RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION OF MILLENIAL MUSLIMS WITHIN COLLECTIVE NARCISSISM DISCOURSE IN DIGITAL ERA

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Abstract
This article focuses on examining how the religious expression of Indonesian millennial Muslims in the landscape of collective narcissism discourse in the present digital era. This study investigates the social media activities of NU and Muhammadiyah youth organizations, *Pemuda Hijrah, Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran,* and some of the Radical Groups like ISIS. This study employs discourse analysis with social psychology approach. The result of this research shows that the religious expression of millennial Muslims in Indonesia can be categorized into six types, namely: actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberalist Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Whereas in the discourse of collective religious narcissism, based on several cases study show that mainstream Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, the activities can be categorized as positive collective religious narcissism. Meanwhile, *Pemuda Hijrah* and *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* are categorized as negative collective religious narcissism. This consideration resulted from their claim as of better than the other group. On the other hand, radical group activities such as ISIS is categorized as destructive collective religious narcissism because they claim rigidly and unequivocally accused others sinful, heretic, and astray and deserve to be banished. In other words, this is the phenomenon of religious expression, which ironically, belongs to acute destructive narcissism.

Keywords:
Religious expression; millenial; muslim; collective narcissism; digital era.

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Abstrak
Artikel bermaksud mengkaji bagaimana ekspresi keberagamaan muslim milenial Indonesia dalam lanskap diskursus narsisisme kolektif pada era digital kekinian. Penelitian ini menelaah aktivitas sosial media dari pemuda NU dan Muhammadiyah, Pemuda Hijrah, Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran dan beberapa unggahan Kelompok Radikal. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana dan kemudian dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan psikologi sosial. Temuan yang diperoleh adalah ekspresi keberagamaan muslim milenial dapat dikategorisasikan ke dalam enam jenis, mencakup: Islam aktual-modernis, Islam kultural-pluralis, Islam liberal, Islam apatis, Islam skriptual-fundamentalis, dan Islam radikal. Sedangkan dalam wacana narsisisme religius kolektif, dapat dijabarkan beberapa temuan studi kasus seperti ormas Islam arus utama yaitu NU dan Muhammadiyah sebagai contoh dari narsisisme religius kolektif yang positif. Kemudian Pemuda Hijrah dan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran sebagai narsisisme religius kolektif yang cenderung mendekati negatif karena merasa bahwa orang lain kalah baik dengan kelompoknya. Sementara bukti narsisisme religius kolektif yang negatif destruktif adalah ISIS, Terorisme dan Kelompok Radikal lain yang secara kaku dan tegas mengklaim bahwa pihak lain penuh dosa, bid'ah, dan bahkan pada tingkat yang ekstrem mempertontonkan bahwa mereka layak dibunuh. Dengan kata lain, inilah fenomena ekspresi keberagamaan, yang secara ironis, tergolong ke dalam narsisisme destruktif akut.

Kata Kunci:
Ekspresi keberagamaan; milenial; muslim; narsisisme kolektif; era digital.

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A. INTRODUCTION

One of the subjects of discussion in the study of religions is the religiosity of Muslims with its various dimensions. John L. Esposito,[1] Bernard Lewis,[2] Karen Amstrong,[3] and Annemarie Schimmel[4] have been researching Islam and Muslim societies in-depth, and they showed that this study remains complex. Nonetheless, in previous studies, "religious expressions"—particularly concerning Islam—show less resonance from internal academic laboratories of higher education institutions to a wider audience.

John L. Esposito explicitly described in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* that the study of Muslim religious expression contains prominent significant patterns such as ritual practices, the culture of the people, the Islamic movement, and the discussion of mysticism in Islam. Meanwhile, Quintan Wictorowicz[5] focuses on analyzing Islamic activism using the social movement theory approach.

Many researcher in Indonesia encouraged to study many themes of Islamic studies, especially related to actuality and novelty that give different color and contour in the academic map. The emergence of new religious authorities,[6] *ulama*'s view of the concept of the nation-state,[7] *pemuda hijrah,*

and Millenial Islamic literature[8] are few of some interesting Islamic topics that have emerged recently.

Based on the above-mentioned background, this paper explores religious expression of millennial Muslim generations in the digital age, based on their activities in their social media and its relation to the social psychology of new media. This issue is interesting because the current 'digital era'—borrowing the term from H.M. Amin Syukur—bring and place people to a very high and fast-paced technological civilization.[9] This phenomenon will make humans who are only able to use it as a device become mentally left behind and even less sophisticated than the technology itself. For this reason, ironically, humans as a subject will shift into an object of technology, materialism, and hedonism of the present century.

