MIKAILALSYS
Journal of Multidisciplinary Sciences

e-ISSN : 2987-2286
p-ISSN : 2987-3924

Index: Harvard, Boston, Sydney, Copernicus, Sinta 4, Scilit, Semantic, Google, etc

https://doi.org/10.58578/mikailalsys.v4i2.11179

Negotiation and Internalization of Religious Moderation Values in Shaping Tolerance Among Generation Z Students in the Social Media Era: A Case Study of SMAN 5 Purworejo

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Article Info:

Submitted:	Revised:	Accepted:	Published:
May 27, 2026	Jun 24, 2026	Jul 6, 2026	Jul 11, 2026

Abstract

Amid the growing influence of digital environments on young people's religious perspectives, understanding how Generation Z constructs and internalizes religious moderation values is increasingly important for fostering tolerance in plural educational settings. This study aimed to analyze how students construct their understanding of religious moderation, explain the processes through which these values are negotiated and internalized in the formation of tolerant attitudes, and examine the mediating role of social media at SMAN 5 Purworejo. Employing a qualitative case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. The data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, comprising data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing, while credibility was established through source and technique triangulation. The findings indicate that students' understanding of religious moderation is constructed through interactions among family, school, peers, and social media. Tolerant attitudes develop through value negotiation when students encounter diverse religious information in digital spaces and are subsequently internalized through Islamic

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Religious Education, teacher exemplarity, an inclusive school culture, and strengthened digital literacy. Social media does not directly determine students' religious attitudes; rather, its influence is mediated by teachers, school culture, and students' digital literacy. The study concludes that tolerance among Generation Z emerges from a dynamic process of negotiating and internalizing religious moderation values across formal education, social environments, and digital spaces. These findings contribute to the literature on religious moderation and digital socialization and highlight the importance of integrating teacher guidance, inclusive school practices, and digital literacy into educational strategies for strengthening tolerant attitudes among students.

Keywords: Digital Literacy; Generation Z; Religious Moderation; Social Media; Tolerant Attitudes

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is rich in ethnic, tribal, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity—including the six most widely followed religions—as well as hundreds to thousands of tribes, languages, regional scripts, and various local beliefs and traditions. Furthermore, differences in race, gender, and skin color are also hot issues that pose significant challenges in maintaining mutual respect. Conflicts often arise in many diverse countries, necessitating a wise approach to fostering a spirit of unity (Simandjuntak et al., 2022). In this context, diversity poses a particular challenge to education, which has the responsibility to instill the values of religious moderation—as perspectives, attitudes, and practices that prioritize balance, tolerance, non-violence, and respect for local traditions and culture—so that students can live peacefully side by side, be open to differences, and remain committed to their religious teachings (Awalita, 2023). Therefore, strengthening religious moderation in schools is crucial to prevent the development of intolerance and radicalism among the younger generation (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

However, the development of digital technology presents new challenges in the process of internalizing the value of tolerance, especially for Generation Z, who as digital natives grew up amidst the intense use of the internet and social media, making it very easy to adapt to various platforms for communication, learning, and work (Arum et al., 2023). Social media is not only a means of communication but also a space for the formation of students' identities, opinions, and religious perspectives, while platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and X allow quick access to religious information without adequate

verification, making Generation Z vulnerable to exposure to intolerant content, hate speech, and disinformation that can influence their social attitudes (Masrur et al., 2025). Nevertheless, Generation Z has the potential to be the initiators of religious moderation because they utilize the competitive social media space to spread messages of moderation in innovative and engaging ways, making their initiatives important in packaging and disseminating a more inclusive narrative of religious moderation (Elvinaro & Syarif, 2021).

In Indonesia, the younger generation is growing up as digital natives, living simultaneously in both offline and online spaces. These characteristics make digital media not just a means of communication, but also a key space in shaping the way young people think, identify, and interact socially (Nabila & Putri, 2022). In this context, social media algorithms play a role in determining the distribution of information through content personalization mechanisms based on user interaction history. As a result, algorithms can reinforce certain preferences (filter bubbles) and form echo chambers that have the potential to accelerate the spread of extreme narratives and educational information (Sunstein, 2018). This condition indicates that the digital space is a highly dynamic arena in the process of shaping the religious perspectives and attitudes of Generation Z.

