

# Muhammadiyah and Religious Moderation: Response to Actions of Muhammadiyah to Prevent Modern Radicalism (Case Study of Leadership Period 2015 – 2021)

## Muhammadiyah y la moderación religiosa: respuesta a las acciones de Muhammadiyah para prevenir el radicalismo moderno (Estudio de caso del período de liderazgo 2015 - 2021)

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BACHTIAR DWI KURNIAWAN,  
Center for Muhammadiyah Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
bachtiar\_dk@umy.ac.id  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9501-6317>

DAVID EFENDI  
Center for Muhammadiyah Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
defendi@umy.ac.id  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7323-8376>

ALAM MAHADIKA  
Center for Muhammadiyah Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
ARizmi@stud.kpfu.ru  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5206-8769>

MOCH EDWARD TRIAS PAHLEVI  
Center for Muhammadiyah Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
mochedwardtriaspahlevi@gmail.com  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3267-884X>

AZKA ABDI AMRUROBBI  
Center for Muhammadiyah Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
azkaabdi@gmail.com  
<https://orcid.org/000-0001-9707-6850>

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**Resumen:** Este estudio narrará la respuesta de las acciones de Muhammadiyah para frenar el radicalismo en el liderazgo de Haedar Nashir, a saber, el período 2015 - 2021, la reacción del radicalismo de Muhammadiyah en este momento, ofreciendo un programa de moderación para la lucha contra el radicalismo. Después de la Reforma, experimentó una radicalización en el poder ideológico. La forma de Radicalismo no solo estaba en el ámbito de la ideología religiosa sino que también entró en el ámbito de las ideologías del liberalismo, el capitalismo, el totalitarismo hasta el fascismo. Por lo tanto, se puede concluir que el Radicalismo no es solo desde el punto de vista de la actividad religiosa, sino que también la ideología puede implementarse en un sistema de Radicalismo en la forma de Economía y Política. Esta investigación tiene un problema de formulación, a saber, ¿cómo es la respuesta de Muhammadiyah para frenar el radicalismo? Especialmente tres puntos de vista desde el Radicalismo Religioso, la Economía y la Política. Este estudio también utiliza dos teorías, a saber, la teoría de la moderación y la idea del radicalismo. El método de investigación utilizado es cualitativo descriptivo para examinar Muhammadiyah y Moderación sobre la respuesta del liderazgo de Muhammadiyah en 2015-2021 para frenar el radicalismo relacionado con las preguntas de investigación de fondo. Esta investigación cualitativa utiliza la técnica de recolección de datos del estudio de la literatura de un estudio anterior. El investigador también intenta tomar una revisión de la literatura de la aplicación de papel Connected con dos palabras clave, Moderación Muhammadiyah y Radicalismo Muhammadiyah. El análisis de datos cualitativos se interpreta analizando la reducción de datos, la exposición de datos y sacando conclusiones o verificando conclusiones.

**Abstract:** This study will narrate the response of Muhammadiyah's actions in stemming Radicalism in the leadership of Haedar Nashir, namely the period 2015 - 2021, the reaction of Muhammadiyah's Radicalism at this time, offering a Moderation program for the fight against Radicalism. After the Reformation, it experienced radicalization in ideological power. The form of Radicalism was not only in the scope of religious ideology but also entered the scope of the ideologies of liberalism, capitalism, totalitarianism to fascism. Therefore, it can be concluded that Radicalism is not only from the point of view of religious activity but also that ideology can be implemented in a system of Radicalism in the form of Economics and Politics. This research has a problem formulation, namely, how is Muhammadiyah's response in stemming Radicalism? Especially three points of view from Religious Radicalism, Economics, and Politics. This study also uses two theories, namely the theory of Moderation and the idea of Radicalism. The research method used is descriptive qualitative to examine Muhammadiyah and Moderation on the response of Muhammadiyah's leadership in 2015-2021 in stemming Radicalism related to the research questions in the background. This qualitative research uses a previous study's literature study data collection technique. The researcher also tries to take a literature review from the Connected paper application with two keywords, Muhammadiyah Moderation and Muhammadiyah Radicalism. The qualitative data analysis is interpreted by analyzing data reduction, data exposure, and drawing conclusions or verifying conclusions.

