SOCIO-RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES OF THE INDONESIAN YOUTHS IN DIGITAL AND EVERYDAY LIFE

印度尼西亚青年在数字生活和日常生活中的社会宗教偏好

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Abstract

The life of youths cannot be separated from the constant use of social media. While this online platform helps young people to connect globally and instantly, it can also manifest as a medium of intolerant and radical expressions. This study is a quantitative research that aims to map aspects and assess the degree of socio-religious intolerance of the Indonesian Centennials in their everyday lives and on social media by using a survey as the data collection method. This study found out that Indonesian Centennials are relatively tolerant toward other social groups in terms of race, ethnicities, and religious beliefs, except toward the people of LGBT. The racial prejudice among young Indonesians against the Chinese minority still exists, but it is not as prevalent as in Suharto's era. The results also show that there is a strong correlation between the Centennials' attitudes in their real world and cyberspace, as their social preference and attitudes on social media are identical to those in the real life.

Keywords: Youth, Social Media, Socio-Religious Preference, Indonesia

摘要 年轻人的生活离不开社交媒体的不断使用。虽然这个在线平台可以帮助年轻人立即联系全球，但它也可以表现为不宽容和激进的表达方式。本研究是一项定量研究，旨在通过使用调查作为数据收集方法，对印度尼西亚百岁老人在日常生活和社交媒体上的社会宗教不容忍程度进行映射

和评估。这项研究发现，除了对同性恋者人群外，印度尼西亚百岁老人在种族、民族和宗教信仰方面对其他社会群体的容忍度相对较高。印尼年轻人对华裔少数民族的种族偏见依然存在，但已不像苏哈托时代那样普遍。结果还表明，百年人在现实世界和网络空间中的态度之间存在很强的相关性，因为他们在社交媒体上的社会偏好和态度与现实生活中的相同。

关键词: 青年、社交媒体、社会宗教偏好，印度尼西亚

I. INTRODUCTION

It is irrefutable that young people's lives today cannot be separated from the constant use of the internet in many forms, from studying and doing homework to enjoying leisure activities such as playing games and connecting with friends on social media. This happens at most to so-called 'generation Z' or 'the Centennials,' a group of young people born at the turn of the century or approximately between 1997 to 2015 [1]. The Centennials are more than "digital natives" who are familiar with technological devices, but they are also considered as "net generation" (a term coined by Linda [2]), implying the familiarity and constant exposure of young people's lives to the cyber world.

The recent development of youth engagement with the internet is characterized by the massive use of online platforms called social media. While it is widely acknowledged that social media have tremendous benefits for young users, it also poses various harmful effects, including the dangers of intolerance and radicalism. There are two unique facts of the Centennials that bring the importance of social media and the danger of intolerance into account in this study. First, the Centennials are a generation consists of people who have never experienced the world without the internet, making them constantly dependent on internet access. Second, they live in a post 9/11 world where global terrorism has been rampant, constantly exposing them to the threat of terrorism and the influence of radical ideas.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Intolerance and Radicalism among Youth

Intolerance and radicalism are commonly accepted as clear and present dangers in many communities. Since the event of 9/11, intolerance and radicalism have been widely viewed as the roots of terrorism, so they are considered major threats for many states and societies in the world [3]. As combating terrorism becomes a global trend, governments worldwide pay particular attention to the issue and launch many programs in deradicalization and building tolerance in societies. However, the manifestation of intolerance and radicalism on cyberspace and their impacts, particularly on the young generation, remain unrealized by the public in the majority.

In Indonesia, intolerance and radicalism have long been seen as the major threats to the country. Indonesia's nation-building process has witnessed several rebellions and separatist movements based on radical views of certain ideologies; from the religious-far-right of *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* (Islamic State/Army of Indonesia) in several provinces between 1949 and 1965 to two armed left-wing actions against central government launched by Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1948 and 1965 [4]. More recently, Indonesia has been a target of a series of religious-based terrorist attacks that affect the country politically and economically [5], [6]. Since the proclamation of independence in 1945, the founding fathers and the government of Indonesia have been vigorously promoting 'Pancasila' as the nation's widely diverse ideology regarding religion, ethnicity, language, and many other cultural aspects. So far, the country seems successful in upholding Pancasila as an ideological bond of its pluralism [7].

However, a survey conducted by *Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian* (LaKIP) in 2010 and 2011 revealed that young Indonesians are vulnerable to intolerance ideas and detected the existence of potential dangers of radicalism that may put the youth as either possible targets or perpetrators [8]. Taking students and teachers as samples in various high schools in cities of Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi in Indonesia, the findings indicated that half of the total students that participated as respondents agreed on radical-based actions, and more than a half of the students were indicated having potentials to be radicals. More surprisingly, the study also found that 25% of the students and 21% of the high school teachers stated that Pancasila, the country's moderate ideology, was no longer relevant for Indonesia. The study's overall findings suggested that the proliferation of intolerant and radical thoughts among Indonesian youth has reached an alarming level.