In social life, an attitude of tolerance—which includes respect for differences in religion, opinion, culture, and social background—is an important value that every individual in a pluralistic society must possess. This attitude needs to be instilled from an early age through the family, community, and educational institutions because schools, as formal institutions, are responsible for shaping the character of students so that they respect each other and live side by side peacefully. Through education, students acquire not only academic knowledge but also moral and social development that shapes positive behavior (Staub, 2013). Religious moderation, which includes indicators such as loyalty to the state, tolerance, resistance to violence, and adaptation to local culture, is based on aspects of siding with truth, non-arbitrariness, and justice. These aspects serve as important references in religious moderation, while the use of digital technology—especially social media—with the younger generation is seen as an effective step to disseminate information and strengthen the values of moderation (Musdalifah et al., 2021).

Several studies have shown that social media has a significant influence on the formation of Generation Z's religious views. Social media not only serves as a means of communication, but also serves as a meeting place for various ideologies, thoughts, and

religious interpretations that can influence users' religious attitudes (Arief & Hidayatullah, 2023). In fact, the digital space often becomes an arena for contesting religious narratives that has the potential to give rise to polarization if not accompanied by adequate digital literacy skills and an understanding of religious moderation (Masrur et al., 2025). A study on social media and tolerance was also conducted by Saputra et al. (2025), which showed that religious content on social media can shape Generation Z's religious attitudes. Inclusive content tends to strengthen tolerance, while exclusive and provocative content has the potential to give rise to intolerance. This study shows that social media has a significant influence on adolescents' religious views, but has not yet linked this influence to religious moderation education strategies in schools.

Based on previous research, it is clear that numerous studies have been conducted on religious moderation and tolerance among Generation Z, both in the context of education and social media. However, most studies have focused on the implementation of religious moderation programs or the influence of social media separately. Previous research generally focused on the role of religious moderation in preventing radicalism or measuring students' tolerance levels (Nadhif et al., 2025). Although studies on religious moderation are growing, research specifically examining the dynamics of internalization of religious moderation values among Generation Z students in the social media era is still limited. Yet, social media has become a primary platform for Generation Z (Ichsan, 2026; Ichsan et al., 2025, 2026) to obtain information and form religious views. The presence of various religious narratives in the digital space has the potential to influence how students understand and practice religious values. In this context, it is important to examine how the process of internalization of religious moderation values occurs in the school environment, how students construct an understanding of tolerance amidst the flow of digital information, and the factors that support the formation of tolerant attitudes in their social lives.

Although social media is often viewed as a space where various religious narratives converge, potentially influencing the younger generation's views on diversity, not all educational environments demonstrate a weakening of tolerance. Some schools have actually succeeded in building and maintaining a harmonious culture of tolerance amidst the rapid flow of digital information. SMAN 5 Purworejo, for example, is known for its inclusive social life among students from different religious backgrounds; interactions at school demonstrate respect for differences in belief, provide space for religious practices, and encourage equal student involvement in school activities.

This phenomenon is interesting to study because it demonstrates that the value of religious moderation is not only present as a normative concept in learning but is also embodied in students' social practices. Amidst the high intensity of social media use by Generation Z, attitudes of tolerance and respect for diversity remain, indicating a dynamic process of internalizing religious moderation. This process involves aspects of learning, school culture, teacher role models, and students' social experiences—both in-person and digital settings.

Because social media is the primary space for Generation Z to shape religious understanding, diverse digital narratives have the potential to influence how they approach differences. Therefore, this study highlights the novelty of analyzing the relationship between the internalization of religious moderation in schools and the tolerance practices of Generation Z students in the social media era. This study not only examines school strategies for instilling moderation values, but also the consistency of students' tolerance attitudes in both direct interactions and activities on digital platforms. It is hoped that this study will provide theoretical and practical contributions to the development of religious moderation education relevant to the character of Generation Z.

METHODS

The researchers in this study used a qualitative approach with a case study to understand the dynamics of internalization of tolerance values among Generation Z students in the era of social media within the context of school life. A qualitative approach was chosen because it aimed to capture participants' meanings and experiences in natural settings (Creswell, 2018). The study was conducted at SMAN 5 Purworejo, chosen for its heterogeneous social environment, school culture that supports character building, and high student social media use.

