

5. The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Combating Religious based Radicalism in Indonesia

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The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Combating Religious based Radicalism in Indonesia: A Critical Analysis from the Perspective of Collaboration Governance

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Abstract

The Indonesian government's deradicalization program, which was developed and implemented using both a complex and a gentle approach, was not optimal. The government requires mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah's involvement in overcoming radicalism through collaborative governance. The purpose of this study is to define the roles of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah and to analyze their positions from the perspective of collective governance. This qualitative research drew on two distinct types of data sources: primary and secondary. By collecting these types of data, we became the primary instruments in this study. The data were then analyzed using content analysis techniques to arrive at the following conclusion: 1) As members of civil society, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are critical in preventing radicalism because they comprehend Ahlul sunnah wal Jama'ah, the code of conduct that all of Islam's adherents adhere to in order to demonstrate Islam's peaceful face. Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah also use their organizational structure, movement, and responsiveness to various issues to combat radicalism. Additionally, the educational network of Islamic boarding schools, regular schools, madrasas, and universities under two has developed into a breeding ground for the moderate Islamic generation; 2) Although Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have participated in various government-sponsored programs, this has not yet been classified as government collaboration.

Keywords: Civil society, religion-based radicalism, collaborative governance.

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INTRODUCTION

The literature indicates that radicalism in its broadest sense can result in acts of terrorism (W. Silalahi, 2021: 1), which is an extraordinary crime (A. I. Hamzani, 2020). Radicalism and terrorism pose a threat to both physical and psychological well-being (R. Borum, 2004) and may even pose a danger to human civilization (E. Neumayer and T. Plümper, 2009). Destructive radical thoughts, ideas, and actions regard non-aligned parties as enemies that can be destroyed or eliminated through violence. On this basis, various parties are attempting to eradicate the concept and movement of radicalism through a variety of steps and approaches. In combating terrorism, the state, civil society, and non-governmental organizations have collaborated. Along with an aggressive system of arrests and prosecutions, another step has been taken: a

persuasive approach to prevention, specifically through a deradicalization program of religious understanding, because, according to research, investigations, and field evidence, one of the factors contributing to terrorism is religious knowledge (N. J. Smelser, 2007), (Whittaker, 2000) and Islam has always been accused of these acts of terrorism, even before the term Islamic terrorism was coined (Ibnu Waraq, 2017).

One of the steps considered effective in overcoming radicalism and terrorism, particularly religious-based radicalism, is a gentle approach in the form of collaboration between the government and civil society (v. Molnár, 2016). Numerous studies have also been conducted on the role of civil society in overcoming radicalism. Balan et al who are the Counter Terrorism Action Unit (ATU) of the OSCE

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Transnational Threats Department (TNTD) under the direction of Georgia Holmer, Senior Advisor on Anti-Terrorism Issues wrote his book and emphasized the role of civil society in countering radicalism that causes terrorism.

(OSCE, 2018). The significance of civil society is also the subject of Hide and Llubani study (E. Hide and M. Llubani, 2018). In Indonesia, for example, the success of the campaign to eradicate radicalism was largely due to social factors within the population. By actively promoting the values of tolerance and mutual respect, society as actors and institutions can combat radicalism. Islamic mass organizations promote tolerance within the Muslims and demonstrate their commitment to nationalism and constitutional government. In Indonesia, the existence of Islamic mass organizations even serves to defend the rights of other religious communities when radicals threaten them (A. Widiyanto, 2016). (K. Prislán (2020) emphasize the role of civil society and communities in countering violent extremism and radicalization that result in terrorism by identifying relevant stakeholders and their areas of expertise in order to paint a clear picture of non-state organizations' potential and position. Experience demonstrates that a cooperative and constructive dialogue between civil society and government institutions, including at the local level, is a necessary condition for countering radicalism to succeed. Therefore, government agencies must foster an environment conducive to collaboration among diverse segments of society in developing programs and strategies.

The numerous studies cited above demonstrate that civil society is critical in combating radicalism, including what is occurring in Indonesia. However, none of the frameworks and theories examined so far have incorporated a collaborative governance model. This study fills in the gap because it examined the role of civil society, specifically the Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah community organizations, in overcoming radicalism in Indonesia through a collaborative governance lens.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Research Approach

The purpose of this study was to examine, through a qualitative lens, the role of civil society in overcoming radicalism from a collaborative governance perspective.

