



# Strategies of the Regional Leaders of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro in Against the Radicalism Movement

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**Abstract.** This study examines the contribution of the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro, East Java, in an effort to stem the outbreak of the radicalism movement. The problem is limited to the following: (1) What are the views (regarding the definition, characteristics, and statements of agreeing or disagreeing) of Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro towards the Islamic radicalism movement? (2) What efforts can be taken by Muhammadiyah in Bojonegoro in stemming the spread of Islamic radicalism in society, especially in Bojonegoro? (3) In the field of da'wah, what strategies are used to minimize the possibility of spreading Islamic radicalism in society? This type of research is field research, the primary data source is obtained through interviews with Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro, in addition to documents belonging to the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders. Data collection techniques through interviews, observation and documentation. The results of this study are: First, regarding the definition of radicalism according to figures and leaders of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro, it is understood as a movement that wants to completely change the social order in unconstitutional ways. Among Muhammadiyah figures in Bojonegoro considers that radicalism is a product of conspiracy, so that in this context the meaning of radicalism is biased. However, all Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah leaders agreed that Muhammadiyah refused and would fight radicalism. Second, among the efforts/contributions of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders in overcoming radicalism are manifested in various work programs such as implementing the policies of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership to enlighten the community by showing the face of Islam that is rahmatan lil 'alamin Third, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro does not use a special strategy either in the field of da'wah and in other fields related to combating radicalism, because in general the Muhammadiyah movement from the central level to the lowest level is a movement that shows the spirit of wasathiyah/moderate, inclusive, and promotes tolerance.

**Keywords:** Muhammadiyah · Radicalism · Moderate · Tolerant · Inclusive

## 1 Introduction

Today, acts of violence committed in the name of religion are mostly carried out by some people. By showing such violence, it is not uncommon for people to lose trust in

Islam which carries a mission of peace and love for the entire universe. The phenomenon of violence in the name of religion almost always occurs every year in Indonesia, both political, social, economic and cultural. In the national sphere, for example, religious violence that recently occurred was an attack by a group of people wearing veils against a sea alms event in Bantul, [1] the bombing of three churches in Surabaya by a woman [2] the attack by the residents of Sampang Madura against the Shia community [3]. The phenomenon of violence in the name of religion which is generally referred to as radicalism or fundamentalism also occurs in the international sphere such as the Black September incident, namely the destruction of the World Trade Center (WTC) building on September 11, 2001 in the United States, where the perpetrators are claimed to be from groups acting in the name of the Islamic movement. crashed a bomb-laden plane into the building. One year later, the world was again shocked by the Bali Blast incident, namely the bombing that destroyed the Sari Club discotheque entertainment center in Legian Bali on October 12, 2002. Not enough, religious violence was also repeated with the subway bombing in the city of London on the 7th. and July 21, 2005 where the perpetrator was identified as a follower of a hardline Islamic group that carried out violence as a result of the United States' political actions that carried out the invasion of Iraq.

What is mentioned above are only a few incidents of religious radicalism carried out by hard-line Islamic groups. This is based on the fact that the perpetrators of the violence are based on religious zeal and they are identified as adherents of radical Islam [4]. Radical Islam itself is a social construction which has various definitions, depending on who and which group defines it [5]. Radicalism is the result of labeling religious movements that have characteristics that distinguish them from other Islamic movements where the mainstream of the movement aims to uphold Islamic teachings in accordance with the truth they understand for themselves. Usually, the vision and mission of the radical Islamic movement is to uphold Islam in accordance with the textual teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah and reject moderate and contextual thoughts. To realize their goal, which is to make changes to the social, political, economic, cultural, and so on, they openly break down the existing order and replace it with a new order according to what they want.

Because of its characteristics that rely on violent means, the roots of Islamic radicalism are often associated with the Wahhabism movement in Saudi Arabia. As it is known that the scholars of the salaf schools in building their schools are done by instilling their ideas through the writing of scientific papers in volumes and filled with various debates. Meanwhile, the Wahhabi sect in broadcasting its teachings is pursued by means of violence and views those who do not follow its teachings as followers of heresy and therefore must be fought based on the principle of "amar ma'ruf and nahi munkar" [6] Because of its radicalism, the Wahhabism movement is seen by some as a reincarnation of the Khawarij sect that has appeared in Islamic history.

According to Nur Syam, Islamic radicalism in general is not born from a vacuum. There are several reasons behind it, including: First, because of political pressure from the authorities. According to him, in the reform era, religious radicalism is growing more and more because there is no room for the authorities to suppress it in a structured and systematic way. This is because in the reform era, democratization and human rights

were prioritized, making it possible for the emergence of Islamic radicalism movements as a consequence of this era of openness. Second, there is a response to the West, namely a response to the policies of the Western world which are considered detrimental and even exploit Islam, as well as to minimize the role and influence of Islam in life in various sectors [7].

