Mainstreaming Religious Moderation in Preventing Radicalisms in Contemporary Indonesia: A Case of Muhammadiyah

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Abstract. This research will narrate Muhammadiyah's response to stemming Radicalism. Muhammadiyah's response offers a Moderation program to combat Radicalism. Post-reform, it experienced radicalization in ideological forces. This form of Radicalism is not only within the scope of religious ideology but also included in the economic and political sphere, such as the development of the ideology of liberalism, capitalism, totalitarianism to fascism. This research method is descriptive qualitative with literature study data collection techniques, and researchers also try to take literature reviews using the Connectedpaper application with keywords, namely Moderation and Radicalism. Data analysis of this study by reducing data, data exposure, and verification. The descriptive narrative of Muhammadiyah's research responds to its moderation movement against religious Radicalism. Muhammadiyah invites Muslims to hold intra-Muslim dialogues and develop an understanding of religious differences. Meanwhile, on political Radicalism, Muhammadiyah emphasized in economic development the spirit of capitalism and socialism in zakat institutions for economic growth in the realm of building an independent and prosperous society. From the point of view of Muhammadiyah political radicalism, the real political problem is in the context of deviations from social norms so that the name of the political oligarchy interest group emerges.

Keywords: Radicalism · Religious Movement · Moderation · Social Conflict · Muhammadiyah

1 Introduction

With the theme of religious moderation, it is necessary to present several things that are the background until the title is presented. One of the characteristics of a movement that has Islamic nuances can be called "modern" if the religious movement uses the organizational method. Based on these parameters, Muhammadiyah can be called a modern
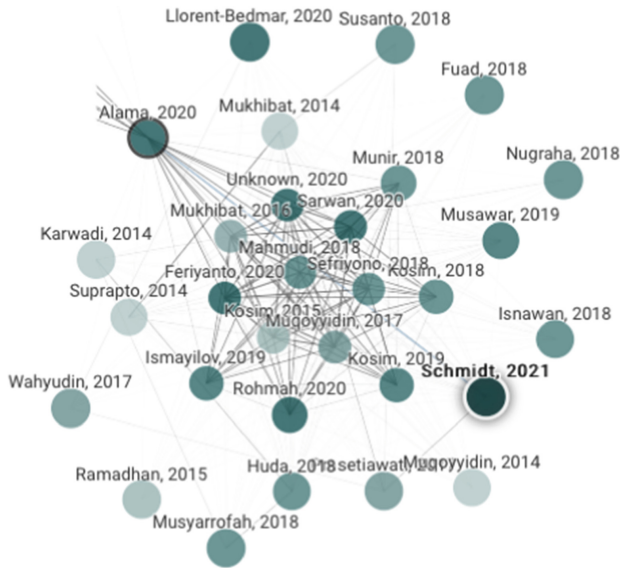
Fig. 1. Literature Review Moderate Radicalism In Connectedpaper.com

Islamic religious movement [1]. As an Indonesian socio-religious organization that has been established for a long time, the legacy of the founding figure of the organization, Muhammadiyah has been led by several organizational leaders, each in each period of leadership has its own character which has an impact on the emphasis and variation of program formulations and organizational activities. Moreover, every period of time faced by religious organizations, in this case Muhammadiyah, of course has its own challenges and problems according to the context of the development being faced, one of which is the moderation movement [2].

Researchers tried to detect keywords for the existence of religious moderation on the connectedpapers application as a previous literature study from 2015–2021, the first research of Muammar Ramadhan, showed that multicultural education implementation with discussion, religious teaching, exemplary stories of discussion, democratization to avoid religious radicalism [3]. Furthermore, Mukhibat in connectedpaper.com, declared Muslims in Indonesia inclusive and humanist, to prevent terrorism – religious radicalism in line with the values of Islamic teachings [4]. The third research, by applying the development of education that is able to resist the influence of Radical Islam [5].