The research subjects included the principal, Islamic Education teachers, and Generation Z students; informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their involvement and understanding of the process of internalizing tolerance values (Sugiyono, 2017). Data collection techniques included semi-structured interviews to explore internalization strategies, tolerance practices, the influence of social media, and supporting or inhibiting factors; observations of learning activities, social interactions, and interfaith

activities; and documentation in the form of school programs, activity photos, and relevant documents.

Data validity was tested through triangulation of sources and techniques by comparing information from the principal, teachers, and students and integrating the results of interviews, observations, and documentation. Data analysis used the interactive model of Miles and Huberman which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions/verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Relevant data were selected, presented in a narrative description to clarify the relationships between the data, and then conclusions were drawn based on emerging patterns and themes.

RESULTS

Construction of Generation Z Students' Understanding of the Values of Religious Moderation

The results of the study indicate that Generation Z students at SMAN 5 Purworejo have a relatively good understanding of the concept of religious moderation. The majority of informants define religious moderation as an attitude of respect, appreciation, and acceptance of the existence of other individuals with different religious backgrounds or beliefs without having to reduce commitment to the teachings of their religion. For students, religious moderation is not an attempt to equate all religions, but rather the ability to position oneself proportionally in a pluralistic social life. This understanding shows that students have been able to distinguish between tolerance and religious relativism. They recognize that every religious adherent remains convinced of the truth of their respective religious teachings, but at the same time respects the rights of others to practice their beliefs. This interpretation is in line with the concept of religious moderation developed by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, which places an attitude of justice, balance, and respect for diversity as the main principles in religious life (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

One informant, ZN, explained that tolerance means mutual respect between religious adherents without the assumption that one's religion is the sole identity that must be imposed on others. According to him, every individual has the same right to practice their religious teachings so that social relations can proceed peacefully. This statement indicates that students understand tolerance as a form of respect for the religious rights of others, not as a form of compromise on faith. This finding indicates that the concept of tolerance

understood by students has developed at a substantive level of understanding, namely viewing differences as a social reality that must be addressed with respect and cooperation, not as a threat to religious identity (Ramadhan et al., 2023).

The values of religious moderation, such as tolerance, balance, and non-violence, are essential foundations for shaping students' character, enabling them to live harmoniously in a pluralistic society (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019). These values not only emphasize respect for differences but also foster a just, inclusive, and humanitarian attitude as part of national and state life (Akhmadi, 2019). This understanding demonstrates that students are able to distinguish between tolerance and religious relativism, namely by remaining convinced of the truth of their religious teachings while respecting adherents of other faiths (Azra, 2014, 2021).

Students understand that Indonesia's diverse society requires everyone to live together harmoniously. They believe that tolerance does not mean equalizing all beliefs, but rather providing the opportunity and respect for each individual to practice their own beliefs. This understanding reflects the ingrained cognitive values of religious moderation, specifically in students' knowledge and awareness of the importance of respecting differences.

Students' understanding of religious moderation is also inseparable from their characteristics as Generation Z, who grew up in a digital ecosystem. Interviews revealed that informants acknowledged that knowledge about religious issues is acquired not only through Islamic Religious Education lessons at school, but also through various social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, and religious podcasts. These findings indicate that students' religious understanding is constructed through various, complementary learning resources. While digital media provides broader access to diverse religious knowledge and discourse, it also presents challenges in the form of an abundance of information that may not be valid, objective, or aligned with the principles of religious moderation. Therefore, digital literacy skills are a crucial factor in enabling students to critically select, verify, and interpret information before using it as a basis for developing a moderate religious understanding (UNESCO, 2023). This finding aligns with research by Purwaningtyas et al. (2024), which shows that social media can be a space for strengthening religious moderation if users possess strong digital literacy skills and are able to critically filter religious information.

Research findings indicate that Generation Z students at SMAN 5 Purworejo's understanding of religious moderation does not stop at the conceptual definition level, but

has developed into a framework that influences how they view diversity. The majority of students define religious moderation as an attitude of respecting differences in beliefs without compromising their commitment to their religion. This understanding indicates that students' knowledge construction is built through an interactive process between learning experiences at school, their social environment, and exposure to information in digital spaces. In other words, knowledge about religious moderation is the result of an ongoing social construction process, not simply the result of information transferred from teachers to students.