Besides, in this era which is social media plays more important role than newspaper and television, "trendicity" seems valuable for Millenials. *Viral, trending topic, most popular viewed* idioms seem to show their legitimacy. It is not seldom thatmillennial Muslims choose to follow, read and refer to it, moreover some of them also secretly or openly hope to become 'trending topic' at their timeline of social media. The presence of social media has made the tendency to *update, upload,* and *post* (narciss term) in the community widely recognized (re-known). This term initially introduced by a psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud.[10] In other words, narcissism is not a new term.

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[1]John L. Esposito, ed., *Ensiklopedi Oxford Dunia Islam Modern* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001).

[2]Bernard Lewis, ed., *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2002).

[3]Karen Amstrong, *Islamofobia: Melacak Akar Ketakutan Terhadap Islam Di Dunia Barat*, trans. Pilar Muhammad Pabottingi (Bandung: Mizan, 2018).

[4]Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimension of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Corolina Press, 2000).

[5]Quintan Wictorowicz, ed., *Gerakan Sosial Islam: Teori, Pendekatan Dan Studi Kasus* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing and Paramadina, 2018).

[6]Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru," in *Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019), 179.

[7]Noorhaidi Hasan, ed., *Ulama Dan Negara Bangsa: Membaca Masa Depan Islam Politik Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019).

[8]More deep studies about it can be read in Noorhaidi Hasan, ed., *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, Dan Kontestasi* (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018). And look at Chaider S. Bamualim, Hilman Latief, and Irfan Abubakar, eds., *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme* (Tangerang Selatan: Center for The Study of Religion and Culture, 2018).

[9]H. M. Amin Syukur, *Sufi Healing: Terapi Dengan Metode Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2012), 26.

[10]André Green, "A Dual Conception of Narcissism: Positive and Negative Organizations," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2002): 631-649.

Thus, based on discussion above, this article examines how the religious expression of young people in the digital era and whether there are implications indicate that their religious expression is considered the narcissism category. This article will highlight social media accounts of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Facebook), *Generasi Muda NU* (Instagram), *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* (Facebook and Instagram), and *Pemuda Hijrah Yuk* (Instagram). First, this article will discuss religious expression of "*Kids Zaman Now,*" the presence of new media and its impact. Second, this paper will provide academic discourse about narcissism, its various types, and the characteristics that underlie it both psychologically and socially. Finally, this study will elaborate several phenomena related to the religious expression of millennial Muslims on social media in contemporary Indonesia, presenting examples of millennial Muslim communities whether they belong to the collective narcissism category in religiosity.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
1. Religious Expression of '*Kids Zaman Now,*' Celebrity Culture and New Media

Karl Mannheim introduced a theory of generations (also known as 'Sociology of Generations') in 1928 through his famous essay entitled *The Problem of Generations.*[11] According to him, a group of humans born in the same range of socio-anthropological period will have a similar tendency of mindset and character. Since that time, the people nowadays are familiar with the classification of generations based on their birth spans ranging from Generation of Depression Era, World War I Generation, Post-World War II Generation, Baby Boomer Generation, X Generation, Y Generation, and most recently Z Generation.

This paper will focus on Y Generation, which born from 1980 to 1997, and early Z Generation, which we recognize today as "millennial generation." Such idioms are embedded because they live through a transitional period to the new Millenium of the 21st century as "*kizano*" (*kids zaman now*). Recently, this generation has been widely discussed both in the academic sphere and mainstream mass media with its various aspects.

Kizano is dominated by those who are in the early adult phase (21-25 years old). Psychologically at this development stage is considered the most urgent, complicated, and called 'full of the storm' by Hurlock[12] as the most challenging segment of life in the peak of searching identity phase that carried out since adolescence. At this process, socio-anthropological and political factors play a significant role that causes complexity in the millennial generation, including in religious attitudes and expressions.[13]

In several scientific works of literature, the discussion of religiosity of millennial Muslims is increasing and has a crucial position. Some of them discussed about they expression of Islam in social-media era with hoax wave, post-truth era, and other indications or tendencies such as conservatism and radicalism. The book of *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial*[14] describes the indications of strengthening radicalism issue. The reverse flow of conservatism and populism emerged as a result of the end of the New-Order era (*Orde Baru*) in 1998[15]—which automatically changed the circumstance and the pattern of socio-political order. It will have an impact on the understanding and social consciousness of

[11]Emma Parry and Peter Urwin, "Generational Differences in Work Values: A Review of Theory and Evidence," *International Journal of Management Reviews* 13, no. 1 (2011): 79–96.

[12]Elizabeth B Hurlock, *Development Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953).

[13]Syaiful Hamali, "Karakteristik Keberagamaan Remaja Dalam Perspektif Psikologi," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 11, no. 1 (2016): 81–98.

[14]Bamualim, Latief, and Abubakar, *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme.*

[15] Research about Islamism and Islamic Activism in Post-New Order era can be found in the dissertation: Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2006).

the millennial generation either directly or indirectly. Some prominent issues after the implementation of post-reform (*Pasca-Reformasi*) are discourse regarding Islamism and transnational movement.