Apart from the reasons for the emergence of the radicalism movement above, according to Syamsul Arifin, the state cannot pretend to be the sole actor in an effort to solve problems caused by the actions of the radicalism movement, without involving institutions outside the state, namely institutions owned by the community (civil society). According to him, the solution to the problem of religious radicalism requires a comprehensive or systemic approach in which all components of society must work together synergistically [8]. In the Indonesian context, the role of Islamic mass organizations - especially mass organizations that have been known as moderate-minded organizations such as Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah - is of course very much needed to participate in overcoming and stemming the spread of radicalism movements that are increasingly growing in the country.

The chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, Haedar Nasir, has stated that Muhammadiyah firmly rejects acts of radicalism or extremism in any form, including terrorism and acts of terror that endanger society. Terrorists who act in the name of Islam basically cannot be denied their existence. However, the ways to prevent it must take into account the principles of essential humanity. It is very important for the authorities to find and consider the root causes of someone becoming radical before and after taking action. That's why moderation is Muhammadiyah's choice in responding to patterns of handling and overcoming radicalism and terrorism movements that occur in Indonesia. Countering radicalism through deradicalization, according to Muhammadiyah, is seen as an effort to eliminate radicalism and terrorism in an extreme way. This method is considered by Muhammadiyah to be inappropriate, so moderation is another method that is considered better.

Muhammadiyah itself in general has actually taken a very important and decisive role in the fight against religious radicalism. However, the synergy in overcoming the radicalism movement between the government and Muhammadiyah is certainly not only carried out in the central domain, but also in the regional domains, branches and branches of Muhammadiyah in each region, including the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro where this research was carried out. Indeed, until now the author has not found any cases of radicalism that have occurred in the Bojonegoro area, but the bombing incident at the Surabaya church some time ago had disturbed the people of East Java, especially the residents of Bojonegoro. Therefore, the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership has been actively involved in efforts to overcome acts of radicalism and terrorism, especially in the form of prevention.

In relation to the problems raised in this study, there are at least a number of problem points that the writer wants to find answers to through this research, namely: (1) What are the views (related to definitions, characteristics, and statements of agreeing or not) Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro towards the radicalism movement Islam? (2) What efforts can be taken by Muhammadiyah in Bojonegoro (if it does not agree with the Islamic radicalism movement) in stemming the spread of Islamic radicalism in

society, especially in Bojonegoro? (3) In the field of da'wah, what strategies are used to minimize the possibility of spreading Islamic radicalism in society? The purpose of this study is to find answers to the problems that have been formulated in this study, through the results of the analysis of the data obtained in the study. This type of research is field research, the primary data source is obtained through interviews with Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro, in addition to documents belonging to the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leaders. Data collection techniques through interviews, observation and documentation.

## 2 Discussion

### 2.1 Definition of Radicalism

The term radicalism comes from a word in Latin, namely "radix" which means "root". The etymological meaning can be narrated as an act of thinking deeply about something to its roots. In the Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, radical is defined as "Believing or expressing the belief that there should be great or extreme social or political change," [9] namely an attitude of belief or expressing belief that major or extreme social or political change must occur.

Terminologically, radicalism has various definitions, among which radicalism is defined as an understanding that requires changes, replacements, and penetrations of a system that applies in society to its roots by means of violence or other extreme means. Nursyam understands the term radicalism as a result of labeling movements that have distinguishing characteristics from mainstream Islamic movements whose goal is to uphold Islamic teachings in accordance with the past [9].

Radicalism requires the realization of a total change in a political, economic, cultural, or all aspects of people's lives. Radical groups believe that the plans they use are the most ideal plans and even the most in line with what God wants. Related to this radicalism, based on several research results, [] often depart from a narrow understanding of religion that ends in acts of terror and violence. This extreme attitude breeds in the middle of a stage that shows poverty, social inequality, or injustice [10].

From the definitions and explanations above, it can be understood that radicalism is the attitude and actions of both individuals and certain groups that use violent means in carrying out the desired changes. Radical groups generally want changes that they carry out in a short time and in an extreme way, even though they are aware that this method is contrary to the prevailing social system. Due to the inherent characteristics of the radicalism movement, radicalism is often associated with terrorism because radical groups often use any means to realize their desires, including by terrorizing those who are not in line with their understanding. Although currently many associate radicalism with certain religious doctrines, basically radicalism is not part of religious teachings.

From various readings about the radicalism movement as described above, the author notes several characteristics that characterize the movement, including:

- a. Radicalism is a form of rejection of the existing order, be it political, economic, cultural, religious, and so on.

- b. There is a desire to make drastic changes through extreme means or not through justified legal channels.
- c. There is a strong belief and assumption that the understanding of radicals is the most correct and most in accordance with religious doctrine, while understanding outside their understanding is wrong and must be opposed.
- d. The use of violence and terror, either by means of destruction, murder, bombing, and other inhumane sadistic ways.