Data Collection and Analysis

In this study, we served as the primary instruments. The collected data were analyzed using content analysis techniques, specifically by inferring replicable inferences and valid data while taking the context into account (K. Krippendorff, 2004). The following steps were taken to undertake the analysis:

To begin, we examined the role of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia's fight against radicalism. Second, we examined the two organizations' roles from a collaborative governance perspective. As qualitative research, this study employed inductive analysis (N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, 2009: 272). We organized the data by categorizing various themes and patterns. These classifications were derived from existing data notes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Religious-based Radicalism in Indonesia

According to social science, radicalism is defined as a point of view that seeks to effect fundamental changes through its interpretation of social reality or the ideology to which it adheres (I. Hasani and B. T. Naipospos, 2010: 19). Thus, radicalism is a widespread phenomenon that can occur in a society for a variety of social, political, cultural, and religious reasons and is characterized by violent, extreme, and anarchic behavior in response to the symptoms encountered. From a sociological standpoint, radicalism can be interpreted in a variety of ways. This is due to theoretical differences and the axiomatic foundations upon which radicalism is understood and described. However, one point must be made when studying radicalism in sociological studies: radicalism, like crime in general, is a natural state of society (crime is a natural part of society). This is because sociology demonstrates that radicalism or crime can be found at almost any level or form of organization, whether simple or complex in its social structures (A. Muhaimin, 2019: 57).

In social science, radicalism is viewed as a means of fundamentally altering the state of social reality as manifested in the environment or the ideology as understood. Radicalism is a reaction to persistent conditions associated with the evaluation, rejection, or even opposition to ideas, assumptions, institutions, or values. While radical change can be accomplished peacefully and persuasively, it can also be accomplished through violence. In this instance, there are two types of violence: physical violence (assaults, beatings) and symbolic or more focused discourse (provocation, stigmatization, hate speech (Agus S.F, 2010)

According to Azra (1999) in M. H. Zuhdi, (2017: 208), the emergence and development of radicalism in Indonesia are primarily due to two factors: first, internal aspects of Muslims, specifically the deviation from religious norms caused by the existence of secular life, which has permeated Muslims and compelled them to carry out a movement toward Islamic authenticity. This attitude is bolstered by knowledge of religion in terms of totality, formalism,

and rigidity in literal interpretation of religious texts. As a result, they tend to be resistant to social change, and their religious identity is rigid and literalistic. Thus, it is feared that they will be frustrated as a result of the world's rapid change, while the Islamic response is slow and ineffective in comparison to western society.

The authorities' repressive attitude toward Islamic groups, such as what the New Order did, which resulted in the rise of Islamic radicalism, is an external factor for Muslims, just as modern concepts such as democracy and human rights are. Furthermore, the post-New Order encountered a leadership crisis marked by weakened law enforcement and encouragement of Islamic movements to address these issues through the application of Islamic law. Due to law enforcement officers' inability to resolve cases involving Muslims, they have come to symbolize the emergence of Islamic radicalism.

Religious radicalism perpetrated by hardline Islamic movements dates all the way back to the seventh century. This movement began during Indonesia's independence; indeed, it can be said to be the forerunner of the reform era's hardline Islamic movement. The Darul Islam/Indonesian Islam Army (DI/TII) and the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII), which emerged in the 1950s, were involved in the activities (1949 to be precise). Originally, Darul Islam or NII operated in West Java, Aceh, and Makassar. This movement was bound together by the vision and mission of establishing Shari'a as the foundation of the Indonesian state. The DI movement came to an end in the early 1960s, when all of its leaders were assassinated. This does not mean, however, that the movement has ceased to exist in Indonesia. In the early 1970s and 1980s, hardline Islamic movements such as Komando Jihad, Ali Imron, and Warsidi's and Terror Warman's attempt to establish an Islamic state in Lampung resurfaced.