**Keywords:** Radicalism, Islam Movement, Moderate, Social Conflict, Muhammadiyah

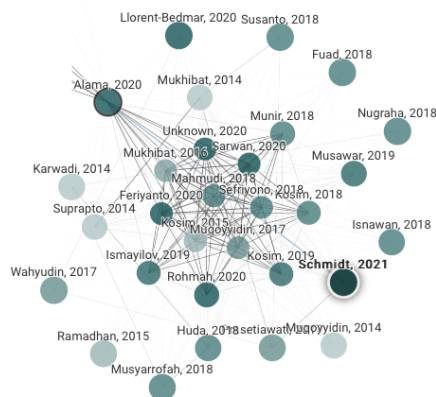
**Palabras clave:** Radicalismo, Movimiento islámico, Moderado, Conflicto social, Muhammadiyah

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Raising the theme of religious moderation, it is necessary to present several things that become the background until the title is presented. One of the characteristics of a movement with Islamic nuances can be called "modern" if the religious movement uses organizational methods. Based on these parameters, Muhammadiyah can be called a modern Islamic religious movement (Suwarno, 1995). As a socio-religious organization that has been around for a long time, after the organization's founding figure died, Muhammadiyah was led by several organizational leaders, each of which in each leadership period has its own character which has an impact on the emphasis and variety of program formulations and organizational activities. Moreover, every time period faced by religious organizations, in this case Muhammadiyah, of course has its own challenges and problems according to the context of developments that are being faced, one of which is the moderation movement. (Kosasih, 2010)

Researchers try to detect the keyword existence religious moderation in the connectedpapers application as the first literature study from 2015-2021, Muamammad Ramadhan's first research, showed that multicultural education was implemented through discussions, lectures, exemplary stories, discussions, demonstrations to avoid religious radicalism (Ramadhan, 2015). Furthermore, Mukhibat at connectedpaper.com stated that Muslims in Indonesia are inclusive and humanist, to prevent terrorism - religious radicalism in line with Islamic values (Mukhibat, 2014). The third research, with the application of educational development that is able to resist the influence of Radical Islam (Wahyudin, 2017).

The fourth research by Sefriyono, shows that surau and mosques are places that play an important role in preventing radical Islam (Sefriyono, 2018). Fifth, by Murad Ismayilov, gives the view that the emergence of religious radicalism is caused by the secular legitimacy of the West and domestic elites making Islam a negative threat (Ismayilov, 2019). Sixth by Vicente Lloren, the study prevents violent radicalism inspired by Islam (Bedmar, 2020). Recent research by Leone Schmidt, explains the strengthening of traditional Islamic figures as role models who can help protect the country from radicalism (Schmidt, 2021).



**Figure 1.** Literature Review Moderate Radicalism in Connectedpaper.com

The seven previous studies from 2015-2021 which were analyzed from the Connectedpaper application in the Moderate and Radicalism categories, researchers found many discussions related to moderate or radicalism in discussing preventing or resisting religious radicalism, but researchers have not found a discussion of radicalism from an Economic point of view, Politics, Religion. This writing is expected to provide new scientific research related to moderation and radicalism.

So that today's radicalism can be divided into two, namely the first classical radicalism is a problem in the classical era, almost all civilizations have been affected by radicalism, a group that the Prophet Muhammad predicted the Ghuluw group to be excessive in worship. Those who feel that they are the most righteous and whose worship is the most diligent, so that they do not hesitate to discriminate against others who do not agree and the radicalism of this movement is not only in terms of understanding but also aspects of actions that carry out acts of terror against other groups (Mufaizin, 2020).

Meanwhile, according to Mikhail Petrovich Trebin (2019) that the modern condition of radicalism is an integral component of political life that occurs is modern radicalism of unfavorable socio-economic and political environments, ideological ideas, man-made threats and the environment so as to make social deviations and economic radicalism based on higher capital efficiency growth rooted in the radical wing of freedom (liberalism) with economic and political foundations.

Indeed, radicalism can be eliminated through the moderation movement, the idea of moderation is based on the first two things discursively, the ummah's moderation movement is believed to be the supporter of the creation of social harmonization of society in the multicultural era. Thus, religious exclusivity is believed in total as a religious truth and can be an ideological stumbling block to solve the problem of pluralism in Indonesia. Second, practically, the practice of religious life with claims of truth and safety in each religious community must be

completely scrapped so as not to blame each other. The problem of pluralism is often caused by fanaticism of religious truth which gives rise to radical attitudes (Zuhdi, 2010).