## 2.2 The View of Muhammadiyah Leaders in Bojonegoro on Radicalism

The first person I interviewed regarding the views of Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro on radicalism was Sholihin Jamik, the current deputy chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership. According to him, based on the origin of the word radicalism, namely “radic” which means “root”, he divided radicalism into two groups, namely: First, radicalism which has a positive connotation, is radicalism in the sense of returning to its basic or basic origin. He considered that radicalism like this is radicalism that must be owned and carried out by Muhammadiyah residents because it is in line with Muhammadiyah’s *khittah*. For example, in the context of religion, Muhammadiyah members must be radical in the sense of returning to the Qur’an and the Sunnah *maqbullah* which in Muhammadiyah is known as *tajrid* (purification) and *tajdid* (enlightenment and renewal). Meanwhile, in the context of living as a state, Muhammadiyah citizens must be radical in the sense of making Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution the foundation of the nation and state without any bargaining. As for Muhammadiyah’s attitude towards positive radicalism, according to him, Muhammadiyah supports and practices this model of radicalism because it does not conflict with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Second, radicalism with a negative connotation is radicalism that is wrong and contrary to the principles of the Muhammadiyah Movement. For example, in a religious context, this negative radicalism can be seen in the form of extreme attitudes in religion, such as feeling that the religious understanding that is followed is the most correct, and forcing others to follow their religious understanding either by violence or in other ways. As for the context of the state, this negative radicalism can be seen in the attitude of rejection of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state, as well as actions aimed at abolishing or replacing the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with other ideologies, both Islamic ideologies (such as the efforts of Islamic groups to establish a caliphate or Islamic government in Indonesia) as well as other ideologies such as communism. According to Sholihin Jamik, Muhammadiyah rejects this negative radicalism and is ready to fight anyone or any group indicated by this negative radicalism [11]. Sholihin Jamik also said that the root of radicalism is actually economic inequality, because it is not enough to tackle radicalism only by de-radicalization without involving social programs that are useful for improving people’s welfare.

Another Muhammadiyah figure, Miftahul Huda, chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council, argues that radicalism is a movement that aims to make total change by sticking to basic teachings. Therefore, the religious character of Muhammadiyah which requires the realization of purification and modernization can be said to be radical which does not conflict with Islam and Pancasila. However, he emphasized that in fact the meaning of radical itself is biased in society because there are parties who

want to distort that meaning to corner, attack and divide Muslims. According to him, this can be seen from the fact that Muhammadiyah is often accused of being radical even though Muhammadiyah in religion always prioritizes an inclusive attitude and continues to support Pancasila as the state ideology [12].

In addition, he stated that there are three characteristics of radicalism, namely: (1) In terms of statehood, this group wants to change or replace the state ideology, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with other ideologies such as Islamic or communist ideology. (2) In interpreting the commandment of jihad, people who can be called radicals always understand jihad in the form of war or acts of violence. This group does not want to understand the word jihad with any other meaning than the war against disbelief, injustice and so on. (3) Radical groups are always intolerant of other groups who have different views with them, where this attitude is often shown in the form of acts of coercion and violence, even acts of terrorism. He, stated that there are three characteristics of radicalism, namely: (1) In terms of statehood, this group wants to change or replace the state ideology, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with other ideologies such as Islamic or communist ideology. (2) In interpreting the commandment of jihad, people who can be called radicals always understand jihad in the form of war or acts of violence. This group does not want to understand the word jihad with any other meaning than the war against disbelief, injustice and so on. (3) Radical groups are always intolerant of other groups who have different views with them, where this attitude is often shown in the form of acts of coercion and violence, even acts of terrorism.

According to Miftahul Huda, these three points are not found in Muhammadiyah at all from the center to the branch level. He explained several reasons as follows: First, as it is known that Muhammadiyah's acceptance of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the state ideology of the Republic of Indonesia has been completed and does not need to be tampered with anymore. In addition, since the founding of this country, Muhammadiyah has never once been involved in movements that have a radical character as mentioned in the points above. Second, jihad in Muhammadiyah is not only interpreted as war and violence against infidels, but jihad can be carried out in various ways such as teaching Islamic sciences to the younger generation, building educational, social and health service centers for the community, preaching and helping others, all of them. is jihad according to Muhammadiyah. Against acts of terrorism on the pretext of religion, Muhammadiyah strongly condemns it and dissociates itself from it. Third, Muhammadiyah in Islam always prioritizes an inclusive attitude in the sense of upholding its religious beliefs, but respecting other people or groups who have different religious understandings from Muhammadiyah. stay away from that attitude [13].

When the author asks his views on the understanding that people who are ruled by the 1945 Constitution and its accessories such as the Criminal Code and the Western Civil Code, can they be said to be infidels, because they do not use Allah's law, namely the Qur'an? and Sunnah as the only source of law? He replied that understanding the Qur'an does not have to be textual, but must also be contextual and substantive. According to him, substantively, the verses that call for judgment with what Allah has revealed mean that they want the enforcement of Allah's Shari'a, such as justice and benefit. Such verses should not be intended to change or replace Pancasila as the basis of the state, but rather to strengthen Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the state because

Pancasila contains the values of justice, equality and the common good. Therefore, what Muhammadiyah is fighting for is not replacing the state basis with Islamic law, but filling all aspects of the state with Islamic values, and this has been realized through various business charities and work programs of Muhammadiyah from the center to the branches [14].