Following DI, Komando Jihad (Komji) formed in 1976 and began blowing up places of worship. The Indonesian Muslim Liberation Front did the same thing in 1977. Additionally, terrorist acts committed by the Islamic Revolutionary Struggle Pattern in 1978 Not long after the reform era ended, a radical movement led by Azhari and Nurdin M. Top emerged, as did other radical movements scattered throughout Indonesia, including Poso, Ambon, and others. The spirit of radicalism is undoubtedly fraught with political difficulties. Political issues frequently elicit symptoms of radical behavior. Thus, this resulted in the comfort of various religious groups in Indonesia. Initially, religious radicalism and hard-line Islamic movements were motivated by local politics: political discontent, political marginalization, and the like. After the movement's inception, religion, while not the initial impetus, became a critical source of legitimacy and

unifying factor for hard-line Islamic movements. Nonetheless, religious radicalism perpetrated by a small group of Muslims cannot be used to justify Islam being a source of radicalism. To be sure, radicalism can pose a serious threat to human civilization's future (A. Asrori, 2017: 256-257).

Terrorism with religious motivations (read: Islam) has existed in Indonesia for a long period of time. Numerous acts of violence and terror have been committed in the name of religion, including the hijacking of the DC-9 Woyla plane by the "Komando Jihad" group in March 1981 at Bangkok's Don Muang Airport. In the 1980s, the bombing of Borobudur Temple in Central Java resulted in acts of terrorism aimed at harassing or disturbing other religions.

Terrorist attacks have also been a frequent occurrence in Indonesia over the last two decades. Jakarta, the capital city, was also a target of suicide bombings in the name of jihad during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, there were additional acts of terrorism. On October 12, 2002, one year after the tragic events of the WTC, the Indonesian people's peace of mind was shattered by a suicide bombing in Bali. This incident gained international attention due to the suicide bombing that killed up to 202 people, the majority of whom were Australian citizens. The Marriott in Kuningan was the target of a suicide bombing in 2003. Following that, a suicide bomber targeted the area in front of the Australian Embassy building on Jalan Rasuna Said in Central Jakarta a year later (in 2004). A similar incident occurred the following year in Bali, where a second suicide bombing occurred on October 1, 2005. In 2009, the same thing happened as in Bali: the Hotel JW. Marriot was the target of a bomb attack for the second time. The Ritz Carlton Hotel in Jakarta was also targeted by bomb terrorists that year. The following decades saw an increase in terror attacks, which continue to this day, the majority of which take the form of suicide bombings in strategic locations, including churches and police stations.

The General Guidelines for the Jamaah Islamiyah's Struggle contain the ideology of the Jamaah Islamiyah's struggle (PUP-JI). This group established branches (mantiqi and wakalah) throughout Southeast Asia and Australia in order to achieve their objectives. JI expanded its influence and attracted followers in Indonesia by establishing an institution known as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI). MMI operates openly and privately, with a greater emphasis on social-political movements, as an institution dedicated to achieving the formation of the Daulah Islam Nusantara (Agus S.F, 2010: 71-72). In Indonesia, Darul Islam (DI) previously declared the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) on August 7, 1949. Darul Islam

existed in Indonesia long before the Al-Qaeda and ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) movement groups emerged.

In the religious context, radicalism typically develops as a result of a narrow interpretation of religion, which results in acts of violence that endanger the lives of others, such as terrorist bombings. Internally, religious violence occurs as a result of a group of people deviating from religious teachings. Thus, certain groups believe that violence should be used to purify their faith because it has brought superstitious disease, *bid'ah*, and superstition.

Radicalism is not a sudden occurrence in Islam. There is a connection between the emergence of radical movements and the economic, political, and sociocultural conditions perceived to be encircling Muslims. On the other hand, they perceive the system to be wronged and mistreated. They believed that the political system that had evolved at the time favored secular nationalists over Muslims. As a result, the system is regarded as pagan, and thus cannot accommodate aspiration.