However, according to Muhammadiyah, which in this case is the focus of research, explains the narrative and the moderation movement. Citing data from the official Muhammadiyah website Regarding Religious Moderation in the Perspective of Muhammadiyah (2021) explaining the delivery on the website by the General Secretary of PP Muhammadiyah who said the term Wasathiyah or moderate, the term very popular about deradicalization as Counter Violence Extremism, so Muhammadiyah has consistently used the term religious moderation (Syifa, 2021).

Muhammadiyah Movement on Religious Moderation in Muhammadiyah Perspective (2021) the information explained by Abdul Mu'ti explained that Islam Wasathiyah was taken from the word wasatha in the Koran called:

- Wasathan (Surat al-Adiyat: 5), which is the middle or the best.
- Wasathan (Surah Al – Baqarah: 143) fair and choice.
- Awsith (QS. Al – Maidah: 89) is not extreme and not excessive.
- Awasathu (QS. Al – Qalam: 28) wise.
- Wusatha (QS. Al – Baqarah: 238) maintain prayer times and Wustha prayers.

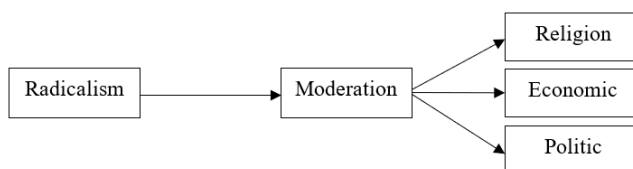
Three Muhammadiyah concepts in understanding moderation conveyed by Abdul Mu'ti to the official Muhammadiyah website.or.id:

- Wasatha means something very well equated with khair. Imam Al-Qurtubi equates wasatha with a phase in the middle of the desert.
- Wasatha related to not being extreme and not excessive either in worship or in muamalah.
- Behave in accordance with science and law, so often wasath is a fair attitude that puts things in their place.

Abdul Mu'ti emphasized on the Muhammadiyah.or.id website that Muhammadiyah is moderate, neither excessive nor extreme. As Central Islam, Muhammadiyah appears in the science movement, so that in solving existing problems Muhammadiyah always listens to opinions from multiple perspectives so that it is expected to produce solutions that are acceptable to various parties.

Muhammadiyah's view of radicalism conveyed by Haedar Nasir in a professor's speech at the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta stated that after the reformation Indonesia actually experienced radicalization and was exposed to radicalism in the ideological power of the new liberalism and capitalism system, which is more than just religious radicalism in national life. Ideological, political, economic and cultural radicalism is as problematic as radicalism or religious extremism for Indonesia's future (Wahono, 2019). This gives radicalism directed to the opposition to ideologies or movements from capitalism, liberalism and authoritarian political moral defects to fascism..

Therefore, this study tries to use the Moderation theory by Ethan H. Shagan (2011) from *The Rule Of Moderation (Violence, Religion and The Politics Of Restraint In Early Modern England)* which means an effort to avoid violence in religious life because in the language of moderation it means reducing the extreme to avoid violence, moderation can be said to be a very relevant understanding for the context of diversity in society. all aspects of religion, social, economic and political. After that the theory of Radicalism by Stephen Crook (1990) radicalism of understanding or actions that create chaos is taking place in culture and society, while in political leadership the elites are competing for positions and profiles in a period of very active political maneuvering.



**Figure 2** Framework of thinking

From this framework, it will be easier for readers to understand the moderate movement to respond to radicalism movements from religion, economy to politics so that three radicalism movements are formed, each of which is a separate case for the movement, such as the fundamentalism movement which understands religion seeks to return to the principles or basics so that it wants to change a state order. The indicators in this study are:

**Table 1.** Variables and Indicators

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
Religion	The phenomenon of religious radicalism: The reality of the violent radicalism movement with religious nuances. Response Muhammadiyah: Muhammadiyah moderation proselytizing methods to stem radicalism.
Economics	The phenomenon of economic radicalism: An economic radicalism movement that impacts social and environmental inequality Muhammadiyah Response: Narration and Muhammadiyah's actions in the face of economic radicalism.
Politics	The phenomenon of political radicalism: The authority of political oligarchs in formulating and implementing policies.