Furthermore, Ikhwanuddin, general treasurer of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, is of the view that the issue of radicalism is actually just a conspiracy project by parties who want to corner Muslims. According to him, this can be seen from two aspects, namely: First, who are accused of being radical, the majority are Islamic groups. Second, those who always make radical accusations are those who hate Islam. When the writer asks what is the meaning of radical and what character can be recognized from a radical movement? He replied that all forms of violence aimed at cornering Muslims are radical. As for the radical character, according to him, is the attitude of feeling the most self-righteous, both in matters of religion, politics, and in social life, so that is radical. In this case, Muhammadiyah strongly rejects radicalism because it is contrary to the teachings of the Muhammadiyah struggle [15].

With a different narrative, Sugito, Chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Youth, understands that radicalism is a movement that requires a total and extreme change to the existing order, both in the realm of religion and in state life with extreme ways such as coercion, violence, and even war and terrorism. According to him, the basic characteristics of a radicalist person or group are exclusivity, coercion, intimidation, and violence in order to achieve the desired goals. For him, radicalism is a threat to Muslims, the unity and integrity of the nation, therefore Muhammadiyah rejects and frees itself from the radical virus. Because the ideology of radicalism is clearly contrary to the da'wah principle that has been embraced by Muhammadiyah [16].

Chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, Suwito, regarding the definition of radicalism he said that so far the notion of radicalism has always been hegemonized by power holders. That is, who has the right to determine that as a group is called radical or not, it is the authorities who with their power seem to have the most right to determine which are radical and which are not. Therefore, he underlined the following three points: (1) So far there has been no agreed definition by all parties regarding radicalism and the standards of its movement. (2) The meaning of radicalism which is biased in interpretation has the potential to cause parties with power and strength to easily make radical accusations to other groups without acceptable evidence. (3) He considers that the issue of radicalism is a project or conspiracy of parties in power who have the power to influence the community. Therefore, he suggested to the researchers and to the government that before discussing the issue of radicalism, the definition of radicalism must first be agreed so as not to cause noise and a monopoly of interpretation, thus causing errors in its handling [17].

According to Suwito, among the characters in which a group can be called radical are those who show exclusive traits (feeling that their group is the most correct), intolerant (not accepting anything that is different from the understanding they hold), and excessive fanaticism towards an understanding or belief which he adheres to. In addition, according to him, the hallmark of radicalism is carrying out acts of violence without justifiable reasons. However, he emphasized that so far, radicalism has been nothing more than a



negative stigma hurled at Muslims, so that the term and character of radicalism itself is often monopolized by parties who want the destruction of Islam [18]. Suwito's view was confirmed by Abdul Haris, Deputy Chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership cadre, who said that the characteristics of the radicalism movement could actually be recognized by their enthusiasm to change the state ideology – namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution – through unconstitutional means. So that what happens is acts of terrorism such as bombings, murders, destruction, and actions that cannot be justified both according to sharia and according to the law that applies in our country [19].

These are the views of several Muhammadiyah figures and leaders in Bojonegoro whom the writer interviewed regarding their understanding of the meaning of radicalism and its characteristics. Each respondent expresses the definition of radicalism with different editorials, but has more or less the same meaning, which is more or less radicalism is understood as a movement that requires total change accompanied by coercion through unconstitutional extreme ways. Regarding the character of radicalism, the respondents also gave almost the same answers, namely exclusive attitudes, intolerance, fanaticism, and they were the most self-righteous. Regarding the attitude of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah leaders and leaders towards the radicalism movement, all of them agreed that Muhammadiyah rejected and freed itself from all forms of radicalism which in Sholihin Jamik's language was referred to as radicalism with a negative connotation.

### **2.3 Efforts to Counter Radicalism Movement**

According to Sholihin Jamik, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro has and has always contributed to efforts to overcome radicalism which has a negative connotation as previously described. The concrete steps that he exemplified include increasing the dialogue of the Forum for Religious Harmony in Bojonegoro, as well as establishing cooperation with other religious communities in the realm of muamalah or social relations. In addition, the leaders and leaders of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro also made internal efforts to prevent acts of religious radicalism by giving Muhammadiyah citizens the correct understanding of Islamic teachings both in matters of worship and in broader issues, including in matters of nation and state. According to him, Muhammadiyah leaders never stop paying special attention to Muhammadiyah cadres in the regions to always stick to the teachings of the Muhammadiyah struggle so as not to be influenced by radical ideas that are contrary to Islam and Pancasila. In the external sphere, one form of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro's efforts in tackling the development of radicalism is to instill or broadcast an inclusive attitude in religion in the sense of upholding the religious beliefs it adheres to while respecting the religious beliefs of others. Meanwhile, in the realm of the nation and state, Muhammadiyah, according to him, always calls on the wider community to maintain the state ideology, namely Pancasila, so that it remains firmly established as the state ideology. He emphasized that Muhammadiyah would fight anyone or any group who wanted to change or replace the Pancasila ideology with other ideologies. For example, the idea of tri precepts or eka precepts that have been raised by several political figures in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah does not agree and will fight it either through constitutional channels or through other means that do not conflict with Islam and the teachings of the Muhammadiyah struggle [20].