In 2018, Setara Institute for Peace and Democracy developed and applied *Indeks Kota Toleran* (IKT) or Tolerant City Index and revealed that 10 cities in Indonesia could be considered intolerant cities [9]. Among these intolerant cities, there are five major and provincial capital cities, including Jakarta, Medan, Makassar, Padang, and Banda Aceh. Setara Institute, in the study, employed various indicators to assess the degree of tolerance in 94 cities in Indonesia, including public policies and regulation, social activities, and religious-based-demography. While the research was not specifically targeting young people as the study object, the results indicate the potential dangers of intolerance among the youth since the above-mentioned research indicators affect young people significantly.

B. Youth and Social Media

The surprising research results of LaKIP and Setara Institute, as mentioned above, raised an inquiry of youth perception and behavior toward intolerance and radicalism in cyberspace, more especially in social media. Investigating youth intolerance- and radicalism-related activities in social media is very important due to the following reasons. First, social media is the most popular online platform among young people today. The research found that internet use for social media is dominated (91%) by users aged 16-24 years old [10]. Young people utilize social media in their online activities for various purposes, such as sharing information, making and maintaining relationships, and expressing their feelings and ideas. Another study in the US suggested that the connection between youth and social media is partly supported by the fact that around 95% of youth possess smartphones which allow them online almost constantly [11]. This fact strongly relates to the next cause, which is the detrimental effect of social media.

Second, social media can be addictive and distractive. The fact that young people spend a big proportion of their daily time engaging with social media indicates that this online platform is addictive. While it is true as many have claimed that social media can boost young people's creativity and friendships [12], it has also been revealed that the youth's prolonged use of social media may cause various symptoms of poor psychological health. By utilizing social media, youth become embed with other's lives and develop a psychological symptom called "fear of missing out" of FoMO, a feeling that somebody else would gain rewarding experiences when the person with the symptom is absent [13]. Youth can be characterized as having this problem when they constantly check their devices to access social media. As a result, they become more exposed to the negative effects of this online platform. It has been suggested by some research that children and teenagers with excessive use of social media have a high risk of suffering from fear, anxiety, and depression [14]; and there are many associated factors of these mental problems, including cyberbullying, body image concern, and sleep deprivation [15].

In addition to the problem of being addictive, social media can also be distractive. It is commonly accepted that the primary obligation for young people is doing works that relate to their education. However, the constant engagement of youth with social media may reduce their time for learning and doing school works. Students would frequently interrupt their studying or other learning activities to stay up-to-date with the information on their social media. Research has even found out that students with high FoMO are likely to utilize social media to check and compose messages frequently during class [13]. Even though they use this social networking to help them studying such as finding answers, their concentration in doing school works would be reduced significantly. As a result, as some researchers have suggested, student's poor academic performance has been closely associated with the excessive use of social media [16], [17], [18].

Third, social media may become an "echo chamber" that leads young people to develop intolerance and radicalism. On the contrary to its ideal function as an online platform that connects people regardless of their differences, social media has arguably generated social divisions among its users based on their like-mindedness. When utilizing social media, users tend to have links with certain people or groups of people with the same interests and perceptions as they are. Social media users also seem to select certain types of news and information based on their preferences and orientations. In this case, social media is a closed online medium in which continuous and repetitive information shared by people with the same idea is used to strengthen a certain existing point of view. While it is not unique to young people, the impact for them can be exacerbated. The ages of 16-25 is a period of identity formation, in which young people are looking for the ideals of what they will become in their future life. As psychologists argued, youth identity formation involves social aspects of relationships and situations [19]; and for young people today, these social aspects are mostly

experienced through social media due to their constant engagement, as discussed earlier. The phenomenon of the echo chamber of social media makes youth are more likely to be exposed and vulnerable to the proliferation of certain ideas, including intolerance and radicalism.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

Given the above-mentioned conceptual and empirical backgrounds, there is a need to look deeper at the relationship between youth, social media, and the extent of intolerance and radicalism. This inquiry will go further beyond whether intolerance and radicalism exist in the youth activities in cyberspace or not. It is also to explore how such social problems manifest and their extent in the youth social media. Therefore, this study, which was conducted in 2019, was designed with aims to (1) map aspects of youth socio-religious intolerance in everyday life and on social media and to (2) assess the degree of youth socio-religious intolerance in everyday life and on social media.