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Response Muhammadiyah:  
Muhammadiyah's criticism of government policies that  
indicate an oligarchy of political radicalism.

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## 2. METHOD

This paper is based on a study that uses qualitative methods. Creswell (2014) describes qualitative methods as methods that explore and understand the meaning of social problems. This paper also uses a data collection method with literature study techniques. Creswell (2014) then also explained that data collection techniques with literature studies are a research technique that conducts, searches, and organizes library sources related to the problem to be studied. The data sources that the author uses are in the form of books, journals, reports, previous research, news, to documents related to Muhammadiyah radicalism and moderation. After the data is collected, then the author analyzes the data descriptively.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Radicalism as a concept is actually neutral in the world of thought and movement. It is wrong to interpret radicalism, which is always identified with violence based on religion, more – more as an understanding that can be caused by religious terrorism. The narrative clearly rests on an improper meaning. The urgency of the research problem is determined by the fact that in modern conditions radicalism is an integral component of the political life of many countries, which is embodied in the activity, value of the ruling elite.

This part of the discussion will explain modern radicalism which is currently Muhammadiyah's efforts in responding and containing with its moderation movement, then the radicalism movement is seen from three points of view, namely religion, politics, and economics.

### 3.1 RELIGIOUS RADICALISM

#### 3.1.1 THE PHENOMENON OF RELIGIOUS RADICALISM

Religious radicalism can grow or die depending on the carrying capacity of the people, therefore understanding the perceptions of Muslim elites and their attitudes towards radicalism is very important. In a society that is still paternalistically hierarchical, the behavior of the elite affects the behavior of its people. M. Jamil (2017) explained that radicals or spreaders of radicalism are often associated with certain religions, to straighten out that view, in principle all religions in the world, the person can potentially be a radical person or a spreader of radicalism, be it



Christianity, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Konguchu and Islam or other faiths.

Religious radicalism is often referred to as *al-tatharuf al-dīny* which means standing at the end, or far from the middle, or can also be interpreted as radical, extreme and excessive in doing things. At first the word *al-tatharuf* was interpreted for things of a concrete nature. But subsequent developments meant things of an abstract nature; such as exaggeration in thinking, doing, and religion. Thus, *al-tatharuf al-dīny* can be interpreted as any excessive deed in religion is the opposite of *wasath* (middle /moderate) which has a good and commendable meaning (Said & Rauf, 2015)

The issue of religious radicalism in Indonesia is already very worrying. The emergence of radical understanding in the name of religion has long occurred in Indonesia. From the issue of terrorism to the emergence of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Shia), the impact of the closure of 22 Islamic sites by the Ministry of Communication and Information on the proposal of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) under the pretext of being negatively charged which ignited the anger of many others; Third, support, disseminate, and invite to join ISIS/IS; and fourth, interpreting jihad in a limited way.<sup>2</sup> In addition to those mentioned, there are also four other criteria for movements to be considered radical, namely fighting for Islam Kaffah, where Islamic law as state law, basing its religious practices on past orientations (*salafy*), tends to be hostile to the West, especially against secularization, modernization and resistance to islamic liberalism that is developing in Indonesia. (CNN New Zealand, 2015)

Historically, the emergence of radical movements in Indonesia it started from the disillusionment of Indonesian Muslims related to the basis of the state. When the Charter of Medina was proposed by Islamic figures such as KH. Wahid Hasyim and Teuku Muhammad Hasan, but the proposal was rejected by the Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI). Although in the course of history, the rejection was accepted and accommodated by Muslims with various considerations. But not infrequently there is still the assumption that it is a dwarfing of Islamic ideals. This disappointment gave birth to a radical movement known as Darul Islam/ The Indonesian Islamic Army (DI / TII) in West Java and South Sulawesi. In fact, after the new order, the Hizbur Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) movement, the Indonesian Mujahideen Council (MMI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and others also emerged. (Husada et al., 2007)

In fact, religious radicalism can also be associated with intolerance towards a particular religion. Groups exposed to this radicalism are less able to accept differences. To assume that the understanding or teachings of the group outside it adheres to is wrong. For example, in terms of worship. Surely in carrying out worship each religion has a different way. However, these groups of radicalism do not make such differences reasonable. So what is Muhammadiyah's response to the issue of religious radicalism?