The chairman of the Board of Tarjih and Tabligh of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, Miftahul Huda, stated that the contribution of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro in stemming the movement of religious radicalism included implementing regional programs as follows: (1) Providing guidance to Muhammadiyah residents in particular and Bojonegoro residents in general through Islamic da'wah movement, Islamic studies, as well as discussions between community leaders and between religious leaders in the Bojonegoro area. (2) Be pro-active in disseminating the policies of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, in addition to making innovative programs aimed at increasing religious knowledge and general public welfare. (3) Selecting Muhammadiyah preachers to ensure that the preachers assigned to fill mosques in the Bojonegoro area are those who have good religious abilities and knowledge and are of moderate character [21].

Treasurer of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, Ikhwanuddin, explained that as an effort of Muhammadiyah in stemming the spread of radicalism in society, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro made various efforts, including: (1) Optimizing work programs that have been determined by the organization from the center to the branch level. (2) Calling on all its cadres to realize Islam as rahmatan lil alamin that shelters, protects, and spreads love, not as a religion that intimidates and becomes a source of violence. (3) Grounding Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the ideology of the life of the nation and state. (4) Actively build communication and harmonious relations between religious communities in the Bojonegoro area. (5) Active in various social activities aimed at improving the welfare of the community. According to Sugito, one of the efforts that has been taken by the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Youth in relation to overcoming radicalism in society is to increase and strengthen ukhuwah Islamiyah and nationality not only in the Bojonegoro Regency area, but also in areas outside Bojonegoro. In addition, the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Youth is also active in socializing by holding various social activities such as social assistance, disaster management assistance, health management assistance, in addition to conducting various studies throughout the Bojonegoro area [22].

According to the Chairman of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, Suwito, among the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah efforts in overcoming the radicalism movement, apart from intensively providing enlightenment in the form of scientific studies and grounding the results of the 2015 Muhammadiyah congress in Makassar, it also always socializes the concept of dar al-ahdi wa al-syahadah. as a guide for the community in the state. Muhammadiyah, according to him, even though it is an Islamic movement that is rahmatan lil alamin (becoming a blessing to the whole world) is often accused by other groups of being a radical movement. This happens because one of the reasons is an error in understanding the meaning of radicalism. Suwito himself admits that the potential for radicalism in Muhammadiyah is always there, although he believes it can be overcome. Because so far, according to him, none of the Muhammadiyah leaders in Bojonegoro agree with radicalism. Therefore, in this case, Muhammadiyah never stops educating the public with faith and knowledge so that they are not easily influenced by various provocative issues that can damage ukhuwah Islamiyah and ukhuwah wathaniyah.

So far, it can be said that in general the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership has been and continues to seek various activities as a form of its contribution to the state in dealing with the problem of overcoming the spread of radicalism in the country. Among the efforts mentioned by Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah leaders – as described above – are bringing in Muhammadiyah figures from the center to provide enlightenment, intensify scientific studies, be proactive with the government and the police, encourage discussions at the Harmony Forum. Religious people, ground the concept of *dar al-ahdi wa al-syahadah* as a guide for the community in the state, and what Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro is most actively doing is holding social activities aimed at helping the welfare of the community so that they are not easily tempted by invitations to radicalism.

#### **2.4 Da'wah Strategy in the Context of Countering Radicalism**

Regarding the da'wah strategy in the context of tackling radicalism, Sholihin Jamik said that Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah had taken concrete steps such as informal selection of Muhammadiyah preachers who were assigned to give lectures or teachings on Islamic sharia in various mosques and the Bojonegoro district. Those who serve as dai Muhammadiyah must be people who have in-depth knowledge of Islamic sharia and have moderate understanding. In addition, several special steps taken by Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro in the context of combating radicalism can be stated as follows: (1) Encouraging the Bojonegoro Regency Government to make a kind of regional regulation or circular ordering the citizens of Bojonegoro to cooperate with the government against radicalism. (2) Establishing inter-religious discussion forums to jointly seek solutions to the problems of religious radicalism that have been occurring in the country. (3) Always be vigilant and equip yourself with knowledge, faith and piety so as not to fall into the epidemic of religious radicalism. (4) Cooperate and always establish communication with the government and the apparatus in charge of dealing with acts of terrorism and religious radicalism. Those are some of the da'wah strategies explained by the deputy chairman of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro.

Regarding the specific strategy used by Muhammadiyah in the context of moderate education to the community, Miftahul Huda explained as follows: (1) Besides regularly conducting Sunday morning studies at Muhammadiyah's mosques, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro with a solution-based and interactive branding study model has conducted studies regularly on the radio belonging to the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, namely Madani FM radio which discusses religious issues such as interpretation, hadith, fiqh, even state issues and a good and inclusive social life. (2) At a certain time bring speakers from the central leadership to the regions and regions to fill out religious studies for Muhammadiyah members and the general public. (3) In its da'wah, Muhammadiyah does not highlight the name Muhammadiyah as the organizer, nor does it highlight Muhammadiyah's religious understanding, but instead prioritizes *ukhuwah Islamiyah* and public peace. In terms of Islamic moderation education, Miftahul Huda said that Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro did not make a special strategy, because essentially Islamic moderation education had been integrated into Muhammadiyah's movements and work programs.