This study employed a quantitative method with an online survey that focuses on Centennials respondents in ten study locations. The population frame for this study is the Indonesian population aged 17-25 years which was 44,065,120 people [20]. This study applied a confidence level of 99 percent and a sampling error of 3 percent that the expected minimum number of respondents participating in this study should be1,849 persons. The field study was conducted for six months in 2019 and succeeded in getting responses from 1,854 respondents.

Before the actual data collection was performed, a mocking survey was conducted upon 35 high school students to test the reliability of the research questionnaires and check students' ability to deal with the questions. This testing survey revealed that some adjustments need to be made, including altering several specific and scientific terms into more understandable and youth-friendly ones. Some students also tended to get bored easily with questions that looked similar and came up frequently. Therefore, questions had to be reformulated to become more varied and concise. This also resulted in a reduction in the number of questions and the allocated time.

In the phase of data collection, an online survey was then conducted in 5 tolerant and 5 intolerant cities/districts in Indonesia according to Setara Institute's research [9]. These cities are:

Table 1.

Tolerant and intolerant cities (Setara Institute's Tolerant City Index [9])

City	Tolerant/intolerant
Banda Aceh	Intolerant
Binjai	Tolerant
Tebing Tinggi	Tolerant
Pematang Siantar	Tolerant
Padang	Intolerant
Makassar	Intolerant
Yogyakarta	Intolerant
Solo	Tolerant
Salatiga	Tolerant
Mataram	Intolerant

In each of the cities above, an online data collection targeted Centennials as social media users - students from senior high (SMA-*Sekolah Menengah Atas*), Islamic high (*Madrasah Aliyah*), other religion-based schools, public and religion-based universities. Surveys with the maximum number of respondents were carried out in large cities with a more heterogeneous population, such as Makassar, Yogyakarta, and Padang, to obtain reliable data representing young people from various backgrounds. For this purpose, data collection was conducted in public, private, and religion-based schools such as *Madrasah Aliyah* and SMA Kristen (Christian-based high school).

The online surveys in the cities above were conducted utilizing questionnaires provided by the Google Form application that can be done through smartphone platforms (Android, iOS) or computer operating systems (Windows, macOS, Linux). However, though the quantitative data collection was conducted through online questionnaires, the survey was performed on sites with the assistance of the research team, especially at schools or venues with no or limited internet connections. This measure was taken to help the students who were having difficulties understanding the questions or problems with internet access, as offline questionnaires and portable wifi modem were already prepared in advance by the team in case of technical problems or the absence of a local wifi network. In addition, the offline survey was also prepared to anticipate the possibility of the school's regulation to restrict students from bringing smartphones to school with them. In some cases, students were participating in the survey in the school's computer laboratory. In a few other cases, they were allowed to fulfill the online questionnaires at home in coordination with the research team, especially on holidays or weekends.

The questionnaire consists of 4 main variables as following:

1. Respondent's social background.

The questions in this section focus on the following information:
- Parental status (married or divorced).
- Parental employment status.
- Educational background of parents.
- Hobbies.
- Religion and ethnicity.
2. School activities:

This part of the questionnaire lists the activities of the respondents in the school/campus, with the following information:
- Academic achievement.
- Extracurricular activities.
- Organizations outside of school.
3. Use of media.

This section identifies the types of media concerning the Centennials activities and consists of the following information:
- Media owned and used.
- Duration of watching TV.
- Duration of online activities.
- Frequently visited websites.
- Type of social media used.
- Online video watched.
- Frequently played games (offline/online).
4. Social preferences.
- Response toward different religions and religious groups.
- Response toward different ethnicity.
- Response toward different political choices.
- Response toward different socioeconomic statuses.
- Response toward different sexual orientations.

The substantive questions were designed to explore youth preferences and decisions over particular options in certain social situations in the real world and cyberspace, especially social media. Exploring activities of the young generation in the two worlds is very important to obtain clear views on the correlation between the youth preferences in the real world and cyberspace, the patterns of the relationship between the activities in the two worlds, and the underlying factors of these patterns. Also, understanding social background and activities are important to figure out how the social environment may affect youth preference and behavior concerning intolerance and radicalism.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Centennials Online Activities

The first finding of the research confirms the Centennials' status as "digital natives" since most respondents can be categorized as active users of the internet. All respondents reported that they accessed the internet daily with varied duration. As shown in Figure 1, 95% of respondents claim that they spend more than 1 hour every day accessing cyberspace, and among them, around 37% spend more than 5 hours in front of the screen accessing the internet. Only 5% of respondents report that they use the internet less than an hour a day.
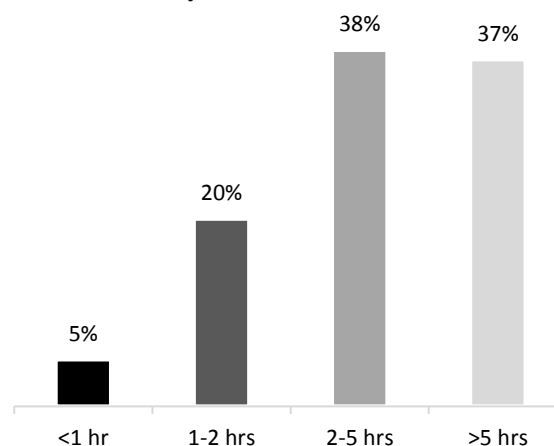

