern or trend is perilous because the source of religious authority obtained through social media will not create an inner connection with "YouTube preachers." The point is that generations before millennials tend to understand religion based on physical relations and non-physical. When a young child is upset, the *ustaz* is not present before him. They then look for answers to their turmoil from information already set up in cyberspace. A profiling system can predict a person's behavior in cyberspace. What is dominantly sought in Google and YouTube engines is that information will continue to be provided by a person's virtual world. Therefore, for a person who tends to hear lectures or recitals from *Ustaz A* on YouTube, at any time, all thoughts or lectures that are filled by *ustaz* will continue to appear before the younger generation of Muslims.

²⁶ Jarjani Usman, Syabuddin Syabuddin, and Faishal Zakaria, 'Teungku Identity Development: The Role of Dayah Community of Practice', *SAGE Open* 11, no. 3 (1 July 2021): 21582440211031532, <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440211031532>.

²⁷ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, 'Dari Teungku Ke Ustaz: Potret Pendidikan Islam Di Aceh', *Kajian Islam* 6, no. 1 (2011), p. 1–16.

Through the *Artificial Intelligence* pattern, young Muslims will get information on the religious understanding that is *directive profiling based on information*. It is meant that religious knowledge is acquired without culture and local wisdom. Finally, the children grow up with a religious understanding of *virtual religious addictive knowledge*. Their religious understanding is purely from how far they are addicted to the virtual world. Therefore, virtual diversity figures do not answer or provide perfect knowledge but rather direct the young generation's mind to a relatively narrow variant of thought. Here arises the attitude or behavior of radicalism or extremism that results from the uptake of religious knowledge.

Secondly, there is a shift in orientation towards religious institutions in Banda Aceh. The youth in Banda Aceh tends to be entrusted with their religious thought and awareness. Therefore, every issue brought by religious institutions tends to be used as part of the actualization of their religious understanding. This behavior creates religion as a remedy for all problems that arise in their thinking or from social reality. Although this is a post-modern phenomenon, not all social realities around us must be responded to with religious thought. Consequently, this young generation wants to answer all social problems that were initially part of social engineering itself, with a religious understanding with an understanding style as above.

As a result, creativity and critical thinking in these religious institutions become blunt. This is because religious institutions do not prepare the long-term infrastructure of thought. In other words, they want to respond to social issues quickly, without an in-depth study direction. The author found this phenomenon when becoming a resource person or lecturer for post-graduate students, consisting of figures from mass organizations. Because of the construction of social and cultural realities, some of them finally understood that not all social problems, even though it was a religious issue, must be responded to with religious ideology. Then to understand, those religious institutions cannot think about social engineering construction. So, when looking at problems in society, the social sciences and humanities are asked to help solve them.

The above fact seems influenced by the trend of religious institutions to carry out Islamization in correcting people's lives quickly. It is as if all society's problems today are triggered and answered by Islam. This is what often arises from the demand for change towards Islam. However, the religious institutions that emerge sometimes do not follow the trends in the development of community conditioning. The lack of knowledge about social and cultural phenomena causes Islam to be installed in every hole of the

problem of the Islamic Ummah. The trend of attitude towards others that arises among the younger generation does not coincide with the trend of seeing problems holistically. This trend is increasing when Islamic organizations do not empower holistic understanding. For example, the symptoms of elite political conflict in Jakarta led to conflicts among Muslims in Banda Aceh. There sometimes organizations see that every conflict must be answered with religion as well, for example, when researchers investigated the burning conflict of Muhammadiyah mosque in Samalanga on October 17, 2017, in the face of several mass organizations leaders, that the conflict was not purely religious, some participants were then surprised, because the media lead as if it was part of the conflict in the name of religion, who did not like the presence of Muhammadiyah in Aceh.

Elite conflict in 2015 about several central issues: Wahhabi, Shiite, and deviant sects were only the beginning to create community segmentation towards the elections in the following years.²⁸ This creates the condition that religion is often used as an entry point for more significant conflict because community sensitivity to religious issues increases in the post-modern era. However, when a figure like Edi Fadhil emerged who raised funds to build a house for the poor through Facebook, he did not bring religious issues and then succeeded in building nearly 100 houses in Aceh. The context of the present associations such as RUMAN, which provides free kindergartens and opens libraries every Sunday at Blang Padang Field, has received public sympathy. Although RUMAN never brought up religious issues at all. Several more community empowerment activities found in Aceh do not bring about religion around them at all but have positive support from Acehnese.