Likewise, with Ikhwanuddin who has a similar view to Miftahul Huda regarding Muhammadiyah's da'wah strategy, where according to him there is no special strategy in Muhammadiyah in this regard because the Muhammadiyah movement from its inception until now is a moderate Islamic movement. Various study activities such as moral education, Islamic aqidah recitation, and Islamic studies held by Muhammadiyah are all moderate and inclusive.

In Sugito's view, the da'wah strategy carried out in his contribution to stemming the radicalism movement so far has been very large, as mentioned by several Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah leaders above. According to him, there are many work programs that have been effective so far to inhibit the rate of radicalism movement, especially in the Bojonegoro area, including: (1) Equipping Muhammadiyah residents with knowledge and a high spirit of nationalism/nationalism. (2) Pro-active with the government to maintain synergy to maintain peace and community unity. (3) If it is said that one of the reasons for the emergence of the radicalism movement is social inequality/poverty, then Muhammadiyah has been and continues to increase social activities in order to minimize radicalism for the welfare of the community so that it is not easily influenced by invitations that lead to radicalism with the promise of economic prosperity.

Specifically in the field of da'wah, according to him, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro in dealing with the rise of radicalism movements has carried out several da'wah strategies as follows: (1) Activating Islamic and scientific studies through a youtube channel called the Madani study, which displays a form of study related to Wasathiyah Islam, inclusive and tolerant. (2) Conducting regular studies through the radio channel belonging to the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro called Madani FM radio which contains interactive studies where listeners can directly ask Islamic problems faced on a daily basis to resource persons who incidentally are figures and scholars Muhammadiyah in Bojonegoro. According to him, this da'wah method has been going on for a long time even before Covid-19 entered the Bojonegoro area.

In general, as stated by Suwito, Muhammadiyah does not make a special strategy either in the field of da'wah or in other fields in an effort to combat radicalism. This right is because the AD/ART of Muhammadiyah and its implementation in the form of work programs have been inspired by the inclusive and tolerant spirit of Wasathiyah Islam (moderate Islam). So there is no need for special programs or strategies in the context of moderate Islamic education, because Muhammadiyah itself is moderate.

### **3 Analysis**

#### **3.1 Roots of Radicalism, Religion or Economics?**

From the results of the research above, one of the respondents said that the root of radicalism is economic inequality, and none of the characters I interviewed explicitly said that the root of radicalism was religion, but explicitly the author could understand that shallow knowledge of religion could potentially give rise to radicalism.

The act of radicalism which is identical with violence in the name of God or violence as worship should be placed in a big landscape as a form of cultural violence that involves symbols. Of course, this trend is not exclusively found in Islam which has recently received global attention, but also in Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and

even in the Manichaeistic dualistic religions in the East. However, there has long been an opinion that the tendency of intolerance is more manifested by monotheist religions than polytheist religions because of their exclusivism character. This type of violence is just one of many forms of violence in today's society. The placement certainly should not obscure the characteristics or peculiarities of this type. The use of religious symbols to justify acts of radicalism does not only operate on the surface, but involves the existential dimension of the actors because religion is a source of meaning and motivation not only for human life, but also for their willingness to die. For this reason, research on explanatory models for this type of violence cannot be separated from understanding the exclusivism theological doctrines that justify the act of radicalism. It is true that all religions prohibit violence, but it is also hard to deny that religious doctrine is not completely free from the potential to be interpreted as justifying violence in the name of religion.

In this context justification and motivation are intertwined, namely theological justification raises the motivation of the perpetrator, while the motivation of the perpetrator seeks theological justification. Of course, it is undeniable that in this functionalistic era, humans, including religious adherents who are involved in acts of terrorism, persecution, and acts of intolerance, of course also have a tendency to be instrumental towards religion which in turn the instrument also encourages the implementation of the violence. As for the statement that political, social, and especially economic motives are the roots of radicalism that must be given special handling so that radicalism does not occur, it can be justified even though the truth may be only half of it. Because the other half of the truth is that religious exclusivism not only serves as a justification, but also as a motivation to commit violence.

Therefore, the author argue that in addition to the need to overcome social inequality and the hegemony of a group, de-radicalization also includes an appropriate hermeneutic task above religious doctrines which have been a source of justification for acts of violence, so that interpretations of religious doctrines are no longer a source of justification for acts of violence. source of motivation for religious radicalism. In this case, the efforts of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro in activating its enlightenment through inclusive and tolerant religious studies should be appreciated. Because that's one of the right steps to tackle the outbreak of acts of radicalism in the name of religion. It is the duty of religious leaders, scholars and scientists not only in Muhammadiyah, but in various social organizations in Indonesia to instill the correct understanding of religious doctrines that have the potential to become a source of such radicalism.

### **3.2 All Forms of Violence are Radicalism?**

This statement was made by one of the Muhammadiyah leaders when the writer interviewed, namely Ikhwanuddin. He said that all forms of violence that cornered Muslims were radicalism. This includes repressive actions both from the government and from other parties that corner Muslims as a form of radicalism. This statement certainly requires a special analysis because it seems inconsistent with the concept of radicalism that has been understood by many people, because in the perspective of a radicalist, the acts of violence he commits are actually intended to realize the glory of his religion.