Figure 1. Duration of Centennials' online activities

For the majority of the young generation, the main tool in accessing the internet is the smartphone. It has become the most preferred gadget due to its simplicity and portability. Compared to desktop and laptop computers, the smartphone is more practical to use as it can be operated anytime and in any situation. It is very helpful, especially when we need to check something on the internet quickly. It is also easier to carry and does not need a special bag or container. For Centennials, especially those with FoMO, the smartphone is likely "the weapon of choice." As shown in Figure 2, most respondents (72%) said that they preferred using smartphones to other digital devices such as PCs, laptops, or tablets in accessing the internet. Only 24 or less than 2.6% of the respondents use shared PC, mostly family-owned, in accessing cyberspace, indicating that the use of electronic equipment among the youth has become more personalized. However, the tablet is the least popular gadget among the Centennials as there was only one respondent who claimed to use the equipment for internet access frequently. This is because the tablet is seen as bulkier due to its larger dimension compared to the smartphone and less effective than laptops or PCs, especially when used to do complicated tasks such as school works.
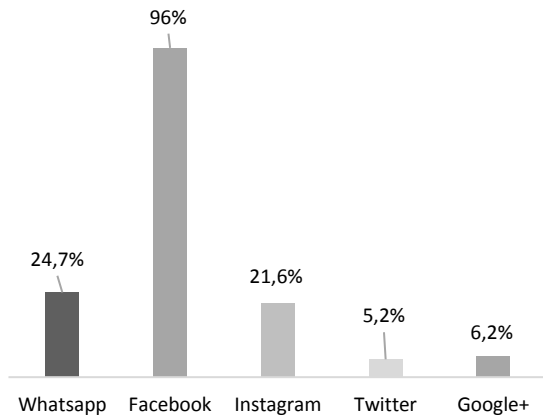
Figure 2. Centennials' preference on the gadget use of Internet

As is expected, the use of social media among Centennials is enormous as their activities in the cyberworld are dominated by using social media platforms. These activities can be identified from seeking and sharing information, making and connecting with friends, and doing school works through various social media applications. The result of this study shows that young people have certain preferences for social media platforms. As shown in the figure below, WhatsApp, Instagram, and YouTube are the most preferred social media applications among Indonesian Centennials. Most respondents use or visit those social media at least once a day.

B. Socio-Religious Intolerance of Centennials

In analyzing the potentials and manifestation of socio-religious intolerance and radicalism among Indonesian Centennials, it is important to observe and compare their perceptions, activities, and attitudes in two spaces: the real and cyber worlds. This study, therefore, was conducted not only to look at the Centennials' preferences in social media but also in their real lives, and both were carried out to obtain a comprehension of the connection between the Centennials' activities in the two worlds. Similarly, observing the different attitudes between the two spaces is also important to understand the underlying factors of such manifestation.

In this study, the Centennials were presented with certain social situations in real life and the cyber world. They responded with a degree of agreement on specific statements or decisions. The given social situations are common situations in their everyday life in which they may be dealing with groups of people in Indonesia who are prone to be the target of attitudes of racism and intolerance. These social groups include:

- Chinese
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT)
- People of different religions
- People of different races/ethnicities
- Poor people/beggars
- People of different presidential choices
- People of different choice of regional heads (regents/mayors/governors)
- People of different choice of political parties, etc.

To measure the Centennials' position on the given specific statements over certain social situations, a Likert scale of 1-10 from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' is employed in the survey. For the data analysis, scales of 1 to 4 are categorized as 'disagreement,' 5 and 6 as 'neutral,' and 7 to 10 as 'agreement' upon the given statement.

The overall findings of this study suggest that Indonesian Centennials are relatively tolerant toward the above social groups, except the LGBT group. In general, today's young people seemingly have no problem making social relationships, in the real world and the cyber world, with the different and minority groups in the country, other ethnic groups, the poor, and the people with different political choices. This result suggests a promising fact that today's young generation is more appreciative of social differences than the older generations and even the existing socio-political systems that the study of the Setara Institute [9] found out as intolerant in many cities and districts in Indonesia. This study found that even in the intolerant cities/districts indicated by the 2018 Setara Institute study [9], most respondents showed supportive perceptions and attitudes toward tolerance.