From a constructivist perspective, knowledge is not understood as something passively received, but rather constructed through experience, social interaction, and individual reflection on the reality they face (Vygotsky, 1978). The findings of this study demonstrate that students develop an understanding of religious moderation through concrete experiences, such as interacting with friends of different religions, participating in school activities involving the entire school community, and discussing religious issues with teachers. These experiences shape the understanding that diversity is part of social life that must be addressed with respect and cooperation. Thus, the construction of students' understanding is influenced not only by the Islamic Religious Education learning materials, but also by the social experiences they encounter every day.

The results of this study reinforce the findings of Akhmadi (2019), who stated that religious moderation is a religious practice that places tolerance as a form of respect for each individual's right to practice their beliefs, rather than as an attempt to mix religious teachings. In the context of this study, students understood that tolerance does not mean considering all religions the same, but rather providing space for each religious adherent to practice their worship according to their beliefs. This understanding demonstrates the students' ability to distinguish between tolerance and religious relativism. It is important because one of the challenges in a multicultural society is the emergence of the assumption that tolerance is synonymous with the blurring of religious identities. In fact, religious moderation emphasizes the importance of maintaining commitment to the teachings of each religion while respecting the rights of others (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

Besides being influenced by the school environment, students' understanding is also shaped by the characteristics of Generation Z, who grew up in a digital ecosystem. Informants stated that they obtain religious information through various platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, and podcasts; this reinforces Prensky's (2001) view that

Generation Z are digital natives who integrate technology into their daily learning. However, it should be noted that broad access to information does not automatically guarantee quality understanding. Social media algorithms tend to display content based on user preferences, thus triggering filter bubbles and echo chambers (Pariser, 2011). Therefore, digital literacy and critical thinking skills are crucial to ensuring students' religious understanding remains within the bounds of moderation.

Although social media is a source of knowledge, research findings indicate that teachers still play a crucial role as authorities in validating information; students tend to confirm confusing content with their Islamic Education teachers. It confirms that the authority of formal education has not been replaced by digital media, and the relationship between schools and social media is complementary—schools serve as spaces for clarification and reinforcement of values, while social media expands access to information. Unlike previous research that focused on the implementation of moderation through the curriculum or school culture, this study confirms that Generation Z's understanding of religious moderation is formed through the dynamic interaction between formal education, social space, and digital space. Social media is not merely a threat, but rather a learning arena that can strengthen or weaken the value of moderation depending on students' ability to select and reflect on information.

Internalization of the Value of Religious Moderation in Forming a Tolerant Attitude

Internalization of values is a profound process aimed at absorbing values into an individual's mindset and actions so that they become the basis for every action (Maulida & Ratnasari, 2024). For Generation Z students at SMAN 5 Purworejo, internalization of religious moderation values occurs continuously through various learning environments—not only formal classroom learning but also school culture, social interactions between students, teacher role models, and experiences using digital media—making it a dynamic process influenced by the accumulation of daily experiences; these findings indicate that the formation of tolerance is not the result of a single activity but rather a series of related learning experiences (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019). In addition to classroom lessons, an inclusive school culture contributes to the internalization of these values: observations and interviews show that SMAN 5 Purworejo provides space for all students to carry out religious activities without discrimination, encourages collaboration in organizations, learning projects, and social activities without making religious differences a barrier, and involves non-

Muslim students in roles such as documentation of religious activities (e.g., SMANLI *Bersholawat*). Teachers stated that they had not encountered any intimidation or discrimination against students of different religions (Personal interview with Mr. MT, 2026). These experiences fostered awareness that diversity must be managed through mutual respect and cooperation, allowing school culture to serve as a space for actualizing the values of religious moderation acquired through formal learning.

These findings indicate that the internalization process occurs through gradual stages, starting from the acceptance of values, understanding their meaning, to the appreciation and application of values in real life. This aligns with the theory of value internalization proposed by Muhaimin, who states that internalization is a process of continuously instilling values until they are integrated within an individual and become part of their belief system, thought patterns, and behavior (Ramadhan et al., 2023). In the context of this research, students not only learned the importance of religious tolerance and moderation, but also began to use these values as guidelines in interacting with friends, teachers, and the community around them (Istiyani et al., 2021).