While numerous factors contributed to the rise of religious radicalism, John Esposito (1998) demonstrate that violence and war in religion always begin with the faith component. Meanwhile, Yusuf al-Qardhawi stated that the primary reason for the rise of religious radicalism was a lack of a comprehensive and scriptural understanding of the essence of Islamic teachings (Dede R, 2016). Additionally, Yusuf Al-Qardhawi (1406:59) reveals the following factors that contributed to the emergence of radicalism:

- Religious knowledge does not follow the prescribed process of doctrinal education.
- Due to a lack of literacy in religious texts, radicals can only comprehend Islam superficially or from the outside, but lack insight into the essence of religion.
- Secondary issues such as finger movement during *tasyahud*, growing a beard, and lifting pants are frequently exaggerated to the point where the primary issue is forgotten.
- Imposing a burden on the populace in opposition to excessive prohibitions
- Weak historical and sociological insight, resulting in a fatwa that is repeatedly anti-people, anti-common sense, and anti-enthusiasm for contemporary demands.
- Combating societal injustices on social, economic, and political levels. The radicalism that frequently manifests as a result of frustration and rebellion against social injustice caused by the ineffective performance of legal institutions is an expression of this frustration and rebellion.

Collaborative Governance in Combating Radicalism in Indonesia

The Government of Indonesia (hereinafter referred to as the Government), like other modern countries, employs both a complex and a gentle approach in combating radicalism. The intricate system is designed to thwart terrorist plots of destruction, such as bombings. Simultaneously, the soft method is employed by combating radical ideologies that motivate political violence through counter-ideological discourse. Radicalism and violence are confronted with a gentle approach (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa., 2020: 49-50).

Each approach has distinct advantages and disadvantages. The division maintains a zero-tolerance policy toward the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and the Anti-terror Datasemen 88 (Densus 88) by preventing terrorism, gathering intelligence, detecting, investigating, and prosecuting terrorist acts and networks. The advantage of this approach is that it has the potential to alleviate the turmoil caused by terrorist acts in the short term. This approach is incapable of rehabilitating radicals who have developed sophisticated ideologies. Additionally, in some cases, shootings directed at radicals instill hatred in their families and communities, disrupting the information chain of other terrorist actors. On the other hand, the soft approach seeks to mitigate radicalization-related violence toward terrorism through the implementation of regulations and comprehensive counter-radicalism policies (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa., 2020: 50-52).

To manage radicalism in the public interest, the government cannot act alone; collaborative governance with various parties is required. The government will not function optimally if it relies solely on internal capacity, including for the implementation of programs and policies (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa., 2020: 108-113).

In addressing radicalism, the argument is that since the establishment of Densus 88, radicalism in Indonesia has continued to grow and has maintained its movement intensity. Similarly, with BNPT's deradicalization program. The condition is exacerbated by social media, which makes it easier to communicate and access information regardless of location or time constraints, which radical groups then use to more freely spread their teachings (Maulana, M and Imam, M, 2020; Nashih N, 2021).

To combat radicalism in Indonesia, the government must collaborate with civil society. The terms civil society, civilized society, cultured society, and civil society are frequently used interchangeably to refer to religious organizations, mass-based organizations, unions, ethnic groups, professional associations, and others operating outside the formal

state apparatus (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa, 2019: 63). Civil society is distinct from the state, economic, or business establishments. Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are examples of civil societies that can act in collaboration with the government. (A. Asrori, 2015: 263).

Why has Nahdlatul Ulama developed into a civil society deserving of being a collaborative governance actor? To begin, the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama believes that its members in Indonesia total 60 million. A sizable number and grow to be Indonesia's or even the world's largest community organization (A. R. Arifianto, 2017). Second, in the Nahdlatul Ulama tradition, someone is portrayed and elevated to the status of a role model, colloquially referred to as a *kyai*. A *kyai* wields considerable influence over his followers and plays a critical role in preserving social harmony, as evidenced by his ability to unite the congregation in the absence of conflict (A. R. Arifianto, 2017). Third, Nahdlatul Ulama also plays a significant role in education, leading 31 colleges, 48,000 primary schools or madrasa ibtidaiyah through high school, and 23,000 boarding schools (Nahdlatul Ulama, 2017). Fourth, Nahdlatul Ulama, which translates Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah, has been instrumental in the success of Indonesia's Islamic moderation social movement (I. Kanafi, 2021). Nahdlatul Ulama has also developed into a significant Islamic community organization dedicated to combating religious fundamentalism and radicalism through a spirit of tolerance and moderation. NU's significant position merits consideration in terms of how its activities combat religious fundamentalism and radicalism in Indonesia by actualizing NU's fundamental philosophy as stated in the Khittah Nahdlatul Ulama 1926 (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa, 2019: 67). In other words, the Nahdlatul Ulama is a civil society organization that works alongside the government to combat radicalism in Indonesia.