The issues of tolerance and intolerance in Indonesia have been closely linked with cultural aspects, particularly ethnicity and religion. Being populated by more than 267 million people with diverse social groups, Indonesia faces challenges of socio-religious intolerance in terms of ethnicity and religious belief. In many cases, this intolerance has erupted into ethnoreligious violence like what happened in the Maluku Islands, Kalimantan, and Poso between 1999 and 2002 [21], [22]. Although Indonesia has experienced a relatively stable and peaceful socio-political development in the last two decades, the potentials of ethnoreligious intolerance still lurk in its pluralist society. They may thwart the country's democratization process [23]. For this reason, it is necessary to pay first attention to the issues of religion and ethnicity.

In terms of religion, this study shows that the Indonesian Centennials support religious tolerance both in their everyday life and in social media activities. As shown in Figure 4, most respondents expressed tolerance to the adherents of other religions, particularly in making friends, neighborhood, and organizations. Most of the respondents put their positions against the statements of intolerance given in the survey. However, this study also revealed that while youth are okay with having social engagements with persons with different faiths, they are likely reluctant to have a more personal relationship. The number of respondents who strongly oppose inter-religious marriage involving their family members is quite significant. Fifty-two percent of respondents are unhappy to have relatives from different religions. It is important to note here that there is a common understanding among the Indonesians that inter-religious marriage would lead to various problems, such as cultural barriers and the children's future religious status. In addition, the state of Indonesia lacks regulation that facilitates marriage between people with different religious faiths.
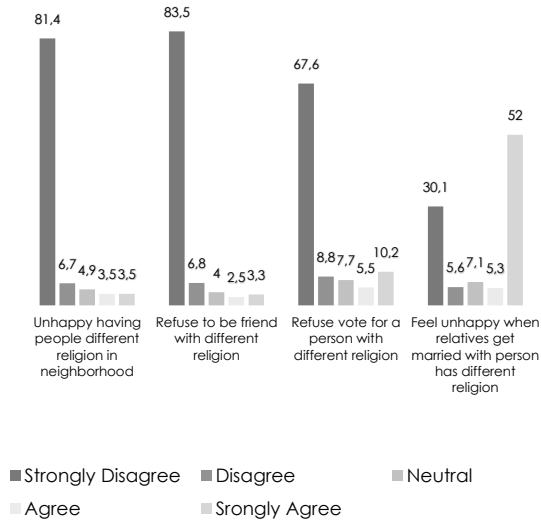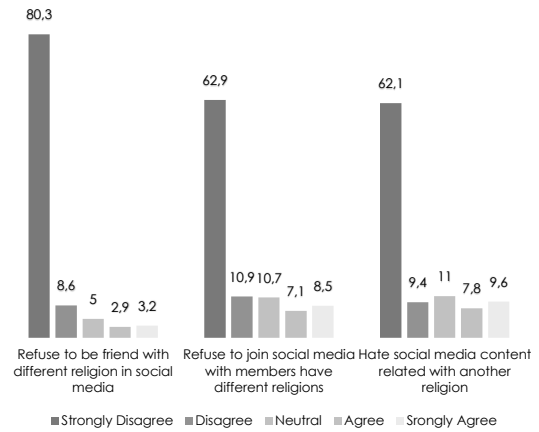

Figure 4. Centennials' behavior toward people of different religion on social media (in percentage)

The trend of tolerance among the Centennials is even higher on the issue of ethnicity. In Figure 6 showing the Centennials' social behavior toward people of different ethnicities, the majority of responses are clustered within tolerant positions with the biggest proportions in the strongest opposition against intolerant statements (more than 60 percent of respondents).
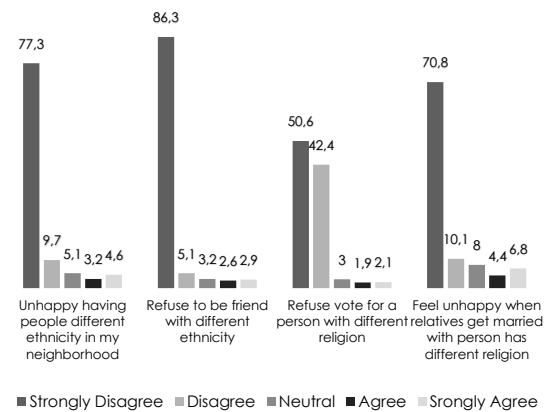

Figure 3. Centennials' behavior toward people of different religion in everyday life (in percentage)

Figure 6. Centennials' behavior toward people of different ethnicity in everyday life (in percentage)