In this section the author wants to conduct a conceptual analysis of violence. Thus, it is hoped that it will provide an understanding of this phenomenon with theoretical approaches. First, it is necessary to ask the question, what is violence? The most common definition of “violence” is equating violence with the use of force to injure the body, kill life or destroy objects. If examined more deeply, violence also contains a normative dimension because it involves justification for the act. For example, we consider murder as a form of violence, but the death penalty is not considered violence. Taking other people’s money is considered theft, whereas tax collection by the state is not considered theft. Violence committed by humans always involves their motives and consciousness, because that is also covered with justifications. There is a moral dimension in the use of violence, therefore violence is not value free, but value laden.

Among the limitations that take into account the moral dimension are given by Robert Paul Wolff. In this he distinguishes violence from other concepts that have similarities with it, including power, force, and authority. Power is the ability to make and implement decisions on issues that are important to society. While authority is the right to govern and the right to be obeyed, so that authority can also be said to be a right to exercise power. A leader may have authority, but because he is *de facto* incapable of making decisions, either because of intimidation or for other reasons, he actually has no power. Strength is a concept that is often interchanged with violence. By it is meant the ability to produce certain changes in the world with physical efforts. According to Wolff, the difference between force and violence lies in the moral dimension, because violence is nothing but the illegitimate or illegitimate use of force to influence decisions against the will or desires of others. [] With this limitation, the 9/11 attacks were violent, while the shooting of Osama bin Laden was not.

Wolff’s limitation seems to contain problems because it is a matter of legitimacy or not, legal or not, depending on other things, namely power and morals that determine it. Outside the agreed moral and power order, for example in conditions of revolution, war or crisis, there is a gray area between power, power and violence. Such conditions are referred to by several terms such as state of nature. Jacques Derrida describes how the establishment of a constitution by the founders of the state – namely the act of incorporating the legal order into the state of nature – as violence mixed with power and strength.

In today’s complex societies, which continue to produce and distribute the risk of the gray area, the gray area is getting bigger along with the weakening of the power of national states in general and in particular the United States as a super power. Violence markets and global petty wars play in this gray area. In this context, in the eyes of the perpetrators, violence in the name of God can be justified, so it is not considered violence, but a form of struggle, because they are based on what they believe to be a higher institution than positive law in a modern legal state, namely God. In understanding the meaning of violence, in addition to including the moral dimension, it is necessary to include the victim dimension, for example, the 9/11 incident was violent not only because the act was illegitimate, but also because it had taken many innocent lives.

Therefore, it is possible to agree with the above limitations so that violence can be viewed as a complex phenomenon. George Sorel said that in modern society there is an order of violence composed of three layers, ranging from widespread routine violence,

organized violence from the state or monopoly on the use of violence, to revolutionary violence to destroy an order. In fact, not only the order of violence, but the forms of violence can also be mapped because each has a pattern. The author in this case does not want to go too far by discussing the forms and patterns of violence. What the writer wants to underline here is the statement of the respondent above who said that all violence to corner Muslims is radicalism. In this case, it is increasingly clear what is meant by violence in the editorial, namely unfounded violence, illegitimate and unconstitutional violence. If it is understood that way, then the statement will not have the potential to cause problems.

From the analysis above, once again the author argues that Mr. Ikhwanuddin's statement is meant that all forms of violence that corners Muslims are radicalism, which is non-constitutional violence or violence that cannot be justified by law. As long as the violence is constitutional - such as violence in the context of law enforcement - and is not intended to corner Muslims, then the violence is not an act of radicalism.

### **3.3 Muhammadiyah as a Moderate Islamic Movement**

The word "moderate" in English is called "moderate" whose meaning includes: (1) average in amount, intensity, quality, etc.; not extreme [average in quantity, intensity, quality, etc.; not extreme]; for example, the amount is not much or not small, the quality is not good or not bad, the intensity is not often and not infrequently, and so on; (2) of or having (usu political) opinions that are not extreme; for example political views that are neither extreme left nor extreme right; (3) keeping or kept within limits that are not excessive; for example eating or drinking in moderation.

In the religious context, the term "moderate" can be understood from the view of Khalid Abu el-Fadhl who states that the Qur'an commands Muslims to be people who are *tawasuth* (middle). According to him, the Prophet's traditions narrate that when the Prophet was faced with two extreme choices, the Prophet always chose the middle way. In this case the Prophet is always depicted as a person who tends to be in the middle and refuses to fall into one of the two opposite extremes. According to Khalid, this is where the term moderate finds its roots in the Islamic tradition, where the tradition transmits and inherits the normative character possessed by the majority of Muslims. From Khalid Abu el-Fadhl's explanation, it can be understood that the meaning of moderate in Islam is the attitude of not following one of the two conflicting poles, but being in the middle of both.

According to the current General Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Heydar Nasir, the understanding of Islam adopted by Muhammadiyah since its inception until now is moderate Islam. According to him, the moderate face of Muhammadiyah can be seen that since the beginning of its movement, Muhammadiyah has prioritized an Islamic orientation that is engaged in community practice and is not oriented towards political power as is the case with current ideological movements [19]. According to him, one of the characteristics of Muhammadiyah in its movement is to show an attitude of *wasithiyah* (middle) and not *ghulul* (extreme) in religion while remaining *istiqamah* to Islamic principles that are sourced from the Qur'an and the authentic Sunnah as well as developing a mind that is in accordance with the spirit of the teachings of Islam [20].