The fourth research by Sefriyono, showed that surau and mosques as places that play an important role in preventing radical Islamic understanding [6]. Fifth by Murad Ismayilov, gives the view that the emergence of religious radicalism is caused by the elite of western legitimacy and the secular domestic makes negative Islam a threat [7]. Sixth by Vicente Lloren, the study prevents the violent radicalism inspired by Islam [8]. The latest research, obtained by Leone Schmidt, explains the strengthening of traditional Islamic figures as role models who can help protect the country from radicalism [9] (Fig. 1).

The seven previous studies from 2015–2021 which were analyzed from the Connect-edpaper application in the moderate and radicalism category, researchers found many discussions related to moderate or radicalism in discussing preventing or resisting religious radicalism, but researchers have not found discussions of radicalism from the point of view of Economics, Politics, Religion. This paper is expected to provide new scientific research related to moderation and radicalism.

In response to all these studies, the stigma of religious radicalism, especially Islam, is so strong as explained by his book John Esposito (2019) Islamophobia and Radicalization: Breeding Intolerance, radicalism is used interchangeably When referring to Islamic radicalism or in general to indicate the degree of extremity. Islamophobia and Islamic radicalism are exclusive ideologies that survive and thrive by blaming, defaming and hating others and such exclusive ideologies do not occur in a vacuum [10].

So that radicalism can now be broken down into two, namely the first is that classical radicalism is a problem in the classical era almost all civilizations have been crushed by radicalism, the group that the Prophet Saw predicted the Ghuluw group to be excessive in worship. Who feel themselves the most correct and their worship is the most diligent so that they do not hesitate to discriminate against others who disagree and the radicalism of this movement is not only in the aspect of understanding but also the aspect of actions that commit acts of terror to other groups [11].

Meanwhile, according to Mikhail Petrovich Trebin [12] that the condition of modern radicalism is an integral component of political life that occurs is the modern radicalism of the unfavorable social environment – economic and political environment, ideological ideas, man-made threats and the environment so as to make social deviations and economic radicalism based on the growth of higher capital efficiency rooted in the radical wing of freedom (liberalism) with economic and political foundations.

In fact, radicalism can be eliminated through the moderation movement, the idea of moderation is based on the first two things in a discursive manner, the people's moderation movement is believed to be the support for the creation of social harmonization of society in the multicultural era. Thus the exclusion of religious is believed to be totally religious truth can be an ideological stumbling block to solve the problem of Indonesian pluralism. Secondly, in praxis, the practice of religious life with claims of truth and salvation in each religious community must be eroded away 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 [13].

However, according to Muhammadiyah, which in this case is the focus of research explaining narratives and movements of moderation Citing data from *the official Muhammadiyah website regarding Religious Moderation in the Perspective of Muhammadiyah* (2021) explained the submission on the website by the General Secretary of PP Muhammadiyah who said the term *Wasathiyah* or moderate, the term is very popular about deradicalization as *Counter Violence Extremism*, so that Muhammadiyah has consistently used the term religious moderation [14].

The Muhammadiyah Movement *on Religious Moderation In Muhammadiyah Perspective* [14] the information is explained by Abdul Mu'ti explaining that Wasathiyyah Islam (islamic moderation) is taken from the word wasatha in the Quran called:

i.   Wasatna (QS. Al-Adiyat:5), that is, the middle or the best.

ii.   Wasathan (QS. Al – Baqarah:143) fair and choice.
iii.   Awsith (QS. Al – Maidah:89) is not extreme and not excessive.
iv.   Awasathu (QS. Al – Qalam: 28) wise.
v.   Wusatha (QS. Al - Baqarah: 238) keep the time of wustha prayers and prayers.

The three Muhammadiyah concepts in understanding moderates conveyed by Abdul Mu'ti at the official Website Muhammadiyah.or.id:

i.   *Wasatha* means something very well equated with khair. Imam Al - Qurthubi likened the wasatha to the phase in the middle of the desert.
ii.   *Wasatha* relates to the attitude of not being extrem and neither excessive either in worship nor in muamalah.
iii.   Behaving in accordance with science and law so often the wasath it is a fair attitude that puts something in its place.