A similar trend of tolerance toward different religions is shown by the Centennials on social media. The majority of Indonesian youth are very tolerant toward people and topics of other religions on social media. This is indicated by their strong opposition to any against-other-religion statement in the survey, as shown in Figure 5. The similarity of trends between the study findings in Figures 4 and 5 confirms the consistency between youth behavior in the real world and cyberspace. Both show tolerance toward people of different religious beliefs.
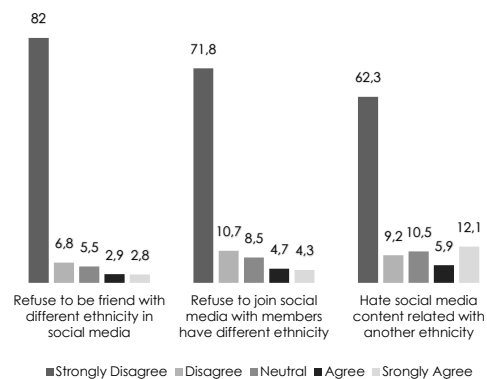

Figure 5. Centennials' behavior toward people of different ethnicity on social media (in percentage)

The youth's tolerant attitudes toward other ethnic groups are also shown on social media (Figure 7). What can be inferred from these figures is that tolerance between different ethnicities among Indonesians has been greatly improved in recent years, and this development will seemingly continue in the future since these tolerant attitudes manifest among the young generations.

Another important finding revealed in this research and needing to be discussed is the Centennials' perception and attitudes toward the minority groups, particularly the Indonesian Chinese. This group of people is the descent of Chinese from mainland China who came to and settled in the archipelago through a series of migration long before Indonesia was founded as a nation. For a long time, this ethnic group has been excluded from being recognized as native Indonesians or '*pribumi*' and constantly seen as 'outsiders,' although they and even their parents were born in Indonesia.
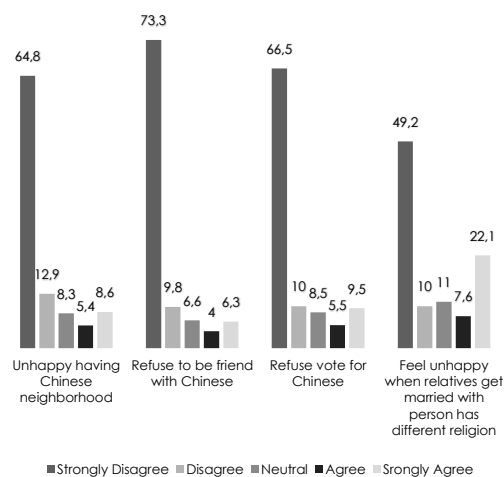

Figure 6. The Centennials' perceptions and attitudes toward the Chinese minority in real life (in percentage)

During the Suharto administration, the Chinese minority had been a target of multiple forms of discrimination and prejudice by the state and society [24]. Therefore, it is an interesting finding of this study that the young people of Indonesia have perceived and treated the Chinese minority much more tolerantly. Such a tolerant attitude toward the Chinese is expressed both in the real world in Figure 8.

As shown in Figures 8 and 9, most respondents expressed disagreement over any anti-Chinese statement given in the survey. Those figures show that making friends with Chinese both in real-life and on social media are among the highest options that the Centennials have expressed having no problem with, while the lowest ones are the variables of the refusal of

having relatives getting married with Chinese and the resistance to Chinese-content posts on social media. The point that can be inferred from these data is that the Indonesian Centennials tend to appreciate normal social relationships with the Chinese minority, like making friends, but such behavior may change in more personal relations such as marriage or family bound. Similarly, having Chinese friends is normal for youth, but over-exposing cultural identity, particularly on social media, would irritate them.
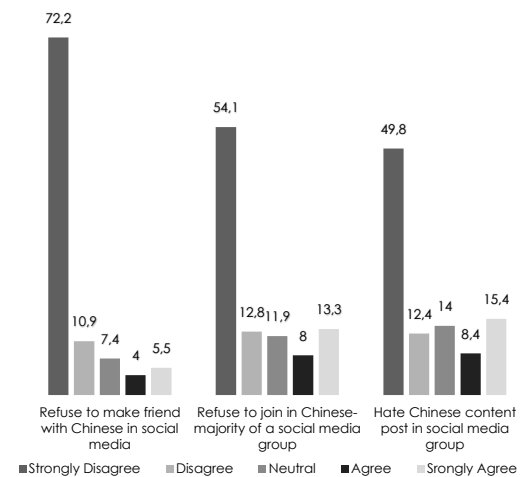

Figure 9. The Centennials' perceptions and attitudes toward the Chinese minority in digital life (in percentage)

While this study suggests that, in general, the Indonesian Centennials are tolerant toward the Chinese minority, it is also found that the expressions of intolerance toward this minority group still exist both in real life and on social media. However, they are in relatively small numbers. This fact can be seen in Figure 8 that shows significant numbers of agreement on against-Chinese statements in the survey. Particularly, 22 percent of respondents are unhappy to have relatives getting married to Chinese. Figure 9 presents resistance to Chinese content in social media (15,4 percent) and avoiding joining the Chinese majority's social media groups (13,3 percent).