This process demonstrates that schools function as social spaces that allow students to directly experience the practice of living in diversity. Students not only cognitively understand the concept of tolerance but also practice it through daily interactions with friends from different religious backgrounds. This condition indicates that the internalization of values occurs through continuous habituation, so that the value of religious moderation becomes part of the student's character. From Bali and Susilowati's (2019) perspective, the internalization process does not stop at the transformation of knowledge, but continues through the transaction and transinternalization stages of values, ultimately shaping individual behavior.

Research findings also revealed that families still have a significant influence in reinforcing the values of religious moderation that students receive at school. Several informants stated that from childhood they were accustomed to respecting neighbors and friends of different religions. This habit was then reinforced through the learning process at school, forming a consistent understanding of the importance of peaceful coexistence. These findings indicate that the internalization of religious moderation values occurs through the synergy between family, school, and the social environment as a complementary educational ecosystem in shaping students' character. The instillation of values from the family environment becomes a foundation that is then reinforced through the formal education

process, enabling students to develop a tolerant attitude in their daily lives (Simbolon et al., 2025).

These findings demonstrate that families serve as the primary educational environment instilling values of respect for diversity, while schools reinforce these values through Islamic Religious Education instruction, teacher role models, and an inclusive school culture. Therefore, the success of internalizing religious moderation is determined not only by the quality of classroom instruction but also by collaboration between families and schools in building consistent learning experiences for students. These findings align with research showing that internalizing religious moderation values is more effective when implemented through a learning process integrated with school culture and supported by the family environment.

DISCUSSION

Social Media as a Space for the Formation and Negotiation of Religious Moderation Values

The results of the study indicate that social media has become an important space in the formation of religious understanding among Generation Z students at SMAN 5 Purworejo. All informants reported using platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, and podcasts to seek religious information outside of formal learning. Therefore, the intensity of use makes digital platforms not only a means of communication but also a learning space that brings students together with various views, interpretations, and religious practices (Papakostas, 2026). Based on interviews, most informants follow the accounts of preachers or religious content creators whose delivery is polite, easy to understand, and relevant to the lives of teenagers; they consider this content to broaden their insight into religious teachings while instilling the importance of respecting differences, and one informant stated that interesting short videos make it easier to understand tolerance compared to simply reading textbooks. These findings indicate that the formation of religious understanding among Generation Z no longer occurs linearly through formal education, but rather occurs through a complex interaction between school, the social environment, and digital media. Furthermore, social media can function as an educational tool that strengthens religious moderation if the content consumed is credible and oriented towards spreading peaceful values (Khoiriyah et al., 2026).

Research findings indicate that students do not necessarily accept all religious information they find on social media as truth. Although social media is a primary source of information for Generation Z, students demonstrate the ability to consider, evaluate, and compare the information they receive. When encountering diverse religious content, whether in the form of sermons, quotes, short videos, or opinions from certain figures, students tend to engage in a reflective process by linking it to the understanding they have previously acquired through school learning, parental advice, and experiences interacting with diverse social environments. They often bring these issues into class discussions with Islamic Education (*Pendidikan Agama Islam*/PAI) teachers, seeking answers based on what they find on social media. These findings indicate that social media functions not only as a means of communication but also as a learning space that shapes the thinking, attitudes, and religious identity of Generation Z (Masrur et al., 2025).

The concept of value negotiation in this study refers to the process by which students reconcile the values of religious moderation acquired through family and school with various religious narratives circulating in the digital space. In this process, students do not always accept or reject information directly, but rather make adjustments based on their experiences, knowledge, and the authority they believe in. These findings indicate that schools still hold a strategic position as spaces for legitimizing religious knowledge. Although social media provides extensive access to information, teachers are still seen as figures with authority to provide explanations on various religious issues emerging in the digital space. This demonstrates that social media and formal education are not in a mutually exclusive relationship, but rather interact in shaping students' religious thinking (Mukhlis, 2026).