This symptom was triggered because the shake of solidarity among the Acehnese people had been confused by Snouck Hurgronje, where he reduced the impact of the social ethics of the people of Aceh into religious life. This theory then created Islam which was formalistic-cum-reactive. Because the fundamental basis of Acehnese life, which is manifested in local cosmology and local wisdom, was pinched by Snouck's theory, the impact felt today is that religious revival in Aceh tends to be seen as a response to anything that comes. The cultural foundations have never been meaningful enough for Islamic organizations, including the youth generation. This development has, in turn, led to divisions in developing the solidarity of the Islamic ummah itself. The indications of internal conflict in Aceh over the past few years have

²⁸Ahmad.

been triggered more by the problem of differences in understanding religion.²⁹

Thirdly, there is a massive transformation of religious ideas. Issues and contents of religious problems that arise today are very fast circulating, so occasionally, the recipients and disseminators of religious issues compete to become "the first person" to know. The velocity of this spread causes the ideas behind religious issues to be classified entirely, remembering the public's inquisitiveness is related to the conclusions to be reached. The transformation of religious ideas that emerged within society came from the holders of scientific authority in Islam. Therefore, anything that circulates amid society can still be controlled by religious authority holders so that it rarely becomes noise in the community itself.

On the contrary, religious ideas that are spread today are faster circulating. The young generation of Muslims is sometimes not ready to accept it as a complete religious idea. That is, control towards information circulating amid society cannot be exercised. Even access to information concerning religion has become a trend through profiling patterns, so the recipient segmentation of religious ideas always connects themselves with everything that is up to date. The pattern of Islamic studies centered on the holders of religious authority is disappearing. The Islamic youth will certainly not be able to communicate directly with "YouTube preachers." They also do not understand the profiling and data mining systems in cyberspace, so the acceptance of ideas tends to be one-way. The more liked someone conveying religious ideas, the less critical response is to these ideas.

Some students and college students interviewed tend to do checks on teachers or *ustazs* in Banda Aceh. Here, the information disseminated can also be known by the teacher and *ustazs*. They only clarify "right" and "wrong" on religious thought because personal and information grouping has started from the virtual realm, then in the realm of reality, there will also be a grouping of responses to religious thought. Nature and religious attitudes that emerge are based on technological strength and access to cyberspace. Therefore, the influence of virtual ideas is strongly felt when this research is conducted.

Fourthly, social, cultural, and religious changes. In understanding this trend, the youth in Banda Aceh understand how to involve themselves actively. A moderate attitude is always raised when it relates to others who do not touch the aspect of the faith. This is the lowest part of the tolerance that

²⁹ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad and M. Hasbi Amiruddin, *Ulama, Separatisme, Dan Radikalisme Di Aceh*. (Banda Aceh: LSAMA and Kaukaba, 2013).

today's Muslim youth imagine. They will associate with anyone if it does not endanger their religious belief. Instead, they still have their home base of understanding how to involve themselves in social and cultural change. Lifestyle changes do not require them to carry out a process of self-isolation from the outside world. This phenomenon is interesting to attend that they will still adapt to any situation that does not confuse their religious understanding. So that the pattern of friendship in social reality is also very controlled, keywords in friendship can also be felt along with the style of dress. The term that often appears can also be detected from which group they join. This situation creates a dynamic religious lifestyle. However, they are strict in religion but not so strict in socializing. Some of the children who wear *niqāb* in the study program of researchers still associate with other societies, even though they have Hijrah. Some youth who have a strict understanding of religion still respect those who oppose ideas. This is evidenced by the tradition of drinking coffee in the city of Banda Aceh, were at that time, all differences were minimized and emerged as togetherness. It seems that public places are a place to build a friendship. Some mass organization figures in Banda Aceh always have an agenda for togetherness, even though they are different on specific issues in understanding religious thought.