The existence of youth racial sentiment against the Chinese in this study, though in small numbers, is somehow interesting considering that all of the respondents were born after Suharto's New Order. They grow up and live in an arguably democratic environment of reformed Indonesia. This finding confirms that the seeds of discrimination against the Chinese have firmly been rooted in many Indonesian communities during the Suharto era, and its legacy is still apparent today, even among the young generations.
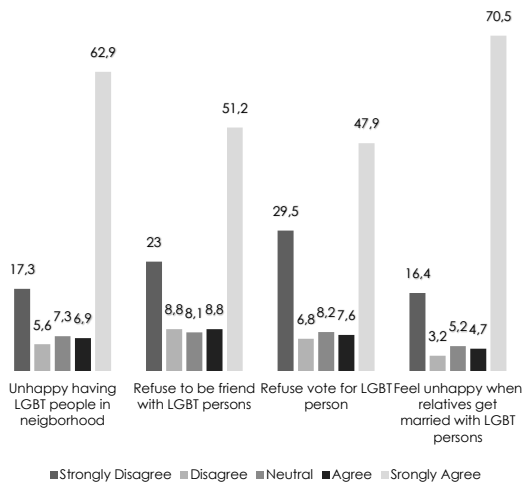
Figure 10. Centennials' perceptions and attitudes toward LGBT persons

Figure 7. Centennials' behavior toward LGBT on social media

A significantly different finding was revealed in the study on the issue of LGBT. Unlike in other aspects discussed before, this study found that Indonesian Centennials show certain forms of resistance to making social relationships with LGBT people, both in real life and in cyberspace. In the real world, as shown in the following figure, most of the Centennials unhesitatingly expressed their agreement to all against-LGBT statements that were given in the survey, indicating that the youth acceptance of the presence of LGBT people in their social environment is very low.

As shown in Figure 10, most respondents express their rejection to share spaces with LGBT people either in the context of friendship, neighborhood, organization, or other forms of social relations. On this stance, Centennials share the common sentiment of many Indonesians in general who are resistant to the existence of LGBT people in their social environment. The most apparent resistance among the youth against LGBT in the survey is shown in the statement that relates to the acceptance of LGBT persons in the family, in which 70,5 percent of respondents do not like seeing one of their family members married an LGBT person. This youth non-acceptance behavior is then followed by LGBT strong refusal in the neighborhood (62,9 percent), in making friends (51,2 percent), and political support (47,9 percent). This arguably shows a trend that the closer the social relationship is, the stronger resistance may manifest in the youth behavior toward LGBT people.
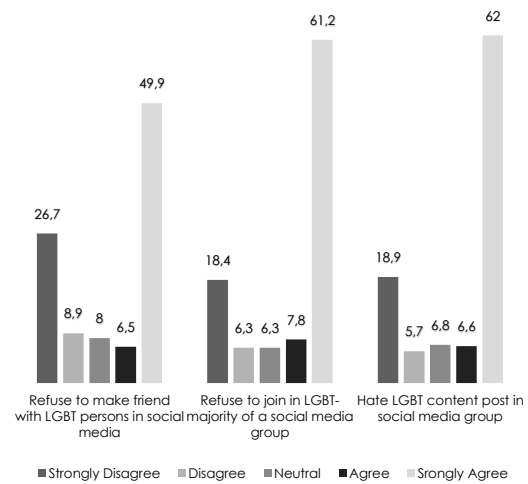
The Centennials' perceptions and behavior toward LGBT in cyberspace are consistent with their behavior in the real world. The majority of them expressed strong refusal to LGBT persons and content on social media. Figure 11 shows strong resistance to LGBT, in which the majority of the respondents said that they do not appreciate LGBT content (62 percent), LGBT-majority groups (61,2 percent), and even LGBT as friends (49,9 percent).

From Figure 11, it is interesting that the most resisted one by the youth on social media is the LGBT content, while the least is making friends with LGBT persons. This finding also indicates that Centennials refuse LGBT as an issue more than as persons. Or in other words, the presence of LGBT persons, to some extent, is welcome as long as they do not explicitly express their LGBT identities nor raise issues of pro-LGBT.

Unlike international views, more particularly in Liberal Western countries, that see LGBT as a mere minority sexual group, most Indonesian youths share a common perception with most Indonesians that LGBT is a sort of abnormal sexual orientation and should not be accepted biologically and socially. People with it are commonly viewed as sick persons, and they should be cured as early as possible. While some traditional communities still tolerate other genders outside male and female, such as the Bugis people of South Sulawesi that even recognize five genders in their traditional communities [25], the contemporary Indonesians only accept males and females both as sex and as gender statuses. For them, the existence of LGBT as another status than the binary male-female system should then be rejected.