### 3.1.2 MUHAMMADIYAH AND EFFORTS TO STEM RELIGIOUS RADICALISM

Haedar Nashir as the general chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership, has a very firm and clear view that Muhammadiyah is positioned as a moderate Islamic group to avoid all forms of radicalism that lead to an absolute understanding and contain extremism, intolerance and violence about all matters concerning human life and nationality (Nurish, 2019).

Looking at it from the historical side, since the beginning of its birth on November 18, 1912, Muhammadiyah has made a big historical leap. The organization, founded by Kiai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, does humanist work in building public awareness and action. Armed with the theology of al-Maun and al-Ashr, Kiai Dahlan changed the order of society towards civility. Kiai Dahlan does not simply teach the narrative of sacred texts. However, he also made it a real action, manifested, and encouraged the creation of a just society (the real Islamic society). Islamic society is actually the ideal of Muhammadiyah in realizing religious and national practice. Muhammadiyah wants to be present as a solution for all. Muhammadiyah encourages the realization of civility, prosperity, and social justice.

In the matter of radicalism, Muhammadiyah can participate in the humanist process of humanization. Radical groups are not to be hostile. They need to be treated as Kiai Dahlan used to gather beggars, vagrants, and homeless people in Roemah Poor.

Radical groups need to have a platform for them to be self-sufficient in kindness. This actualization space is important in developing thinking processes and logic. When a person does not have "friends" and "big house" in the process of self-cultivation, then he will be easily instigated by the power of invisible hands. This is where Muhammadiyah comes in, as Kiai Dahlan used to foster underprivileged communities. As mandated by the 46th Muktamar of Makassar 2015, Muhammadiyah invites Muslims, especially association residents, to be critical by trying to stem the development of takfiri groups through an open approach to dialogue, proselytizing, enlightening, educating, and polite social interaction. Muhammadiyah views differences and diversity as *sunnatullah*.

Muhammadiyah invites Muslims to hold intra-Muslim dialogues and develop an understanding of religious differences, including by compiling *fiqh khilafiyah* and its socialization to minimize horizontal conflicts. The mandate of the highest forum of the association, which on November 18, 2016, is 104 years old, now needs to be realized in the process of fostering radical groups. Armed with an understanding of Islam, Muhammadiyah will more easily provide understanding, education, and social services to the group. This process can be carried out through social work initiated by the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership in collaboration with branch leaders, in the development of Regional Leaders and Muhammadiyah Central Leaders.

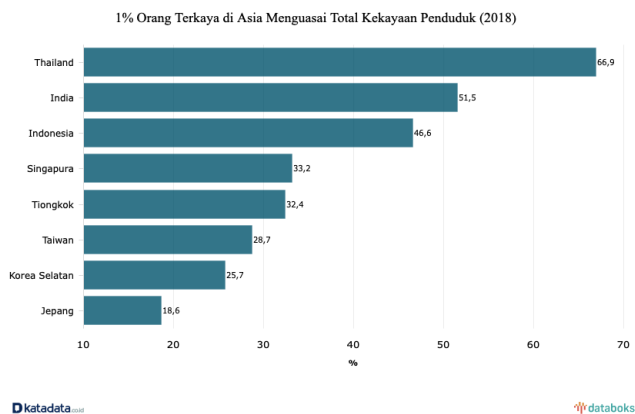
## 3.2 ECONOMIC RADICALISM

### 3.2.1 THE PHENOMENON OF ECONOMIC RADICALISM

Economic radicalism according to Piet Keize (2015), radical economics is based on Marx's economy the growth of higher capital efficiency, over time developing under the influence of neo-Marxian sociology on radical economics pays attention to the social and moral aspects of the system of capitalism and neo liberalism that addresses the undemocratic and immoral aspects of economic radicalism (Keizer, 2015). So goes professor of economics at the United States Julie Nelson (2017) life today's pursuit of economic interests is greatly exalted. Consumerism promotes the most unsatisfactory goals of poverty and ecological destruction creates unreasonable and plausible suffering and the great consensual constituency of corporate power (capitalism) masks the traditional way of governing in the public interest in the name of development.