The research by Martin van Bruinessen which involved 935 participants, dominated by young people and held in 18 cities, found signs of increasing Muslim expression and enthusiasm for Indonesian Muslims as '*conservative turn.*'[16] The findings of this study showed the passion for the Islamic millennial generation is more inclined to identity, appearance or outside performance, style of public communication, and consumerism culture of religious (Islamic) symbols. This tendency is in line with the 'hijrah' discourse by Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto[17] as '*pietization*' (using Bryan S. Turner's term). These indications can be considered as the practice of "conservative personal piety" that in line with the current market such as the use of innovative fashionable multicolor *hijab,* [18] Islamic and originally made by *Muslimah* designer, the use of halal products, Islamic banking, and other various 'Islamic' product forms.

A team at the Postgraduate Program of UIN Sunan Kalijaga reported the research related to the literature usually read by millennial generations about Islam. The team categorized these kinds of literature into several terms, namely: *Tahriri*, *Tarbawi*, *Salafi*, and the latest genre of *Islamic Populer,* which intersect with the three previous types.

The latest one also contributes to building a millennial mindset and perspective on Islamic world. A wave of conservatism, puritan-textualist tendencies, and Islamic expression of *salafism* in the millennial Muslim generation, mainly radiating from Muslim women (*muslimah*), is more or less influenced by their reading.[19]

Interestingly, the contestation between conservatism Islamic literature and moderate cultural-pluralist literature is still won by the second.[20] So, there is a note that all types of *Popular Islamic* reading (*tahriri*, *tarbawi*, and *salafi*) are still lack of significant impact. There is manifest of the basic character result of millennial generation, which is open-minded to aspects of modernity, humanity (*human rights*), and democratic values of Indonesia. Socio anthropological factors and the Post Reform political climate influenced these aspects.

Based on the description above, it is understandable if, while the appearance of religiously compliant millennial Muslim women (*muslimah*) who dressed in long and black clothes, pursuing higher education, they also delight in Korean Boybands and dramas. This ambivalence arises as a new identity— intact but complex— as a result of various other identity bonds fusion. This process is called 'identity hybridisation.' It is easy to find such those phenomenon on social media timeline and also in the reality of interpersonal relations in colleges and urban Muslim societies generally.

Communication activities with Islamic nuance such as *akhi-ukhti* calls*,* the pronunciation of *thayyibah* sentences are common in daily life. *Muslimah* dressed in long and closed clothes are already familiar and become a trend among *hijabers.* Despite such Islamic expression, there is also a

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[16]Martin van Bruinessen, ed., *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the Conservative Turn* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013).

[17]Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

[18]Concerning Muslimah clothes and the face of religiosity among Indonesian people, Komaruddin Hidayat argued that nowadays Islam in Indonesia is considered as a *trend-setter* of Muslimah in the world because of interesting creative-touch and multicolor design, particularly to Western society. This phenomenon is contrast with Islam in Middle-East countries. Find it on "Ekspresi Islam di Indonesia" in the book Komaruddin Hidayat, *Agama Punya Seribu Nyawa* (Jakarta Selatan: Noura Books, 2012), 179-181.

[19]Najib Kailani, "Perkembangan Literatur Islamisme Populer Di Indonesia: Apropriasi, Adaptasi, Dan Genre," in *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018).

[20]Bamualim, Latief, and Abubakar, *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme*, 248.

shifting tendency in selecting religious authority.[21]

Nowadays, most of the millennials—though not all—prefer well-known and famous actors/actress in the mainstream mass media (newspaper and television) and or social media (*Youtube*, *Instagram*, dan *Facebook*) rather than *Ulama* or *Kiyai* who had strong scientific legitimacy and chain of authority of knowledge in religious affairs. This transition symptom can not be separated from the presence of new media that contributed to shaping the current culture: 'celebrity culture.'[22] This new culture is a type of lifestyle that focuses on the fame created by the media. Because of this celebrity culture services, new religious figures, commonly called '*ustaz kondang*,' '*dai*,' or '*ustaz gaul*' have sprung up. In this case, it is not surprising if the phenomena of many famous artists emigrate and immediately get a strategic position in religious events or teachings because of its popularity. Some of them even "become a preacher and influence others. Lynn Schofield referred it as an authority based on an agreement (*consensus-based authority*).[23]

There are two central figures known as 'ustaz gaul' among millennials who have a broad audience, particularly in West Java, namely Ustaz Hanan Attaki and Ustaz Evi Effendi. Both of them are quite popular among young people because of their capability and attractive rhetoric in delivering religious messages in a 'trendy' and 'crisp way' to the audience that is predominantly urban people.[24]

They prioritize the values of primary sources, the *Al-Quran* and the Hadith, but lack in elaborating the contextualization of Islamic ideology regarding contemporary issues such nation-state concept, political-economic, and sociocultural aspects. Thus, their understanding of Islam can be categorized as scriptual-partialistic – a defender of Islamic ortodoxy.