This phenomenon is currently appearing in Banda Aceh, where public space is not intervened by religion. This phenomenon seems crucial because some public discussions in Banda Aceh are often carried out in coffee shops so that differences in understanding do not create physical conflict. Someone with a different opinion is sometimes given a place to convey their religious ideas and thoughts. Therefore, the trend of public discussion in responding to every social and cultural problem in Banda Aceh is always attended by youth. They still attend and listen, even if they disagree. This social and cultural change is new in Banda Aceh, because, in the regencies of cities, similar things are still rarely found, remembered the religious authority of traditional groups still maintains an "understanding" that cannot be different, because it will interrupt the stability of the social life of the people.

These are some of the symptoms or trends that were seen when this study was conducted on the young generation of Muslims in Banda. This trend is, of course, very dynamic, but it does not rule out the possibility that one day this trend will form a new authority in a religious life future. Therefore, a comprehensive study is needed on how much time and history the young Muslim generation will pass today. If this trend cannot be used as a basis for proper social engineering, then it is very likely that in the future, this

generation will not be able to think about religious matters by involving aspects of local culture as a tool for social engineering in religion.

From some of the descriptions in this report, several things can be underlined related to the behavior of Islamic youth in Banda Aceh. Firstly, Islamic youth in Banda Aceh is the generation of Z, which is characteristic of a generation familiar with the world of ICT (Information Communication Technology). Therefore, almost all of them base their understanding of life on what is happening in the world of ICT. This particularity causes the need for a deep understanding of the influence of AI (Artificial Intelligence) in this generation because they are more of a generation that bases knowledge on the current conditions produced by ICT. Even though their background comes from traditional communities, when they move to urban areas, this generation will adapt to the world of education and Islamic movements offered in Banda Aceh.

In this study, it was found that the pattern of religiosity of the youth no longer originated from one door, that is, from the holders of religious authority in their milieu, but instead, they had tasted the hyper-connected Islamic education and deepening. This condition causes their pattern of religiosity to tend to what they get from cyberspace. However, the presence of various educational institutions that offer the concept of Integrated Islam makes the youth in Banda Aceh familiar with religious rituals from the early stage. This is due to the tendency of parents to make their children understand religious rituals. However, the pattern of religiosity is very familiar with the nuances of the post-modern era, where religion becomes exciting and even a lifestyle.

As a result, some of these young generations tend to be very pious in expressing religious understanding in public places. Religious trends as a lifestyle and receive information based on profiling in cyberspace,³⁰ causing young children to make their religious knowledge put into practice. However, moderate attitudes are sometimes not found when dealing with the "safety zone" of religious beliefs that they have acquired previously. This study proves that the religiosity of the younger generation is still at a radical, non-violent stage.

The shift in education has led to an orientation towards a short-term understanding of Islam. Islamic education is only a "compliment" to be in the "safe zone." Therefore, almost all educational institutions in Banda Aceh tend

³⁰ Akh Muzakki, 'The Roots, Strategies, and Popular Perception of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia', *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 8, no. 1 (1 June 2014): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2014.8.1.1-22>.

to be in demand and offer general and religious education. Therefore, Islamic youth in Banda Aceh tends to be ignorant of local policies that sustain social and cultural life. They are, in turn, cut off from Aceh's identity. In other words, they are the New Aceh generation who are preparing themselves for the future. It is just that his religious imagination tends to be a partial and popular base. It can be said that the level of tolerance among youth is very moderate. Banda Aceh, a city close to the coast, socio-historically accepts all groups to coexist. For identity-politics-identity, Islamic youth in Banda Aceh tend to be very careful in their tolerance. However, in socio-cultural-economic life, they tend to be open and work together. Tolerance which is the main problem in Banda Aceh is an internal problem of the religious community. This also happens among youth when they see someone with a different understanding of their "safety zone." This occurs at the student level and the college student level.

This study also found that religious practices carried out by youth in the city of Banda Aceh were included in the category of liberal shari'a. So, those who practice religion should not be categorized as fundamentalists or radicals. Thus, religious freedom through the "safe zone" is part of the liberal shari'a. Here it is also seen that the socio-political and socio-cultural situation significantly determines religious freedom and other matters. This study found that the pattern of tolerance understood by youth is based on information circulating amid society, especially in cyberspace. Therefore, the information will determine their attitude in looking at religious freedom and human rights issues.