The explanation of economic radicalism in Indonesia still explains a lot of economic inequality, inequality between classes and the causes of radicalism arises due to the low level of economy in society. Meanwhile, the explanation of economic radicalism from scientists outside Indonesia narrates economic radicalism is the actions of business actors and development actors to carry out coercion that has an impact on social inequality and ecological damage. So the sub-discussion of economic radicalism in this study focuses on violence against economic growth and development.

Economic radicalism is carried out in the form of ownership of the majority of assets and control of economic resources by a small group of national groups. In the 2018 Global Wealth Report data released by Credit Suisse International, it shows that the richest 1% of people in Indonesia control 46.6% of the total wealth of the Indonesian population (Global Wealth Report, 2018).



**Figure 3.** 1% Asia's Richest Man Controls Total Population Wealth  
Source (Databoks, 2018).

This means that the development carried out by the government so far has only been enjoyed by some people – conglomerates in this country. This condition also shows that the inequality that makes social inequality in Indonesia is still high enough so that it can become a serious problem in the future (Databoks, 2018). The data shows that development in Indonesia is still colored by extraordinary inequality. This relation is called economic radicalism.

In the era of globalization, it has formed a global culture, namely a culture of the entire world community to compete – a competition to increase the high economic life force so that the improvement of the upper and lower class economic communities is very visible (Chaudhry, 2012). As in Indonesia, some cities have started infrastructure or sustainable development which is still very low on the application of green infrastructure so that development in Indonesia mostly damages nature (the environment) it can be said that development against nature will create disasters and with uneven development and infrastructure can arise social conflicts (Ramadhaniani, 2015).

### 3.2.2 MUHAMMADIYAH AND EFFORTS TO STEM ECONOMIC RADICALISM

Muhammadiyah actually has economic sensitivities and views. This is from Muhammadiyah's point of view and criticism of the national and world economy. Muhammadiyah sees that the various economic progress that Indonesia has achieved, which is shown by economic growth and an increasing average per capita income, maintained economic stability, and various economic development programs for small and medium-sized people, have not sufficiently overcome various Indonesian economic problems, such as Indonesia's economic resilience which is still weak and

vulnerable, economic growth only based on foreign investment in foreign debt and conglomerates, so that development results are enjoyed by only a small part of society, the gap widens and the joints of national socioeconomic life grow without strong root support (Sari, 2013).

It is on the economic Movement that today Muhammadiyah is in the vortex of fighting the liberalist capitalist economic system. These spaces and opportunities must be designed in a blueprint of the economic movement. This means that Muhammadiyah is able to formulate its movement activities in order to help improve the national economy (Sasongko, 2015). The narrative of Haedar Nashir (2009) in the article Revitalization of the Vision and Character of the Nation, according to Muhammadiyah, some of the problems in economic development so as to cause inequality and result in social conflicts, are sourced from:

- The economic paradigm is inconsistent between the Economic Paradigm of Pancasila (people's economy) or the paradigm of liberal economics.
- The structure of the economy is twolistic.
- A fixal policy that is not yet self-sufficient.
- Impartial financial and banking system.
- Liberal trade and industrial policies.

Muhammadiyah which emphasizes in economic development on the emphasis of the spirit of capitalism and socialism on zakat institutions for economic development in the realm of building an independent and prosperous society. Muhammadiyah to prevent economic radicalism in community empowerment through Lazismu for the productive use of zakat, infak, waqf and shadaqah funds. Haedar Nashir said that zakat, infaq and shadaqah are Islamic teachings that have capitalistic and socialistic dimensions, besides that elements of capitalism and socialism in zakat institutions need to continue to be grown so as not to appear anti-establishment, rich and successful. The moderation movement carried out by Muhammadiyah in stemming social economic radicalism such as zakat, infaq and shadaqah has become a media link between rich and poor (Diko, 2020).