Then what about the mass organization known as Muhammadiyah? First, After Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah is the second largest community organization. Muhammadiyah's contribution to the development of a tolerant Islam in Indonesia is unquestionable. To begin, at the 44th Congress in Jakarta in 2000, Muhammadiyah renamed Majelis Tarjih to Majelis Tarjih and the Development of Islamic Thought (MTPPI), indicating that a transformation had occurred and that Muhammadiyah as an organization was willing to continue reforming its religious teachings and doctrines. Growing awareness among Muhammadiyah's leadership that motion is required not only to provide practical guidance regarding religious edicts issued by Indonesian Muslims, particularly from the Muhammadiyah, as reflected in the task assigned to the presence of *tarjih* previously, but also to reform their religious thinking (A. N. Burhani, 2011). Second,

Muhammadiyah plays a critical role in education. Muhammadiyah has 6,083 educational institutions ranging from elementary school to senior high school and special school (Aan Ardianto, 2021), and 162 higher education institutions, which include universities, high schools, academies, institutes, and polytechnics (Stikes Muhammadiyah, 2020). Thirdly, Muhammadiyah has brought the Islamic moderation movement to Indonesia through the teachings of Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah as Nahdlatul Ulama (I. Kanafi, 2021). Thus, because the population of people affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah is quite large, these two organizations exert considerable influence over Indonesian Muslims (G. Barton, 2014). KH Mustofa Bisri (2015) compared the existence of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama as the bulwarks of the Indonesian state to the existence of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Numerous parties attempted to incite conflict between these two organizations. If these two organizations remain weak and susceptible to outside influence, Indonesia's future will be jeopardized. Additionally, such authority is required to eradicate radicalism, such as the teachings of the "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" (ISIS) (A. Widiyanto, 2016: 155-146).

Collaboration between the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah requires an understanding of collaborative aspects. Ansell and Gash identified several variables affecting collaborative governance, including the following: 1) initial conditions, 2) facilitative leadership, 3) institutional design, and 4) collaborative process (C Ansell and A. Gash, 2008: 550). Institutional design encompasses participation, forum exclusivity, unambiguous fundamental rules, and process transparency (C Ansell and A. Gash, 2008). Concerning the third variable, the collaborative process proceeds at a face-to-face level, establishing trust, commitment to the process, mutual understanding, and interim results (M. Mukhlis and I. Mustofa, 2019: 125-127).

Strengthening the Role of Mass Organizations in Collaborative Governance

As previously stated, collaborative governance requires an analysis of several variables, namely the starting conditions, which are reduced to a) a balance of resources and strengths, b) incentives or incentives to participate, and c) pre-history in the form of stakeholder cooperation (C Ansell and A. Gash, 2008: 550-551). To analyze the starting condition variables, it is necessary to describe the relationship between the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah in terms of resources and power.

As mass organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have faith in the government. Whether requested or not, Nahdlatul Ulama has undertaken a variety of activities and programs that contribute

directly or indirectly to the Government's counter-radicalization effort. With the concept of "Islam Nusantara," Nahdlatul Ulama has worked on a variety of fronts to combat radicalism in Indonesia (L. Schmidt, 2021). Institutionally (*jam'iyyah*) in 2018, various programs implemented by the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) have been shown to be effective in combating radicalism. This role is divided into four components, specifically:

1. By reinforcing the *Ahlissunnah waljamaah an-Nahdliyyah* principle.
2. Administratively, by disseminating a variety of structured and systematic instructions from the central office to the regions.
3. Through a variety of educational activities, institutional programs, and regeneration.
4. Responding to a situation by expressing an attitude, making observations, offering criticism, and making suggestions.

The values of *Ahlisunnah Wal Jamaah*, the cultural traditions of the *Nahdliyyin* people, the role of the Nahdlatul Ulama in reconciling religious and national values, Islamic boarding schools, formal schools based on Nahdlatul Ulama, Sufism, and *Thoriqoh*, the mass and Nahdlatul Ulama networks, and access to the Government all contribute to NU's role in preventing radicalism (N. F. Gardita and M. Adnan, 2019).