Abdul Mu'ti emphasized that the website Muhammadiyah.or.id that Muhammadiyah is a moderate that is not excessive – neither excessive nor extreme. As Central Islam, Muhammadiyah appears in the scientific movement, so that in solving existing problems Muhammadiyah always listens to opinions from multi perspectives so that it is expected to give birth to solutions that can be accepted in various parties [15].

The Muhammadiyah view of radicalism conveyed by Haedar Nashir in a speech by a professor at the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta stated that Indonesia after the reforms actually experienced radicalization and was exposed to radicalism in the power of ideology in the new system of liberalism and capitalism, 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 [16]. It gives radicalism directed at the fight against ideologies or movements from capitalism, liberalism and authoritarian political moral defects to fascism.

Therefore, this study tries to use the theory of Moderation by Ethan H. Shagan [17] 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 linguistically moderation means a reduction to the extremes of avoidance of violence, moderation can be said to understand a very relevant for the context of diversity in all religious, social, economic and political aspects. After that the theory of Radicalism by Stphen Crook [18] radicalism of understanding or action that creates chaos is taking place in culture and society, while in political leadership the elites are competing – the race for positions and profiles in a very active period of political maneuver (Fig. 2).
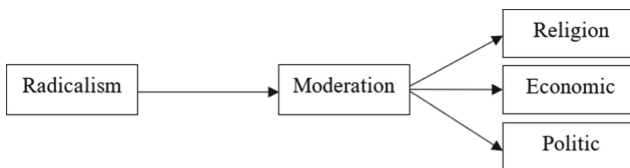

Fig. 2. Frame of Mind

Table 1. Variables and Indicators

Variable	Indicators
Religion	The phenomenon of religious radicalism: 1. The reality of the violent radicalism movement is religious in tone. Muhammadiyah's response: 2. Muhammadiyah moderation to stem religious radicalism
Economics	The phenomenon of economic radicalism: 1. An economic radicalism movement that impacts social and environmental inequality Muhammadiyah's response: 2. Nasari and Muhammadiyah's actions in the face of economic radicalism.
Politics	The phenomenon of political radicalism: 1. The authority of political oligarchs in formulating and implementation of policies. Muhammadiyah's response: 2. Muhammadiyah's criticism of government policies that indicate an oligarchy of political radicalism.

From this frame of mind, it will make it easier for readers to understand moderate movements to respond to radical movements from religion, economy to politics so that a movement of three radicalisms is formed each of which is a separate case in the movement, such as the movement of religious fundamentalism seeking to return to the principle or basis so that it wants to change a state order. The indicators in this study are shown in Table 1.

2 Method

This paper is based on a study that uses qualitative methods. Creswell [19] describes the qualitative method as a method that explores and understands the meaning of social problems. This paper also uses a data collection method with literature study techniques. Creswell [19] 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 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 rests on an improper meaning. The urgency of the research problem is determined by the fact

that in current conditions, radicalism is an integral component of the political life of many countries, which is embodied in the activity and value of the ruling elite.

Departing from this problem, it is essential to study first by using Muhammadiyah's moderation perspective how to explain the difficulty of radicalism in Indonesia from various significant points of view and develop moderation in Indonesia as a new path to Indonesia in the future as the ideals of the fighters so that this research is about Muhammadiyah moderation. This part of the discussion will explain modern radicalism, which is currently Muhammadiyah's efforts in responding to and containing its moderation movement. 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 [20] 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-dîny* 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-dîny* can be interpreted as any excessive deed in religion is the opposite of *wasath* (middle/moderate) which has a good and commendable meaning [21].

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.2 In addition to those mentioned, there are also four other criteria for movements to be considered radical, namely fighting for 'Islam kaffah'(true islam), where Islamic law as state law, basing its religious practices on past orientations (*shalafy*), tends to be hostile to the West, especially against secularization, modernization and resistance to islamic liberalism that is developing in Indonesia. No. 22.