Based on the description above, the illustration of religious expression among millenial Muslim proved to have varied forms. There are six major categories of millennial religious expressions. Those are actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberal Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Jalaluddin Rakhmat argued that actual Islam is Muslims' effort in actualizing religious values in the process of modernization.[25] The fundamental value of actual-modernist Islam lies in contextualization and its role in overcoming social problems in contemporary society. There are fewer Muslim millennials of this group who get high education and have good intellectual potention.

Cultural-pluralist Islam is the foundation of a more dominant use of a socio-cultural approach to Islamic values to guarantee plurality and diversity in people's lives.[26] This Muslims group often does acculturation of Islam with the local culture (local wisdom) where they live so that the logical consequences will result in a colorful pattern of Islam in Indonesia and its uniqueness. They are mostly young people in rural or suburban areas (*sub-culture*), especially those who get religious education in *pesantren* and *tarekat* groups.

[21]Further academic discussion about the fragmentation of religious authority is explained more in Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

[22]Joseph Epstein, "Celebrity Culture," *Hedgehog Review* 7, no. 1 (2005): 6–20. See also Amy Henderson, "Media and the Rise of Celebrity Culture," *OAH Magazine of History* 6, no. 4 (1992): 49–54.

[23]Lynn Schofield Clark, "Religion and Authority in a Remix Culture: How a Late Night TV Host Became an Authority on Religion," in *Religion, Media and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Gordon Lynch, Jolyon Mitchell, and Anna Strhan (London: Routledge, 2012).

[24]Munirul Ikhwan, "Ulama Dan Konservatisme Islam Publik Di Bandung: Islam, Politik Identitas, Dan Tantangan Relasi Horizontal," in , Ed. by ,), 35–63.," in *Ulama, Politik, Dan Narasi Kebangsaan*, ed. Ibnu Burdah, Najib Kailani, and Munirul Ikhwan (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019).

[25]Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Islam Alternatif* (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), 36.

[26]Fahrurrozi Fahrurrozi, "Ekspresi Keberagamaan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia: Mozaik Multikulturalisme Indonesia," *Toleransi: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 7, no. 1 (2016): 15–34.

Then, liberal Islam is the one who often receives critics from the community because it is considered controversial, especially since the emergence of JIL (Liberal Islamic Network), which was led by Ulil Abshar Abdala. Principally, liberal Islam is an effort to interpret the revelation in a contextual, critical, dynamic, progressive, and modern way. Slightly similar to actual-modernist Islam, but has a more prominent portion of personal *ijtihad* so that every Muslim avoids blind *taqlid*. Millennial Muslims do not seem interested to join this group because this group adheres to critical-analytic thinking.

Apathetic Islam is a group that tends of ignorant and does not care much about their religious expression because they consider it a private matter. This group emerged as a result of secularization and globalization in the modern era.

Scriptural-fundamentalist Islam is the group that put forward the textual-literal interpretation of religious verses and understand religion rigidly.[27] These people thinking style tend to be orthodox and less open to the outside world, which is deemed to be sinful and heretical society. This opinion is the initial of radicalism ideology appearance. At present, several millennial circles have arrived at these thoughts and believed in them as a real Islam. Some of them have a rigid understanding of Islam while they are educated in Indonesian universities.

Scriptural-fundamentalist Islam might someday turn into radical Islam when 'triggers' emerged. Radical Islam is quite a contradictory term because, for some scholars, radicalism is a general term and does not have to refer to a particular religion. According to some scholars, radicalism emerges as an impression of 'tarnishing' the good name of a specific religion.[28] Radical Islam is a group that have a rigid and exclusive understanding of Islam, and they even legalize violence acts

in the name of Islam to achieve political, economic, or religious community goals. Although a small percentage of millennials infected with this ideology, it has a potential to spread.

The explanation above has represented the religious expression of Millennial Muslims in Indonesia. The presence of new media in this digital era has formed a celebrity culture effect. These new media support the attitude and behavior of Millennial Muslims in public life. This trend could be classified as narcissism and will be discussed below.

2. Discourse about Narcissism

Narcissism is different from the general understanding of the word '*narciss*' which is merely a symptom of current behavior characterized by a penchant for *selfie* and a continuous *update* on social media. Narcissism has a more complex definition space and is not as simple as commonly known. Narcissism is an initial symptom of personality disorder or mental condition of someone who feels more superior than the others so that he/she is more selfish and less empathetic (*lack of empathy*).[29]

The term narcissism initially introduced by André Green as a result of Sigmund Freud's thoughts and studies of *autoeroticism*.[30] It is taken from the ancient Greek mythology character, namely *Narcissus* (or *Narkissos*), who admires himself reflecting on his face reflection of the lake's surface and is pitifully dead there. Thus, Freud formulated and understood narcissism as a form of pathological relations that colors many relationships between individuals.[31] While Erich Fromm regarded it as a personality setback phenomenon or termed '*personality regression.*' Narcissism appears as atopic of

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[27]Karen Amstrong, *Berperang Demi Tuhan: Fundamentalisme Dalam Islam, Kristen Dan Yahudi*, trans. Yuliani Liputo (Jakarta: Serambi, 2001), 194.