The Nahdlatul Ulama's significant role in combating radicalism is due to the following factors: 1) The followers of Nahdlatul Ulama have a strong understanding of the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* values; 2) The followers of Nahdlatul Ulama have strong cultural traditions. The NU *jam'iyyah*'s culture is its own strength; 3) The Nahdlatul Ulama plays a significant role in promoting harmony between religious and national values; 4) Nahdlatul Ulama operates Islamic boarding schools and formal schools from elementary schools to tertiary institutions.

This mass organization has the so-called Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama educational institution (LP Ma'arif), which implements policies in the field of formal education and teaching, and *Rabithah Ma'ahid al-Islamiyah*, abbreviated as RMI, which implements policies in the field of developing Islamic boarding schools. The Nahdlatul Ulama board of directors has an autonomous body called *Jam'iyah Ahli Tariqah Al-Mu'tabarrah An-Nahdliyyah*, an independent body that assists in the implementation of policies for followers of *tarekat* who are *mu'tabarrah* within Nahdlatul Ulama. Nahdlatul Ulama has a sizable membership spread across almost all regions of Indonesia, totalling 80 million people. Establishing itself as an organization with numerous organizational experiences that have a direct impact on the development and regeneration of older organizations, the NU membership has grown to

become one of the largest in Indonesia, with the most prominent members (N. F. Gardita and M. Adnan, 2019: 6-7).

The role of NU as a cultural force in overcoming radicalism in Indonesia is also quite significant, owing to its *pesantren* network. *Pesantren* is a center for moderate Islamic studies and missions, which is relevant to this study. Members of the community seek to increase their religious knowledge by attending recitals. Additionally, *pesantrens* are gaining popularity and acceptance within their communities. There has been an increase in the number of students enrolled in certain *pesantrens*, as well as an increase in the demand for Islamic boarding school staff to preach in the surrounding areas (L. Octavia and E. Wahyuni, 2014:17). *Pesantren*, as a religious-based educational institution, develops and initiates initiatives to promote tolerance and counter radicalization. In *pesantren*, the concept of tolerance referred to as *tasāmuḥ* is extensively studied and discussed. Students have internalized the principles of respect and cooperation. These are just a few examples of *pesantren*'s self-directed efforts to promote tolerance (L. Octavia and E. Wahyuni, 2014: 35).

The Nahdlatul Ulama Islamic Boarding School network continues to grow as a result of its commitment to the values of tolerance (*tasāmuḥ*) and inclusion. Numerous factors contribute to the development of a tolerant and open tradition. To begin, Islamic boarding schools are community-based institutions. As a result, there is strong social cohesion within the surrounding community. Second, *pesantren* is a reflection of indigenous culture. Thirdly, *pesantren* values and teachings can adapt to their environment when their religious understanding is based on the theology of *Ahl al sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* and by referring to credible books (*al-kutub al-mu'tabarrah*) or the works of classical Middle Eastern scholars who are known for their adaptability (A. Malik, 2017: 174).

In addition to its role in combating religious extremism, Muhammadiyah is frequently referred to as one of the largest moderate Islamic organizations in Indonesia and as an Islamic organization that practices peaceful *da'wah*. Muhammadiyah, as a moderate Islamic organization, formulates a strategy for combating all forms of radical ideas and actions. Muhammadiyah then introduces the concept of moderation as a way to address all radical Islamic movements in Indonesia structurally (A. Nurish, 2019). As a moderate Islamic group, Muhammadiyah advocates for avoiding all forms of radicalism that lead to absolutism and for containing extremism, intolerance, and violence in all matters pertaining to human life and nationalism. Muhammadiyah plays a critical role in countering radical and intolerant groups in Indonesia, which are becoming increasingly fertile;

one of the frequently made offers is the concept of moderation as a middle ground for resolving the problem of radicalism in various sectors of civil society. Indeed, the origins of this radical ideology can be traced back to educational institutions such as religious-based schools. Islamic schools, for example, are administered by modernist Islamic groups, including institutional foundations administered by certain Islamic political party institutions (S. Zuhri, 2012: 69-70).

