

The Shift in Ideological Orientation of Muhammadiyah Youth as an Effort to Maintain Religious Harmony in Lamongan Regency

Rr. Kusuma Dwi Nur Ma'rifati¹

¹ Nahdlatul Ulama Islamic Institute, Tuban, Indonesia; rrkusumadewi@stitmatuban.ac.id

Article history

Submitted: 2026/02/17; Revised: 2026/03/21; Accepted: 2026/04/14

Abstract

This study examines the shift in ideological orientation among youth within Muhammadiyah in Lamongan Regency amid increasing exposure to diverse religious discourses and socio-cultural dynamics. The research aims to analyze the factors driving ideological transformation and its implications for maintaining religious harmony. Employing a qualitative descriptive-analytical approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis involving selected Muhammadiyah youth cadres, and analyzed using an interactive model grounded in Rational Choice Theory. The findings reveal that ideological shifts occur in multidirectional patterns, ranging from more conservative scripturalist tendencies to more accommodative and culturally adaptive orientations. These transformations are influenced by higher education environments, transnational religious exposure, and local social interactions, while organizational affiliation remains stable due to rational considerations such as social capital and institutional attachment. The study concludes that such ideological flexibility does not necessarily weaken organizational cohesion but instead creates opportunities for fostering inclusive and dialogical religious practices that support social harmony. This research contributes to the development of a nuanced framework for understanding Islamic youth dynamics by emphasizing the interplay between individual agency, institutional context, and socio-cultural influences.

Keywords

Ideological Orientation; Muhammadiyah Youth; Rational Choice Theory; Religious Harmony.



© 2026 by the authors. This is an open-access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY SA) license, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>.

INTRODUCTION

In an ideal democratic and plural society, religious organizations are expected to function as agents of social cohesion, promoting tolerance, inclusivity, and peaceful coexistence among diverse communities. In the Indonesian context, moderate Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have historically played a pivotal role in maintaining religious harmony and national integration. These organizations embody distinctive yet complementary paradigms—modernist and traditionalist—that collectively contribute to a

balanced Islamic discourse rooted in local wisdom and national identity. Their ideological frameworks, often articulated through concepts such as *Islam Berkemajuan* and *Islam Nusantara*, represent adaptive responses to globalization and socio-religious transformation. Ideally, younger generations within these organizations are expected to internalize such moderate values, ensuring continuity in promoting a tolerant and harmonious religious life.

However, empirical realities in recent years reveal a more complex and dynamic landscape. Studies conducted between 2020 and 2025 indicate a growing trend of ideological fragmentation among Muslim youth in Indonesia, influenced by digital media exposure, transnational Islamic movements, and shifting socio-political contexts (Hefner, 2021; Burhani, 2020). The proliferation of online religious content has significantly reshaped how young Muslims construct their religious identities, often bypassing traditional organizational authority. In particular, research by Hidayat (2022) shows that exposure to transnational ideologies—such as Salafism and other puritanical movements—has contributed to the emergence of more rigid and exclusive interpretations of Islam among segments of youth. This trend challenges the long-standing dominance of moderate Islamic narratives and raises concerns about the sustainability of religious harmony in Indonesia.

Within the organizational context of Muhammadiyah, this phenomenon manifests in the form of shifting ideological orientations among its younger cadres. While Muhammadiyah has long been recognized for its progressive and rational approach to Islamic teachings, recent studies suggest that its youth members are increasingly experiencing ideological diversification. For instance, research by Pribadi (2021) and Muhtadi (2023) highlights how higher education environments and international academic exposure, particularly in Middle Eastern institutions, have contributed to the transformation of religious perspectives among Muhammadiyah youth. Some returnees adopt more conservative and scripturalist approaches, often characterized by stricter adherence to textual interpretations and skepticism toward local religious traditions. Conversely, other youth exhibit a growing openness toward cultural and ritual practices traditionally associated with NU, reflecting a hybridization of religious identities.

This ideological shift is not merely a matter of individual belief but has broader implications for organizational cohesion and social harmony. Empirical findings suggest that such transformations can lead to internal tensions within Muhammadiyah, particularly when differing interpretations of religious practice challenge established organizational norms (Arifianto, 2022). Moreover, at the societal level, the coexistence of divergent ideological tendencies among youth can either enrich pluralism or, conversely, generate friction if not managed constructively. In regions with strong Muhammadiyah presence, such as Lamongan Regency, these dynamics become particularly salient due to the organization's deep-rooted influence on local religious life.

Despite the increasing scholarly attention to Islamic movements and youth religiosity in Indonesia, there remains a significant research gap. Existing studies tend to focus either on macro-level analyses of Islamic organizations or on the influence of transnational ideologies in general, without sufficiently examining micro-level dynamics at the grassroots level.