Historically, the emergence of radical movements in Indonesia stemmed 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 Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) movement, the Indonesian Mujahideen Council (MMI), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and others also emerged [23].

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 [24].

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 the Founder of Muhammadiyah, Achmad Dahlan, used to gather beggars, vagrants, and homeless people in Poor Housing (Roemah Miskin).

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 Dahlan used to foster underprivileged communities. As mandated by the 47th Congress of Makassar 2015, Muhammadiyah invites Muslims, especially member of Muhammadiyah's members 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 natural (*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 [25], radical economics is based on Marx's economy of higher capital efficiency growth, 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 which addresses the undemocratic and immoral aspects of economic radicalism [25]. So it says professor of economics at the United States Julie Nelson [26] life today the 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.

In the economic system, the founders of the nation in 1945 through article 33 took a moderate path or midpoint by recognizing the function of the state for control called Hatta "*Guided Economy*" by creating prosperity and social justice. In the guided economic system, decisions are made by the minds of the people and not based on market mechanisms as in the liberal economic system. Thus the current liberal economic impact is an uneven level of economic prosperity [27].

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% in Indonesia controls 46.6% of the total wealth of the Indonesian population [28] (Fig. 3).

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 that it can become a serious problem in the future [29]. The data shows that development in
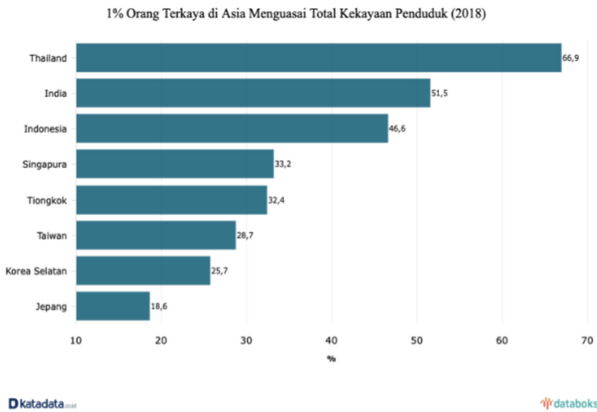
1% Orang Terkaya di Asia Menguasai Total Kekayaan Penduduk (2018)

Fig. 3. Asia's Richest 1% Control the Total Wealth of the Population. Source [29].

Indonesia is still colored by extraordinary inequality. This recitation 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 [30]. 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 [31].

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 adequately overcome various Indonesian economic problems, such as Indonesia's weak and vulnerable economic resilience, economic growth only based on foreign investment in external debt. Countries and conglomerates, so that the results of development are enjoyed by only a small part of society, the gap widens and the joints of national socioeconomic life grow without the support of strong roots [32].

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 [33]. The narrative of Haedar Nashir [34] in the article Revitalization of the Vision and Character of the Nation, according to Muhammadiyah, some of the problems in

economic development that 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 twolistis.
- A final 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 philanthropy (Lazismu) for the productive use of *zakat, infak, wakaf* and giving (*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 became a media link between rich and poor [35].

Muhammadiyah in economic development by guiding the community towards improvement. To improve the quality of its management. By establishing charitable enterprises in the field of BPR, BMT, Cooperation and Muhammadiyah also developed a movement that has extraordinary opportunities by formulating a productive economic movement model [36]. 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 [37] *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 political ideologies 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 of achieving the goals of groups – groups of ruling elites who seek to influence decisions or make a policy taken by the authorities [38].

The category of political radicalism is the act of corruption by the top brass of power, corruption is the disease of the ruler who will destroy a country. An alert from the

keuanganNews.id [39] *Jokowi's authoritarian and Corrupt Government* explained the condition of Jokowi's leadership era, this can be seen from the report of The Economist Intelligence Unit (EUI) showing that the score of the democracy index in Indonesia tends to decline in the era of Jokowi's rule, with a score of 6.3 in 2020, as well as Indonesia's Corruption Perception Index (GPA) losing 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.