[28]Said Agil Siroj, *Tasawuf Sebagai Kritik Sosial* (Bandung: Mizan, 2006), 79.

[29]Siyin Chen, Rebecca Friesdorf, and Christian H Jordan, "State and Trait Narcissism Predict Everyday Helping," *Self and Identity*, 2019, 1–17.

[30]Green, "A Dual Conception of Narcissism: Positive and Negative Organizations."

[31]Nurcholish Madjid, "Manusia Modern Mendamba Allah: Renungan Tasawuf Positif" (Jakarta: IIMaN & Hikmah, 2002).

discussion in psychoanalysis theory, and reappeared as a topic of the study in the current era together with the appearance of new media and celebrity culture. It is believed that this era accomodates the potential for growing narcissism in social life.

In line with the discourse about narcissism, there is a potential of the psychological disease called *Narcissistic Personality Disorder* (NPD), which has been recorded in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM V) as a *cluster B personality disorders*. Ironically, psychologist agrees that narcissism is likely to infect young people in the early adult age.

There are at least 9 (nine) criteria of NPD as follows:

a. Giving priority to his interests above all things (*a grandiose sense of self-importance*).
b. They preoccupy with fantasizing about *unlimited success*, power, intelligence (*brilliance*), beauty, or looked sweet and ideal love.
c. Believing that he/she is the most powerful, special, unique, and feel that only others at the same level or higher than him/her who can understand him/her (thirst for excessive recognition).
d. They are always desiring to be praised and admired (*need for excessive admiration*).
e. They are expecting special treatment.
f. They are behaving arrogant and proud.
g. Lack of empathy.
h. Feeling jealous of others or believing that many others are jealous of him/her.
i. The treatment exploits other people (*interpersonally exploitive behavior*).

When an individual or a group of people indicated with at least 5 (five) criteria stated above, it can be a sign of NPD. The discussion about narcissism does not only related to abnormal psychological symptom, but also ethnocentrism, nationalism, socialism, and various other ideologies, including religion[32]—the later known as a type of collective narcissism.

Beyond the agreed standard of NPD as one of the mental disorders, narcissism still has other characteristics. Freud and Kohut illustrate the symptoms of narcissism as "*people they admire and seek high-status roles and egoistically motivated.*"[33] These characteristics contrast sharply with the dimension of pro-social traits that have *altruistically motivated* predictors. Some academics such as Miller and Josephs even examined the superiority index of White-Races exposed to ethnocentric narcissism.[34] This study showed that collective narcissism takes on a role in quite diverse areas.

Meanwhile, in other discussions, narcissism is divided into two tendencies: *positive narcissism* (categorized unhealthy according to André Green), and *negative narcissism* (which has a destructive element). Positive narcissism has general criteria such as ignorance of others and excessive self-confidence.[35] Yet, on certain circumstances, this narcissism type contributes to *self-esteem maintenance* for inferior people. Besides, this category can *manage one's mood* to be more passionate.

Negative narcissism contributes to the most determinative and dominant form of NPD, which is destructive collective narcissism (*self-destructive drives*).[36] There are three

[32]Agnieszka Golec De Zavala et al., "Collective Narcissism and Its Social Consequences.," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97, no. 6 (2009): 1074.

[33]Sara Konrath, Meng-Han Ho, and Sasha Zarins, "The Strategic Helper: Narcissism and Prosocial Motives and Behaviors," *Current Psychology* 35, no. 2 (2016): 182-194.

[34]Arianne E Miller and Lawrence Josephs, "Whiteness as Pathological Narcissism," *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 45, no. 1 (2009): 93–119.

[35]Amy B Brunell, Laraine Tumblin, and Melissa T Buelow, "Narcissism and the Motivation to Engage in Volunteerism," *Current Psychology* 33, no. 3 (2014): 365–376.

[36]Erika N Carlson, "Honestly Arrogant or Simply Misunderstood? Narcissists' Awareness of Their Narcissism," *Self and Identity* 12, no. 3 (2013): 259-277.

main characteristics of negative narcissism: *over admiration, less helping,* and *higher in rivalry* (formed from *antagonistic self-protection* that manifests act of *asserting superiority* and *devaluing others*). At the religiosity realm, we often find the attitude of discrediting others as heretics and wrong that deserve being ostracized.