Muhammadiyah in economic development by guiding the community towards improvement. To improve the quality of its management. By establishing charitable businesses in the field of BPR, MBT, Cooperation and Muhammadiyah also develop a movement that has extraordinary opportunities by formulating a productive economic movement model (Pratama, 2021). It can be said that development and economic policies that tend to be liberal or neo-liberal make micro, small and non-developed economies healthy and obtain top priorities and even defeated. So that the Indonesian nation is currently still faced with the economic inequality of the community which is getting wider and wider. Until finally, the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

### 3.3 POLITICAL RADICALISM

### 3.3.1 THE PHENOMENON OF POLITICAL RADICALISM

Political radicalism described by Anne Muxel (2020) *Political Radicalism Among The Younger Generations*, i.e. violence is used as a subversive force and has an impact on the political system as violence is explicitly based on a political ideology derived from the logic of rebellion on actual political issues in the context of deviations from social norms. In modern conditions, political radicalism is an integral component of the political life of many countries, which is embodied in the activity, value orientation of the ruling and opposition elites and ordinary citizens. Political radicalism can be a means to achieve the goals of groups – groups of ruling elites who seek to influence decisions or make a policy taken by the authorities (Kudriashova, 2018)

The category of political radicalism is the act of corruption by the top brass of power, corruption is the disease of the ruler that will destroy a country. An alert from the *keuanganNews.id* (2022) *Jokowi's authoritarian and Corrupt Government* explained the condition of Jokowi's leadership era, this can be seen from the report of The Economic Intelligence Unit (EUI) showing that the democracy index score in Indonesia tends to decline in the era of the Jokowi administration, with a score of 6.3 in 2020, as well as the Corruption Perception Index (GPA) Indonesia lost to neighboring countries such as Singapore and Malaysia. Cooperation or opponents of the political elite and economic elites for the benefit of some groups is deepening which hinders the progress and welfare of the people.

Political radicalism in Indonesia as carried out by the power of political oligarchs, the rise of Indonesian oligarchs is almost not exposed in a number of political steps of top public officials and political elites in the executive and legislative circles. So-called political oligarchs often make public decisions within their own circles (Azra, 2021).

What is happening now in Indonesia is clear evidence that there has been a shift in the political system, that power in Indonesia only belongs to certain groups so as to make policies such as the Omnibus Law on Job Creation The most controversial government policy, namely the Job Creation Bill, is called the omnibus law, looking at the substance of the Job Creation Bill followed by the government considering the initial basis for its formation to accelerate investment. The Omnibus Law Bill initiated by the government is very detrimental to the interests of workers and favors more entrepreneurs and investors (Sadono, 2021).

Politically, the concept of Omnibus Law actually ignores the political interests of law initiators who were removed due to the formation of laws in the new concept. In practical terms the policies made by political power become a vehicle for rationalizing one's own interests in the public sphere. Political and economic actors who use the public space to negotiate their common aspirations regardless of the public. So that political radicalism involves the interests of power that will have an impact as extremism in social life.

The phenomenon of the growth of political oligarchy in Indonesia in a certain aspect formed among economic - financial oligarchs, namely the rich or conglomerates who have a strong conspiracy with political oligarchs. So that politics in the Jokowi era analyzes the existence of elites on the Indonesian political stage such as oligarchs is an alliance of various interests in politics, bureaucracy and business that are able to adapt to democracy and good governance reforms in Indonesia so that it can formulate policies for the benefit of the oligarchy (Winters, 2013).

### 3.3.2 MUHAMMADIYAH AND EFFORTS TO STEM POLITICAL RADICALISM

Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership who exposed radicalism is basically history towards that radicalism occurs in the aspect of political radicalism. Criticism – criticism of Muhammadiyah shows the concern and capacity of Muhammadiyah as a civil society and its relations with the state. So that the Muhammadiyah moderation movement to fight political radicalism, in the Muhammadiyah Khittah in the life of the nation and state through efforts to foster and empower the community for the realization of civil society, while matters related to state policies as a process and result of the political function of government will be pursued through an appropriate and wise approach according to the principle of struggle of interest groups that are effective in life a democratic state (Ilham, 2022).

Muhammadiyah, which is increasingly critical, shows a firm attitude towards President Jokowi's administration, this attitude is considered a form of Muhammadiyah's correction of the government's increasingly accumulated mistakes. Muhammadiyah criticized the government due to mistakes in managing the state, corruption, oligarchic power (Munir, 2020). The Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership considers the eradication of corruption to be a path of pious charity so that, PP Muhammadiyah must take part in the task. When a democracy controlled by a business oligarchy then influences a political oligarchy then it is a corporation like a conglomerate. So there is no feasibility study that is accountable for projects in Indonesia. Such as the big project that will be carried out the relocation of the national capital (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2020).