On the other hand, this study also found that digital literacy skills are a determining factor in students' success in negotiating the values of religious moderation. Informants who are accustomed to verifying information and comparing various sources tend to have a more open understanding of differences than students who rely solely on a single source. This situation indicates that critical thinking skills are a crucial asset in navigating the rapid flow of information on social media. Without these skills, students are potentially exposed to content containing intolerance, radicalism, and polarization, which can influence their perspectives on diversity (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

However, the process of negotiating values isn't always straightforward. Research has found that some students are frequently exposed to content that tends to reinforce similar views repeatedly through social media algorithms. This phenomenon can be explained by the

Echo Chamber theory, which states that when a person frequently receives information that aligns with their existing views, the opportunity for different perspectives becomes increasingly limited. In the digital space, social media algorithms tend to display content that aligns with user preferences based on their search history, viewing history, and previous interactions (Cohen, 2018).

The existence of echo chambers has the potential to influence the internalization of religious moderation values because students can become trapped in a homogenous information environment. When individuals continually receive information that supports a particular view, they risk developing exclusive attitudes and a lack of openness to differences. Interviews revealed that some students frequently encounter religious debates in social media comment sections. However, they tend to avoid provocative discussions and prefer to seek explanations from teachers or trusted sources. This attitude suggests that even though students are in a digital environment that has the potential to form an echo chamber, they still have control mechanisms through formal educational authorities. This research demonstrates that a school environment that instills religious moderation values can act as a balancing force, helping students overcome the tendency to accept information unilaterally.

On the other hand, this study found that echo chambers do not always have negative impacts. For several informants, following Islamic preaching accounts that consistently convey messages of tolerance, respect for diversity, and the importance of coexistence actually reinforced the values of moderation learned through school. This suggests that the impact of echo chambers is strongly influenced by the nature of the content consumed. If the algorithm recommends more moderate and inclusive content, then the digital space can be a medium for strengthening tolerant religious character. Conversely, if the algorithm displays more exclusive, provocative, or hateful content, then the digital space has the potential to weaken the internalization of religious moderation (Zuhri, 2025).

These findings suggest that the dynamics of internalization of religious moderation values in Generation Z occur through the interaction between formal and digital educational environments, where schools instill the values of moderation while social media becomes an arena for students to test, negotiate, and reconstruct these values. Therefore, the success of internalization depends not only on the delivery of religious material in schools, but also on students' ability to develop digital literacy, critical thinking, and skills in filtering and managing information from social media, namely abilities that enable them to distinguish educational information from provocative content or hate speech. Thus, the effectiveness of

formal education must be combined with efforts to strengthen students' wise and responsible use of digital media (Yusuf, 2025).

The results of this study align with those of Kenedi and Hartati (2022), who found that social media can be an effective tool for strengthening religious moderation if users possess good digital literacy skills. Conversely, low digital literacy makes individuals more susceptible to receiving information without verification, making them vulnerable to exposure to intolerant narratives. Fauzi et al.'s (2026) research also emphasized that strengthening religious moderation in the digital era is not simply achieved through the delivery of religious material but must be accompanied by the development of students' abilities to read, analyze, and critically evaluate information. Thus, the process of internalizing religious moderation values in Generation Z depends not only on the content they consume but also on their capacity to manage information reflectively.

Based on this analysis, this study offers a conceptual finding that the internalization of religious moderation values in Generation Z occurs through a process of value negotiation mediated by teachers, school culture, and digital literacy in the face of exposure to social media algorithms. This model shows that algorithms are not a factor that automatically shapes intolerant or moderate attitudes, but rather one element in the digital ecosystem whose influence is highly dependent on the quality of educational support and students' ability to manage information. This finding is a contribution of this study to the development of religious moderation studies in the digital era, because it broadens the perspective from an approach that initially focused only on the influence of social media to an understanding of the mechanisms of mediation and value negotiation in the formation of tolerant attitudes in Generation Z students.

CONCLUSION

This study found that the formation of tolerance attitudes in Generation Z students at SMAN 5 Purworejo is a dynamic process of negotiation and internalization of religious moderation values built through interactions with family, school (including Islamic Religious Education teachers and an inclusive school culture), peers, and social media; the process is not linear but includes the instillation of values, reinforcement through learning experiences and school culture, negotiation of various religious information, and reflection that forms attitudes of tolerance; social media plays a dual role by expanding access to information while presenting provocative narratives, but its influence is mediated by digital literacy, the role of

teachers, and school culture so that students are able to select, verify, and reflect on information before internalizing religious moderation. These findings confirm that tolerance attitudes in Generation Z are the result of a complex interaction between formal education, the social environment, and the digital space.

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