3. Collective Religious Narcissism: Case Studies

The phenomenon of *collective religious narcissism* has been studied by several scientists such as Aleksandra Cichocka,[37] Martha Marchlewska, and Paulina Gorska.[38] It appears to be an excessive fanatical mental attitude towards the group (*in-group*). We can find it in fundamental and radical group that often claim the most right over other groups. So, this attitude can lead a person or group to legitimize (*give him/her-self permission*) violence acts in the name of their group truth (subjective local truth).

Furthermore, Nursamad Kamba even explicitly criticized the portrait of narcissistic tendencies of the present era by terming the trend into '*egocentricity*' and '*selfishness*' that infected modern people.[39] A group of people presents themselves in their own public spaces as more exclusive, high-caste, and unique (individuals and collective groups). This presentation can be seen either in a virtual world, cyberspaces, or rural areas by attaching billboards and big posters to show their dominance. In his book, Nursamad Kamba explicitly wrote:

Orang-orang yang mengklaim beragama makin gaduh mempersoalkan siapa-siapa

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[37]Aleksandra Cichocka, "Understanding Defensive and Secure In-Group Positivity: The Role of Collective Narcissism," *European Review of Social Psychology* 27, no. 1 (2016): 283–317.

[38]Marta Marchlewska et al., "In Search of an Imaginary Enemy: Catholic Collective Narcissism and the Endorsement of Gender Conspiracy Beliefs," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 159, no. 6 (2019): 766-779.

[39]M. Nursamad Kamba, *Kids Zaman Now Menemukan Kembali Islam* (Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka IIMaN, 2018), 286–297.

yang berhak masuk surga dan siapa saja penghuni neraka. Ironisnya, asas penilaian berhak-tidaknya seseorang masuk surga bukan dari kualitas-kualitas kemanusiaan, melainkan berdasarkan logika kelompok.[40] (people who claim to be religious are increasingly rowdy about who deserves to enter heaven and who are the inhabitants of hell. Ironically, the judging principle whether someone deserve-or-not to enter heaven is not based on human qualities, but group logic.")

This partialistic-exclusive group logic is the starting point for collective religious narcissism (which categorized as harmful and destructive). Many time we hear the truth claim of the radical group as the one who deserves heaven. This article will present case studies identified as collective religious narcissistic behavior in Indonesia, especially among millennials.

a. NU and Muhammadiyah Youth

These two major Muslim organizations (in Bahasa: *Ormas*) are the key-holders of the face of Islam in Indonesia. Their activism— particularly among college students— shows significant existence and role of the majority Indonesian Muslim. According to Andre Green, their collective self-confidence and pride among the young cadres of each mass organization, there still a potential unhealthy narcissism landscape if they see themselves as the most important, most dominant, and demeaning others.

Young cadres from Muhammadiyah organization showed religious expressions represented the actual-modernist group. The Ideology of "*Islam Berkemajuan*" (progressing Islam) put forward by this organization provides psychological encouragement to young people, considering Muhammadiyah as the second largest organization after NU. Figure 1. represent Pemuda Muhammadiyah existence in the social media as a solid and undivided group

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[40]Kamba, *Kids Zaman Now Menemukan Kembali Islam.*

regardless of differences in political interests—at least in their own views. It becomes a benchmark of 'collective self-confidence' and a sense of belonging to the organization.

Figure 1 Pemuda Muhammadiyah

Figure 2 GMNU Instagram

Not much different from the young generation of Pemuda Muhammadiyah, Generasi Muda NU (GMNU) has also been showing their existence in social media. They often show their 'sense of belonging' and pride in NU by posting their belief that they are on the right track. One of the GMNU Instagram feeds (figure 2) represents an expression that shows high self-confidence by expressing that "we must be proud to be NU. There is no need to hesitate and ashamed because we are on the right way, either in religious or state matters."

As part of the cultural pluralist Islamic circle, in other posts, they also display some Instagram feeds that tend to be offensive towards other groups such as HTI and Wahhabi ideology. The contestation between them is quite busy in online social media. Particularly when it comes to the affairs of the Nation-State and Pancasila. NU's young cadres who are proud to be NU are quite 'militant' in defending NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia) and responsive to whom disagree with them.
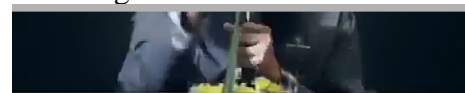
Figure 3 Responsive actions on GMNU Instagram

Example of responsive actions—which tend to be offensive in their caption—have reflected in their Instagram account feeds (figure 3). Generasi Muda Nahdlatul Ulama (GMNU; Nahdlatul Ulama Young Generation) responded to one of Syafiq Riza Basalamah's teaching and was later criticized that his haram fatwa was considered an act that inseparable from the 'bearded group' (kalangan berjenggot). The caption, mentions "the longer the beard, the more idiotic, this is one proof." In this posting also provides the name of Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU; The Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama) chairman accompanied by the hashtag #WahhabiBentukanZionist or in

English roughly means 'Wahhabi is a Zionist's product.' Such expression showed a high level of confidence in GMNU, and it was later coupled with contestation among groups and posted on social media channels indicating that they also had several elements contained in the predictors of collective religious narcissism.