Regarding government policies that will have a bad impact on society such as the Omnibus Law, Muhammadiyah admitted that he was disappointed with the approval of the Omnibus Law of the Job Creation Bill into law, Muhammadiyah considered the DPR institution which was no longer a representative of the people who should listen to its people, Muhammadiyah who considered that Indonesian politics had now been controlled by the interests of political oligarchs and business oligarchs (Setiawan, 2020), which is likened to politics makes politicians have to ask for funds from capital owners or businessmen, so that a mutually beneficial policy is formed between the two oligarchs.

With the existence of oligarchs in Indonesia itself, state policy finally moved further away from the life of people's sovereignty from the morality of the constitution of the 1945 Constitution. The narrative conveyed Busyro Muqoddas (2021) that the political process in Indonesia is dominated by tycoon oligarchs (conglomerates) in addition to the political process, that the tycoon oligarchy is also behind the source of Indonesia's problems. Seeing the presence of Joko Widodo, who is from outside the New Order oligarchy system, had become a hope for the realization of reform goals, this actually became more and more embedded in the interests of oligarchs in the democratic system so that oligarchs were more adaptive and could develop within the authoritarian scope (Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik PP Muhammadiyah, 2021).

Muhammadiyah Chairman Haedar Nashir also responded that the current condition of the Indonesian nation is still with very severe problems, ranging from corruption, debt, strengthening political oligarchy, making social inequality increase. Judging from several conditions, in fact, in recent years the oligarchy has not provided much benefit, as evidenced by the slow pace of the government in changing the Job Creation Law which was overturned by the Constitutional Court (Raharjo, 2020)

Haedar Nashir who gave the idea in the ITB media Ahmad Dahlan (2012) the spirit of mutual cooperation underlies the building of Indonesia in all aspects of life so that there is no political oligarchy that damages togetherness and makes Indonesia belong to only a small group of parties. Muhammadiyah can be a mobility to abolish this oligarchy of power and spread the goodness of everyone through the institutions owned by Muhammadiyah. So it is necessary to mobilize the awareness and vigilance of citizens against political radicalism, it is necessary to build an assertive attitude of citizens to reject every form of political oligarchy that is very detrimental to the nation.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

From the research narrative writings of Muhammadiyah response and religious moderation that responds to radicalism, especially in modern radicalism Muhammadiyah which views modern radicalism not only discusses acts of violence in the point of view of religious radicalism but also violence actions in different points of view, namely economic radicalism and political radicalism. especially in Indonesia, the narrative of radicalism is narrated in other studies or media information news that there are still many seeing that radicalism is related to acts of violence against religion. However, this study contributes to the latest narrative related to radicalism in a different point of view regarding Muhammadiyah in its religious moderation.

In religious radicalism, in fact, religious radicalism can also be associated with intolerance towards a particular religion. Groups exposed to this radicalism are less



able to accept differences. To assume that the understanding or teachings of the group outside it adheres to is wrong. For example, in terms of worship. So Muhammadiyah has a response of its moderation movement to religious radicalism, namely. Muhammadiyah invites Muslims to hold intra-Muslim dialogues and develop an understanding of religious differences.

Meanwhile, in economic radicalism, namely economic inequality, inequality between classes and the causes of radicalism arise because of the low level of economy in society and economic radicalism is the action of business actors and development actors to carry out coercion which has an impact on social inequality and ecological damage. Muhammadiyah, which responds to economic radicalism, emphasizes in economic development the emphasis on the spirit of capitalism and socialism on zakat institutions for economic development in the realm of building an independent and prosperous society.

From the point of view about political radicalism violence is used as a subversive force and has an impact on the political system as violence is explicitly based on a political ideology derived from the logic of rebellion on actual political problems in the context of deviations from social norms so that it appears whose name is the interest group of the political oligarchy. Muhammadiyah Chairman Haedar Nashir also responded that the current condition of the Indonesian nation is still with very severe problems, ranging from corruption, debt, strengthening political oligarchy, making social inequality increase.

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