One of the main factors of this strict perception is cultural, more specifically religious belief. Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world, with around 225 million or over 87 percent of its population claiming Islam as their religion [26]. The attitudes of the majority of Indonesians, as Muslims, toward LGBT are influenced by Islamic teachings that forbid homosexuality and transgender activities. According to Islamic jurisprudence, the violation of this rule is condemned and can be punished severely and even by the death penalty [27]. In the last two decades, Indonesia has witnessed the emergence and the increasing influence of conservative Islam in societies and the state administration. This development exacerbates the resistance of the majority of Indonesians to LGBT [28]. On the latest survey of Indonesian public opinion on homosexuality conducted by the Pew Global Attitude Survey in 2013, the vast majority of Indonesians who participated in the survey (93%) said that homosexuality is morally unacceptable, and only 3% considered it morally acceptable [29].

In terms of legal status, the state of Indonesia only recognizes the binary male-female gender system in public policies and services. LGBT status and identities remain excluded in the Indonesian national law, neither to be protected nor to be criminalized. Meanwhile, the increasing mobilization of LGBT-right supports has collided with the waves of religious conservatism in societies, resulting in several mob attacks on LGBT events in Indonesia. Moreover, certain local governments have issued special regulations on LGBT issues. For instance, the province of Aceh that adopts Islamic Sharia law imposes flogging punishment in front of the public for those who commit same-sex sexual activities. The exclusion of LGBT from the subjects of state protection helps to create a popular perception among Indonesian societies that LGBT is not a sort of a minority social group that can be socially tolerated and accepted.

As gender norms are very important in Indonesian societies, many Indonesian families adopt strict gender identity and sexual orientation rules. From the beginning of their ages, children have been taught 'proper' sex-related identities and activities by their parents. In this regard, those of transgender and homosexuality are unacceptable. This stance against LGBT is even strengthened through formal education by the lack of recognition for LGBT as an individual identity or as a social group in the school curriculum. Since family and education play pivotal roles in constructing youth perception and

behavior, it is unsurprising that Indonesian Centennials, in general, share the perceptions of their older fellows who resist the existence of LGBT in their social environment, as Figures 9 and 10 above suggest.

However, a closer examination of the data reveals that the number of Centennials who showed tolerant attitudes toward LGBT people is also significant and cannot be overlooked. In Figure 10, for instance, 36,3 percent of the survey population picked positions of disagreement on the statement against voting for LGBT people, of which 29,5 percent of respondents expressed their strong disagreement. A similar finding can be seen in the Centennials' attitudes on social media in Figure 11, in which there are 24,6 percent of the total respondents claimed to have no problems with LGBT content on social media (strongly disagree and disagree). Suppose persons of LGBT can vote for social organizations, and LGBT content can be posted on social media. In that case, we can assume that the Centennials on these positions would see that LGBT is morally accepted.

This study also reveals that, although in the minority, Centennials' acceptance of LGBT people in the social environment is more significant than most Indonesians' acceptance of the same. The Pew Research Survey [29] in 2013 suggests that only 3% of Indonesians believed that 'homosexuality should be accepted by society', while this study found out that 22,9 percent of Indonesian youth expressed tolerance by totally disagreeing with the statement 'I feel unhappy having LGBT people in my neighborhood,' as it can be seen in positions of disagreement in Figure 10. In cyberspace, Centennials' expressions of acceptance to LGBT people are even higher; 31,8 percent of the respondents expressed willingness to make friends with LGBT people, as represented in Figure 10. Taking these figures into a comparison with the previous study of Pew Research in 2013, the findings of this study, especially on Indonesian youth tolerance to LGBT people, are somewhat groundbreaking.

V. CONCLUSION

The overall findings of this study suggest that Indonesian Centennials are arguably tolerant toward different social groups in terms of religion and ethnicity and the minority Chinese people. Attitudes of acceptance and tolerance toward those social groups are shown by the Centennials in their everyday lives and cyberspace, particularly on social media.

This finding confirms the consistency of the youth behaviors between the real and virtual worlds and challenges the assumption that youth may perform 'double personality' in the two worlds. However, this study also found out that there is an exception concerning Centennials' tolerance trends. While the Centennials are tolerant toward many social groups, they do not accept the existence of LGBT in their environment, both in real life and on social media. Also, intolerance toward the minority group of Indonesian Chinese still exists, although in relatively small numbers.

This study suggests novelty in digital social studies. This study indicates that Indonesian centennials have a high tolerance for accepting and appreciating cultural and religious differences in both the digital and real worlds. This study was first conducted nationally in Indonesia with Centennial respondents and refuted several previous studies.

Further studies are needed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of this variation.

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