Muhammadiyah contributes to the prevention of radicalism on both the internal and external fronts. There are two domains within the interior sector. The first is the realm of structure. Muhammadiyah directs Muhammadiyah leaders at all levels to strengthen progressive Islamic ideology and to realize *Darul Ahdi wa Syahdah*. Muhammadiyah's autonomous organization also contributes to the strengthening of the regeneration foundation through humanist guidance. Additionally, it optimizes the structural performance of institutions and assemblies, particularly in terms of empowering the people via the Muhammadiyah Charity Business (AUM) sector. One example of this type of activity is PP Aisyiyah's Advanced Women's Madrasah (MPB).

During the meeting, key doctrines were abused, including women's jihad in light of the caliphate Muhammadiyah, *Darul Ahdi Wasyahadah*, and discernment. The second is the realm of culture. In delivering subject matter in schools, Islamic boarding schools, orphanages, recitation assemblies, and Muhammadiyah-owned campuses, Muhammadiyah incorporates progressive Islam and actualizes *Darul Ahdi wa Syahdah*. Along with internal strengthening, Muhammadiyah participates in national and international interfaith and civilizational dialogues between religions and civilizations. The third is the realm of politics. Muhammadiyah frequently criticizes government policies and programs, including the deradicalization initiative, in order to ensure that the program's implementation is substance-driven rather than project-driven (ABC, 2018: 79).

Similarly, the Government has entrusted Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah with various activities aimed at combating radicalism. However, Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah is only present at the implementation level of the Government's policies. Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah merely implements various programs developed by the Government without participating in the initial process as required by the Starting Conditions. Although Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah possesses enormous resources as described, Nahdlatul Ulama is not involved in policy formulation. This creates an imbalance between the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Government and implies the ineffectiveness of their cooperation. BNPT, as the Government's representative in the fight against

radicalism in Indonesia, involves Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah only in programs whose concepts and implementation are predetermined.

The Government's relationship with Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah has been collaborative since then, based on prehistoric variable cooperation between stakeholders. Both parties have reaped numerous benefits, with Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah receiving legal protection for each activity, as well as numerous facilities and budget assistance. Similarly, the Indonesian government has benefited from assistance in increasing the country's human resources as a result of its dual role.

In government collaboration, institutional design is required in the form of an inclusive government attitude, clear rules, and process transparency. One could argue that the institutional design for collaboration between the Government and the anti-terrorist Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah is inadequate. As described, the Government partnered with Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah to run government-mandated programs. In this case, the Government is exclusive and does not allow for policy formulation by Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah. Additionally, because each program is determined unilaterally, there are no clear rules or a transparent process for collaboration.

Facilitative leadership is the next level of government collaboration. It is expected that with this leadership, it will be able to enforce rules and ensure that agreed-upon agreements are followed, as well as provide mediation capabilities and participate in the collaboration process (Maulana Mukhlis and Imam Mustofa, 2020: 141). Additionally, leadership can foster trust, facilitate dialogue, and identify mutual benefits (C Ansell and A. Gash, 2008: 554). With strong leadership capable of enforcing the rules, all parties, including the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah, will ensure certainty and protection. Similarly, conflicts arising during the process of cooperation between the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah can be resolved through mediation capabilities. Finally, facilitative leadership must be able to present and involve formal and informal leaders in collaboration between the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah.

Therefore, to determine whether there is a process of cooperation between the Government and Nahdlatul Ulama-Muhammadiyah, it is necessary to evaluate variable-variables that had been presented previously, including initial conditions, institutional design, and facilitative leadership.

CONCLUSION

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, as mass organizations, play a critical role in preventing radicalism in Indonesia. Both adhere to the principle of *ahlussunnah wal congregation*, which is followed by the vast majority of its adherents in order to directly demonstrate Islam's peaceful face. Additionally, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah use their organization, movement, and responsiveness to various issues as a means of preventing radicalism. In addition, the two organizations' educational network, which includes universities, Islamic boarding schools, regular schools, madrasas, and other educational institutions, has evolved into a nursery for moderate youth.

Even though Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have participated in various government programs, either through the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) or the Ministry, this cannot be considered government collaboration. Government-created programs frequently treat Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as partners rather than as actors engaged in policy formulation and direction setting, as collaborative governance theory requires.

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