The love and loyalty of youth in the Republic of Indonesia showed very positive results. However, this loyalty is accompanied by their attitude of criticism in the national situation, especially those concerning contemporary issues such as communism and specific threats. As for their attitude towards the law enforcement situation, it is more triggered by the news that they consume daily, then used as a topic in the studies they watch on YouTube and given in studies (religious learning) in the city of Banda Aceh. Thus, the attitude and imagination of the nationality among the youth in this city are still in the corridor of the Republic of Indonesia.

The conditions above also cause a feeling of being threatened by national and international situations. National conditions that Islam is always "threatened" in such a critical attitude towards the national situation. This critical attitude is sometimes actualized by responding to national issues such as corruption, communism, and China. As for the problem of Government Regulation instead of the Legislation of Mass organizations, it was found that they were able to understand that any ideology should not change the ideology

of nationalism. Therefore, Islamic youth tends to see the nationality situation as an excellent example from top leaders. This is the primary concern during this research carried out among young Muslims.

When this study began in Banda Aceh, respondents were generally found through the snowball pattern. However, because Banda Aceh is the capital of the Aceh province and the Student City, especially in Darussalam, some respondents did not come from Banda Aceh. Recently, Banda Aceh has been an urban area attracting newcomers, especially those working or continuing their studies from elementary school to college. Changes in the demographic landscape of the population of Banda Aceh were also triggered by the results of rehabilitation and reconstruction from the Tsunami disaster in 2004. At that time, it was estimated that nearly 200 thousand residents of Banda Aceh died. For almost 13 years, the population of Banda Aceh has experienced very significant changes. Many newcomers and settlements were established around the city of Banda Aceh.

In the context of education, several schools have emerged that are trying to offer Islamic education integrated with the curriculum of general sciences. Even UIN Ar-Raniry has changed from State Islamic Institute (IAIN) to become State Islamic University (UIN). Not only that, from kindergarten to senior high school, it has been offered by education known as Integrated Islam. The public interest in sending their children to this kind of school increases. Education is no longer about knowing the sciences based on the National Education curriculum but also to be taught the theory and practice of the Islamic religion in schools. Some schools already offer the *Diniyah* program, which starts in the afternoon. Students who have a religious knowledge base sometimes work as *Diniyah* Teachers in several schools in Banda Aceh. As a result, the reproduction of religious understanding among students is influenced more by the younger generation. Some of them are teachers who were born in the 1980s and 1990s. They then become the center of role models for students in understanding and practicing religion. They later became an example for those born in the 2000s.

There are significant differences between the generation born in the 1970s and 1980s, those born in the 1990s and 2000s and above—the first group's life in the conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement. In addition, they also felt the tyranny of the New Order government of the Suharto era. This experience becomes essential to understand the perspective of how they feel and do in responding to socio-religious issues. The generation born before the early 1980s had the experience of having a common enemy, the New Order government, which

was seen as a regime that had plagued the people of Aceh through Military Operations since 1989.

It is significant to understand before mapping the background of Aceh's young generation which is entirely non-violent. Activists born in the 1990s did not have the same common enemies as the previous generation. The informants in this study have the character of experience that did not face violence during Military Operations or even Martial Law until 2004. However, some of these activists have a very high level of sensitivity to social problems in the community in Aceh. The informants were not from Banda Aceh but from outside Banda Aceh and studied in this city. For example, the following are telling some college students:

Rahmad is a child of nine siblings. His parents work as oil palm farmers in Southwest Aceh, and his mother is a housewife. Rahmad is currently completing his final assignment at the Da'wah Department of Manajamen Da'wah at Ar-Raniry State Islamic University (UIN). (Rahmadsyah 2017)

Riska Amelia is the son of a trader (her father) who is an expert in electronic technicians in Lamno, Aceh Jaya, and her mother is a housewife. He is the eldest of three siblings whose younger brother is currently studying at Ishafuddin Lamboro Skep, Banda Aceh, and his second sister is still four years old. While Amel is also an alumnus of Babun Najah boarding school in Ulee Kareng, Banda Aceh. (Amelia 2017)

Ambia Samsuri is a member of the Student Executive Board (BEM) of Syiah Kuala University in the field of Minister of Law and Human Rights (Menkulham), a student majoring in Political Science with a concentration in Political Mediators. This department was chosen based on his passion for religious studies that he had worked on as a teenager in Nurul Huda Mosque in his native area, the village of Kuta Blang, Lhokseumawe. (Samsuri 2017)