Iain Mclean's (2009) *The Politics Oxford Dictionary of Politics* kora political radicalism in a fundamentally containing point of thought (down to matters of principle) after which it is very hard to demand changes to a rule such as laws and government systems for the sake of interest [40]. 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 [41].

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 it in terms of subs the extent of the Job Creation Bill, which was followed by the government, considered 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 [42].

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.

Phenomena the growth of political oligarchy in Indonesia in a certain aspect formed among economic – financial oligarchs, namely rich people or conglomerates who have a strong conspiracy with political oligarchy 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 reforms governance in Indonesia so that it can formulate policies for the benefit of oligarchs [43].

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 principal (*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 [15].

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 for its mismanagement of the state, corruption, oligarchic power [44]. 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 corporate like a conglomerate. So there is no feasibility study that is accountable for projects in Indonesia. Such as the major project that will be carried out the relocation of the capital of the country [45].

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 institutions that were no longer representatives of the people who should listen to their people, Muhammadiyah who considered that Indonesian politics had now been controlled by the interests of political oligarchs and business oligarchs [46], which is likened to politics making 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. Busyro Muqoddas [47] narration conveys that the political process in Indonesia is dominated by many oligarch tycoons (conglomerates) in addition to the political process, that the oligarchy of tycoons is also behind the source of Indonesia's problems. Seeing the presence of Joko Widodo, who is from outside the New Order oligarchy system, it has become a hope to further embed the interests of oligarchs in the democratic system so that oligarchs are more adaptive and can develop within the authoritarian sphere [47].

Haedar Nashir's speech as the head of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership stated that Indonesian Muslims are much easier for the moderation movement because of the disposition and sociological space of the Indonesian society and Muslims who are potentially moderate. The majority of Islamic u mat in Indonesia actually has a moderate character and is anti-all forms of radicalism, extremism and terrorism. Muhammadiyah most consistently voices moderation in the face of radicalization or radicalism and criticizes deradicalization because if it is consistent as a moderate force, the steps taken by Muammadiyah must be moderate and not deconstruction. Muhammadiyah has established Indonesia with the "*State of Pancasila Darul Ahdi Wasyahada*" as evidence of its firm and moderate skiap in determining its ideological position towards the Indonesian State [48].

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 [49].

Haedar Nashir who gave the idea in the ITB media Ahmad Dahlan [50] 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   Conclusions

From the writing of the research narrative of the Muhammadiyah response and religious Moderation that responds to radicalism, especially in different types of radicalism Muhammadiyah which views modern radicalism, it does not only discuss acts of violence in the point of view of religious radicalism but violent actions in different points of view, namely economic radicalism and political radicalism, especially in Indonesia. The narrative of radicalism is articulated in other studies or media news that still many see that radicalism concerns acts of violence against religion. However, this study contributes to the latest narrative related to radicalism from a different point of view regarding Muhammadiyah in its religious moderation movement.

In religious radicalism 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. 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 response to economic radicalism, emphasizes economic development, the spirit of capitalism, and socialism on zakat institutions for economic growth in building an independent and welfare society.

Lastly, from the point of view of political radicalism, violence is used as a subversive force. It impacts 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 Indonesian nation's current condition is still severe, ranging from corruption, foreign debt, and strengthening political oligarchy, to worsening social inequality.

In conclusion, Muhammadiyah's contribution to mainstreaming authentic moderation should be appreciated as part of the solution to the problem of any type of radicalism

in political, religious, and economic life to run forward under the foundation of nation-state building. One of the crucial roles of the moderation movement was undoubtedly chosen as an alternative to deradicalization to face all forms of radicalism in a moderate act and value. In other words, Muhammadiyah is demanding a more peaceful solution against the terror of radicalism nationwide.

Authors' Contributions.   The author comprises five supervisor who also contributed to writing the article. Article writing is separated into numerous stages of research and writing that are completed in 3 (three) months. The author investigates related themes based on observations made in the field over many months. The writer offers the ideas in this scientific article based on observable data.

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