Muhammadiyah has chosen this moderate attitude because moderate Islam according to Muhammadiyah's belief is a reflection of the "Ummat Wasatha" pattern that characterizes the quality and figure of "Khoiro Ummah" as stated in the letter Ali Imran verse 110. The elements of Islamic moderation adopted by Muhammadiyah include: (1) Moderate in matters of belief; (2) Facilitate the implementation of obligations and laws; (3) Eliminate the narrowness and difficulty in fulfilling obligations and laws; (4) The use of rukhshah; (5) Prioritizing istiqamah or continuity in worship even if a little; (6) Be balanced and extreme nature in social interaction; and (8) Implement regulations in a moderate manner [21].

Furthermore, Haidar Nashir explained that the position and choice of Muhammadiyah not to form an Islamic state and to focus more on the ideals of building an Islamic society was indirectly clearly stated in the Matan Beliefs and Aspirations of Muhammadiyah Life as an ideological concept that had been formulated in 1968–1969. In the light of this belief, Muhammadiyah decided not to choose to fight for the format of an Islamic State in the Republic of Indonesia, but Muhammadiyah chose to struggle to uphold and uphold Islam so that a true Islamic society was realized in the Republic of Indonesia and made Indonesia a "Baladatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun". Ghafur" as the implementation of the ideology and idealism of the Muhammadiyah movement. In this case, Muhammadiyah places itself as a pro-active movement to build Indonesia as a unitary state with the philosophy of Pancasila as the state foundation to create an advanced, just, prosperous, dignified, and sovereign country. According to Haidar, this is where the moderate attitude of Muhammadiyah can be seen [22].

The important thing that needs to be emphasized regarding the moderate attitude of Muhammadiyah is that the moderation adopted by this movement does not mean fickle and pragmatic, especially when it comes to fundamental aqidah and worship issues. Since its inception until now Muhammadiyah has remained critical of the government, whenever there are policies that in Muhammadiyah's view are not in line with the teachings and interests of Muslims. However, Muhammadiyah's firm stance does not mean confrontation with radical and violent means, but is carried out in wise ways in accordance with the style of Muhammadiyah as a moderate Islamic movement.

Based on the data that the author obtained from interviews with several central figures of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro, the moderation of Islam promoted by Muhammadiyah can really be proven by several explanations of these figures. For example, as explained by Miftahul Huda that in preaching, he really avoids things that could divide Muslims by being moderate, tolerant and inclusive. For example, when he was asked by the congregation about the law of tahlil, he did not immediately answer according to the understanding of Muhammadiyah, but avoided answering with the actual answer, in order to avoid division.

Likewise, what was told by Ikhwanuddin when, after Gusdur's resignation as president about 20 years ago, at that time, it was a period of rage and destroying various business charities and assets belonging to Muhammadiyah in all regions in Indonesia, but Muhammadiyah did not even retaliate for the destruction and anarchic actions. On the other hand, there is an act of forgiveness because Muhammadiyah considers fellow Muslims as brothers, if they are guilty, they must forgive. Another view was expressed by the General Chairman of Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro, Suwito, he explicitly said



that the Muhammadiyah's state view of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was *dar ahd wa syahadah*, meaning that Muhammadiyah would fight anyone, any group who wanted to replace the state ideology of Pancasila with other ideologies. Such is the spirit of moderation that lives in the soul of the Muhammadiyah movement. In the opinion of the author, there is no need to doubt the loyalty and love of Muhammadiyah to the Republic of Indonesia, because this can be seen and proven from the work of Muhammadiyah since its inception until now.

## 4 Conclusion

Based on the results of this study, there are several important points that can be concluded, namely: First, regarding the notion of radicalism according to the figures and leaders of Muhammadiyah, Bojonegoro is understood as a movement that wants to completely change the social order in unconstitutional ways. Among Muhammadiyah figures, Bojonegoro considers that radicalism is a product of conspiracy, so that in this context the meaning of radicalism is biased. However, all Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah leaders agreed that Muhammadiyah refused and would fight radicalism both in the realm of religion and state radicalism. Second, among the efforts/contributions of the Bojonegoro Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership in overcoming radicalism, it is manifested in various work programs such as implementing the policies of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership to enlighten the community by showing the face of Islam that is *rahmatan lil 'alamin* for the universe in a tolerant, moderate form. and inclusive, conducting Islamic studies - especially through social media facilities such as YouTube and radio owned by Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro, as well as being proactive with the government and the police in synergy to maintain peace and security, as well as maintaining good relations with other religions who are members of the Inter-Ummah Harmony Forum. Religious. Besides that, it also organizes social activities to improve the welfare of the community. Third, Muhammadiyah Bojonegoro does not use special strategies, both in the field of *da'wah* and in other fields related to combating radicalism, because in general the Muhammadiyah movement from the central level to the lowest level is a movement that shows the spirit of *wasathiyah/moderate*, inclusive, and promotes tolerance.

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