Nabil is a child of the police (his father) and a nurse (his mother works at the health center). He is the first child of 3 siblings. Nabil is currently registered as a resident of Lampaseh in Banda Aceh, but he was born in Lhokseumawe. Previously, he was educated at Omar Diyan Islamic boarding school because of the demands of his family, which required all the children to study at a dayah or Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*). (Syafiq 2017)

Nadia Rizkina is a child of an entrepreneur (her father) and her mother as a housewife. She is from Bireuen and currently lives in the School Dormitory. The activities at Islamic Student Council (OSIM) are members of the Public Relations Division. (Rizqina 2017)

Khairul Fuad is the newly appointed Student President of the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry (UIN), replacing Nurul Ikhsan. His educational backgrounds are State Islamic Primary Grades School (MIN), State Islamic Junior High School (MTSN), and State Islamic Senior High School (MAN) of Sabang. His father worked as a supervisor in the Ministry of Religion and his mother as a MIN teacher. Fuad is the second child of three siblings. (Fuad 2017)

These are some examples of the background of college students and students in Banda Aceh. It seems that they are from out of the city of Banda Aceh, which shows that the younger generation of Muslims in Banda Aceh is more dominated by the children of migrants indeed. There are at least three reasons why they study there:

1. As stated above, in Banda Aceh, there are the best campuses in Aceh, although at present, in almost all zones of Aceh, colleges have emerged. (‘Eastern: Al-Muslim Univ., IAIN Lhokseumawe, Politeknik Lhokseumawe, IAIN Cot Kala, and Samudra University of Langsa. Middle: STAIN Gajah Putih and Gajah Putih University. South West: STAIN Tgk.
2. There is the factor of work transfer of parents moving to Banda Aceh due to their working status.
3. Many parents in Aceh prefer their sons and daughters to study in Banda Aceh because, in other large cities, they are worried that they will be affected by the environment.

Not surprisingly, some parents buy houses in Banda for their children to continue their studies in this city. So that when their sons settled in Banda Aceh, they did not need to rent a house or live in boarding houses around Darussalam.

Here, some young writers concerned about religious-social issues, such as Zulfata, Abdul Hamid, and Ramli Cibro, are from outside of Banda Aceh. Zulfata comes from South Aceh, is now active in HMI, and graduated (Bachelor’s and master’s degrees) from the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry (UIN). Abdul Hamid comes from Aceh Jeumpa, is studying in Traditional Dayah of Ummu Ayman in Samalanga, and graduated bachelor's degree at Al-Azhar and a master's degree at State Islamic University Ar-Raniry (UIN). Then, Ramli Cibro comes from Aceh Singkil, is graduated double degree from the State Islamic University of Sunan Gunung Djati (UIN) and a master's degree from the State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry. Currently, several discussion forums have been influenced by the youth. This phenomenon shows that Banda Aceh has emerged a new generation of

intellectuals in Banda Aceh who are not from the city of Banda Aceh. They actively write the local daily *Serambi Indonesia* and produce several books in under 30 years.

In Banda Aceh, the Islamic youth generation impact seems more fulfilled by the children of II grade. It shows that Banda Aceh, as a place for the new youth generation of Aceh, will conduct every dialect thought because almost all youth organizations and society exist in Banda Aceh. Forum Group Discussion (FGD), seminar, and public discussion are always fulfilled by the Youth Community Organization (OKP) that appeared in Banda Aceh which according to the researcher's observation, this fact impacts the line of thought adopted by youth. In this context, related to college student religious movement or youth that brings da'wah mission or alteration in Banda Aceh, Zulfata shapes the movement into three groups:

Firstly, *the da'wah movement is trapped in magnificence without direction*. This group does not want to think deeply and has da'wah in a safe zone. A student will find this group almost on every campus in Banda Aceh. This group does not respond to fuss anymore with the current situation. Secondly, *the Islamic concept of faith guides the fatherland. This group does not have openness against a situation with restrictiveness*. Accelerated changes, self-imposes. This statement also exists among HMI members and other youth. A revolutionary spirit triggered it. Senior does not direct them. Thirdly, *try to do learning and always want confirmation—first and second groups many on private campuses*. The first group quickly invites embedded ideology, and the second group fights the state ideology. Among HMI members, there is also the spirit of anti-ideology. Sometimes, a member does not understand the concept but is immediately energetic, as the spirit to fight Communist Party (PKI) but does not understand what PKI is. Many cadres also do not read the fundamental values, already over. Apprehensive about Acehnese youth does not have any for them as leaders in the future in Aceh. (Zulfata 2017b)

It appears that the above mapping is more concerned with aspects of how students respond to current issues and put their thoughts in the flow of change that is happening. It must be acknowledged that the direction and flow of change desired by Muslim youth are more focused on the way they respond, what ideas they use, and in terms of how they respond. Indeed, the above description is that some groups are in the "safe zone" through their religious understanding. There are also the sources of reproduction of religious understanding, which creates their religious behavior. Likewise, some try to change the situation but do not have a well-established understanding.

In this case, it is argued that the current generation of Muslim youth lives in the post-modern era. The rising of religion marked this era of public affairs, which had long been kept away by the flow of modernization based on secularization.³¹ This generation lives exactly when religion revives in every niche of human life and begins to look for values and ethics to redirect human life that has been carried away by secularization.³² Therefore, the phenomenon of total religious return is part of the hallmark of human life in this post-modern era. It is just that the tools of returning to religion do not coincide; religion itself is inseparable from the cultural reproduction system in society. So that changes in religious understanding and social and cultural changes in society, for example, sending children to religious education institutions is a new trend, especially in Banda Aceh. In the 1980s and 1990s, public schools were not interested in opening a teaching system that offered religious education. However, by the end of the 1990s, the symptoms of schools offering Islamic education had become so prominent, and sometimes they became favorite schools.³³ This continuation of change is experienced by the youth today. However, the problem of the rising Islam in public areas is related to the image of Islam that has emerged so far, namely the relationship between Islam and the West. These two things then become one of the core changes in the perspective of youth in understanding the way of Islam.

This study presents findings that may be based not only on the research of Islamic youth in Banda Aceh but also on the phenomenon of the Islamic movement in Aceh in general. One respondent said that if the government wanted to reduce the radicalism movement in Indonesia, what was mainly done was not to give space to the Shiite movement. Some respondents said that the issue of religious life on the Aceh border would one day become a new conflict, such as Singkil. Meanwhile, one of the graduate students of UIN Ar-Raniry said that the symptoms of left students would threaten their faith. They have substantial funds in carrying out their mission in Aceh. An Activist in Kutacane says that Christian movements have enormous financial support for missions in Aceh. One of the emir/leaders in charge of Aceh and North Sumatra was trying to make the Khilafah movement acceptable to the people of Aceh. Some say that the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Aceh is a door for the revival of Islam in Indonesia. Comments are anxious and worried about

³¹Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, 'Masa Depan Studi Islam Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Mlangi: Media Pemikiran Dan Budaya Pesantren IV*, no. 4 (2017), p. 61-68.

³² Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2007).

³³Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*. (Jakarta: Logos, 1999).

ambivalence. On the one hand, there is hope; on the other hand, the threat is no less remarkable. This condition indeed occurs in the Islamic Ummah today, including Banda Aceh.

Conclusion

From the description above, several things can be underlined in this article. There are three groups among youth in Banda Aceh regarding the issues of radicalism. The first group is the underground group, where here it is not so visible among the Islamic youth generation, but among activists of Islamic organizations and specific figures who continue to raise. This group has a network throughout Aceh. They were generally present after the Tsunami. The presence of this group is basically to implement Islam as a whole, concerning Qur'an and Sunnah.

The second group is a group that prioritizes the power of social media and always conducts a process of religious discussion and responds to any current issues relating to the "threat to Islam" and "the rise of Islam at the end of time." This is where the Islamic youth play a role in maintaining "safe zones," "threats," and "awakening." These three keywords are the core concepts in understanding the second group. The third group is those who play the role of "Nokia" connecting people. This third group can build networks with various religious and community leaders. They are "wherever" whenever there is a religious problem. Thus, the youth generation in Banda Aceh is very vulnerable if underground networks can recruit it because it will influence their religious attitudes and behavior.

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