Some religious expressions shown by millennials of these two organizations members are still at a reasonable stage. Several sub-organization of NU organizations include Ikatan Pelajar Nahdhlatul Ulama (IPNU; Nahdlatul Ulama Students Associations),[41] Keluarga Mahasiswa Nahdlatul Ulama (KMNU; the Family of Nahdlatul Ulama Students), GMNU, and Anshor.[42] While in Muhammadiyah, Pemuda Muhammadiyah and Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM; Muhammadiyah University Student Union)[43] represented quite active in intellectual studies and campus movement.

However, from the actions, dynamics, and how these two mass organizations presenting themselves to the public both in online and social reality, NU and Muhammadiyah can be classified as positive collective narcissism. With the central '*jargon*' (slogan) of *ahlussunnah wal-jama'ah* and *Wasathiyah* Islamic ideology, these two organizations can motivate *self-interested concerns, enhancing one's mood,* individual *self-esteem* and increase *self-confidence* in their Islamic expression.

b. *Pemuda Hijrah* and *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran*

Pemuda Hijrah and *Indonesia tanpa pacaran* are two groups that currently emerged among Millennial era that have a similar style. Ideologically, *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* (*ITP;* Indonesia Without Dating) introduced by Felix Siauw—yet found by La Ode Munafar—is indicated to insert certain *tahriri* values that influenced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). These two groups quite exist, especially in online media. ITP even has many members in the Facebook group. From the digital footprint, the writer found that there are circa 910,280 members who are joining this group.[44] In one of their posts stated that they had a Whatsapp Group in 2019 and were offered ID-Card facilities for their joining members. They are not only engaged in the campaign of rejecting courtship (or 'dating'), but also established a series of business ventures of their entrepreneurship.[45]

Figure 4 Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran Campaign

ITP has regular monthly events that contain campaigns not to date following Islamic perspective. Those events are held in popular ways and themes. Tirto (an online news feed) reported that one of their missions is "Indonesia Bebas Pacaran 2024"

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[41]Dwi Oktofianto, "Penguatan Berbasis Karakter Jati Diri Bangsa Pada Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Ketahanan Pribadi Pemuda (Studi Di Pimpinan Cabang IPNU Kabupaten Karanganyar, Provinsi Jawa Tengah)," *PKn Progresif: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Kewarganegaraan* 13, no. 2 (2018): 68–81.

[42]Imamul Huda Al Siddiq and Ahmad Arif Widianto, "Pemuda NU Dalam Pusaran Wacana Dan Komunisme: Sebuah Pergolakan Ideologi," *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 13, no. 2 (2019): 257-276.

[43]Arif Widodo, "Transformative Intellectual Discourse and Movement of Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM)," *Iseedu: Journal of Islamic Educational Thoughts and Practices* 1, no. 1 (2017): 126-151.

[44]For further information, you can look at: https://id-id.facebook.com/groups/1781499412108314/

[45]Reja Hidayat and Nindias Nur Khalika, "Bisnis Dan Kontroversi Gerakan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran," tirto.id, accessed November 7, 2019, https://tirto.id/bisnis-dan-kontroversi-gerakan-indonesia-tanpa-pacaran-cK25.

campaign—wipe out dating—that has been socialized on several of their social media channels. One of the uploads messages of its members (figure 4) is an example of Millenials who also agree with the campaign, even writing with the hashtag #PacaranMembunuhmu (in English: Dating will kill you). The modification of the sentence from the cigarette advertisement represents the expression of Islamic youth of ITP who want to avoid the courtship culture in this modern era. According to them, immoral behaviour in the current age is increasing that needs a counter-culture. One of them is refusing to date.

While *Pemuda Hijrah* has only a few followers who faithfully attend every Hanan Attaki speech in several cities in Java. The trend of *hijrah* has become a kind of new passion for young people, especially in Bandung city. Becoming a Muslim for *Pemuda Hijrah* in the current era need to be implemented by referring back to the teachings of Islam that are associated with examples in the past. Based on the analysis of this article, this opinion can lead Muslims youth generation to conservative Islamic expression style.[46]

Based on the post uploaded by Pemuda Hijrah Yuk (figure 5), it represents the disquietude of young people, especially Muslim women, towards other Muslim women outside their group circle. The social media account of Pemuda Hijrah Yuk focused on presenting quotes from prominent Muslim figures that contain an invitation to migrate towards something right—in their term: *hijrah.* There are also some posts that criticize the younger generation in addition to those who are still busy spree, hedonist, and immoral.

Figure 5 campaign on Pemuda Hijrah Yuk Instagram

Other posts on social media from related to verse or hadith that they consider their basis as a prohibition to date in Islam. It is classified as religious expressions of the scriptural-fundamentalist group. The point of differentiation is that these teachings are represented a stylish way and coupled with creative content such as video, infographics, quotes, and so forth to be more popular than before.

Related campaigns for breaking up in bulk (*putus massal*) also found on their Instagram posts (figure 6). The events they hold are very active in narrating their primary mission while giving away prizes as well as selling products. Their focus on their post is resisting to date is considered 'militant' on social media. As a result, they seem to claim what they did is a true Islam while others are not. The example provided in Picture 7 that stated: "If Muslim teenagers understand their *akidah* correctly, surely they will not want to date." Imply in this post that they make a

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[46]Dieqy Hasbi Widhana, "Tren Hijrah Anak Muda: Menjadi Muslim Saja Tidak Cukup," tirto.id, accessed November 7, 2019, https://tirto.id/tren-hijrah-anak-muda-menjadi-muslim-saja-tidak-cukup-ds9k.

value judgment on other religious expression and to other faith.

Figure 6 Campaigns for breaking up in bulk

Both groups also used cyber activities as new transmission media to spread religious messages, one-minute learn (with a *shift* mark) on Instagram, for example. Thus, these two groups are categorized into non-destructive collective religious narcissism. Even though on several occasions they are also classify as negative narcissism because there found several millennial Muslim followers who feel more right than other groups who are secular.

c. ISIS, Terrorism, and Radical-Extremism

We can observe on national news, either online media or television broadcasts, these three groups vividly claim that their group is the most right and true of Islam (*truth-claim*). By this claim, they even legalized the violence treatment to other groups. ISIS has done even more extreme by showing its torture and propaganda videos via Youtube and other social media channels. The dominant tendency to be an exclusive group is also a central

feature of negative-destructive collective religious narcissism like ISIS.[47]

Figure 7 ISIS propaganda video

Figure 7 showed an example of ISIS propaganda video where they burned passports from countries of origin. The video has been widespread on Youtube and contains narratives that express rejection to the current system in Indonesia and Malaysia. In the video, we see teenagers who were recruited by ISIS and sang songs that were passionate about *daulah-Islamiyyah.* This radical and exclusive expression of Islam causes violence symptom.

They claim that all systems in force today are *thoghut* and not following Islamic teachings. People outside their group are labeled as infidels (*kafir*) and even deserve to be killed—halal blood— although they are Muslim. This 'exclusivist truth-claim' phenomenon and their violent acts were shown of several violent activities in Youtube channel that are inappropriate to display. The ISIS uploaded their propaganda through social media using several accounts to avoid security forces.

They displayed aspects of *asserting superiority* and *devaluing others* through the torture of other groups that they consider to be heretical, full of sin, and abjection. It is the trait that erodes the opposite of egocentric

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[47]Another potrait of destructive collective narcissism, in the international context, found at Nazism ideology (NAZI) in Germany which led by Adolf Hitler in the time of World War II.

narcissism, namely altruism. Although a few Indonesian Muslim millennials have joined this group, it threatens the social harmony of the society.

C. CONCLUSION

This article has presented the expression of Muslim millennial religiosity that interconnected with the emergence of new media phenomena and celebrity culture. This article also provided various theoretical discussions along with concrete empirical examples found in social reality, in either virtual cyberspaces or real public sphere. Some academics have observed that millennial religiousity (Islam) in Indonesia is now more inclined towards what Martin van Bruinessen calls *conservative turn*. This religious expression indicated by the increasing passion for symbols and religious product consumption such as hijab, contemporary Muslim clothing that is entirely closed, cap (*peci*), prayer beads, prayer rugs, Islamic banking, and so forth.

However, this turned out not to be a single face of millennial Muslims expression. Many other expressions are categorized into six types, namely: actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberal Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Based on Islamic religiosity expression, in line with the presence of new media, it will be very potential to bring up narcissistic behavior that had been studied by scholars in social psychology. Narcissism, either positive or negative also take a variety of other forms, individual narcissism (NPD), and collective narcissism.

Based on extensive discourse about collective narcissism, there are collective religious narcissism phenomenon found. This article displayed several case studies of Muslim millennial religiosity expression in Indonesia. This article found that mainstream Islamic organizations, NU, and Muhammadiyah are classified in positive collective religious narcissism. *Pemuda Hijrah* and *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* categorized as collective religious narcissism

that tends to be harmful because they feel that other people are inferior to those groups. While destructive religious narcissism that represented by ISIS, Terrorism, and other Radical Groups which rigidly accuse others as astray and deserve to be killed. Their religious expression phenomenon even belongs to acute destructive narcissism.

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