Specifically, there is limited research that explores how ideological shifts occur among Muhammadiyah youth within localized contexts and how these shifts are negotiated in everyday social interactions. Furthermore, previous studies often emphasize polarization between conservative and moderate tendencies, overlooking the nuanced processes of ideological adaptation, negotiation, and synthesis that may occur among young cadres. This gap indicates a need for in-depth qualitative investigations that capture the lived experiences and rational considerations underlying ideological transformations.

The urgency of this research is further underscored by the contemporary challenges facing Indonesian society, including the rise of identity politics, religious polarization, and the weakening of traditional authority structures. In this context, understanding how young members of Muhammadiyah reinterpret their ideological orientation is crucial for developing strategies to sustain religious moderation and social harmony. The application of Rational Choice Theory offers a valuable analytical lens to examine how individuals make strategic decisions regarding their beliefs and affiliations based on perceived benefits, social networks, and cultural contexts. Such an approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of ideological shifts as rational and context-dependent processes rather than merely doctrinal deviations.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze the factors influencing the shift in ideological orientation among Muhammadiyah youth in Lamongan Regency and to examine its implications for maintaining religious harmony. The findings are expected to contribute both theoretically and practically: theoretically, by enriching the discourse on Islamic youth movements and ideological transformation in contemporary Indonesia; and practically, by providing insights for policymakers and religious organizations in designing more effective cadre development programs that balance religious depth with openness to cultural diversity. Ultimately, this research seeks to reinforce the role of Muhammadiyah youth as agents of moderation who can navigate ideological differences while fostering a harmonious and inclusive religious life.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical design to investigate the shift in ideological orientation among youth within Muhammadiyah in Lamongan Regency. The selection of a qualitative method is grounded in the epistemological assumption that ideological transformation is a complex, context-dependent, and meaning-laden social phenomenon that cannot be adequately captured through quantitative measurement. Rather than seeking generalization, this study prioritizes depth of understanding regarding how individuals interpret, negotiate, and reconstruct their ideological positions within specific socio-religious settings. This approach is particularly relevant given the study's objective to uncover underlying motives, rational considerations, and experiential dimensions shaping ideological change. The research design is further informed by James S. Coleman's Rational Choice Theory, which conceptualizes individuals as purposive actors whose decisions

are shaped by available resources, social networks, and perceived benefits (Coleman, 1989). Thus, the qualitative framework enables an interpretive analysis of how Muhammadiyah youth rationalize their ideological shifts in response to both internal organizational dynamics and external influences.

The subjects of this study consist of selected Muhammadiyah youth cadres who are either currently engaged in or have completed higher education, including those with international academic exposure. These individuals are purposively chosen based on their relevance to the research problem, particularly their experience of ideological transition. The object of the study focuses on patterns, factors, and implications of ideological orientation shifts within everyday religious practices and organizational engagement. Data are collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis, allowing for methodological triangulation to enhance the credibility and validity of findings (Creswell, 2014). The researcher functions as the primary instrument, supported by interview guides and field notes designed to capture both verbal narratives and contextual interactions. This combination of techniques is methodologically justified as it enables the exploration of both subjective meaning (through interviews) and observable behavior (through observation), thereby ensuring alignment with the study's analytical objectives.

Data analysis follows an interactive model involving data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing, as proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014). This iterative process allows for continuous refinement of categories and themes, ensuring that interpretations remain grounded in empirical data. The analytical strategy is further strengthened by the application of theoretical coding informed by Rational Choice Theory, enabling the identification of patterns in how actors weigh ideological options and make strategic decisions. The use of triangulation both in terms of data sources and methods serves as a mechanism to verify the consistency and reliability of findings. Overall, the chosen methodology is scientifically justified as the most appropriate framework for addressing the research objectives, given its capacity to capture the nuanced, dynamic, and rational dimensions of ideological transformation among Muhammadiyah youth within their specific socio-cultural context.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study reveal that the ideological orientation of youth within Muhammadiyah in Lamongan Regency is not static but dynamically shaped by the intersection of educational background, social interaction, and exposure to diverse religious discourses. The analysis indicates that Muhammadiyah youth generally possess a relatively strong organizational identity, particularly in terms of structural understanding and commitment to the movement's mission of *tajdid* (renewal). However, this institutional familiarity does not necessarily correspond with a deep comprehension of the epistemological foundations underlying Muhammadiyah's religious thought. Instead, many participants demonstrate a functional understanding of religious practices based on organizational guidance, rather than a critical engagement with the methodological reasoning that informs

such practices. This condition creates a latent vulnerability, wherein ideological orientations become more susceptible to transformation when confronted with alternative religious narratives.

A significant pattern identified in this study is the role of higher education as a critical arena for ideological negotiation. Youth who pursue studies outside Muhammadiyah-affiliated institutions, particularly in secular universities or international contexts, tend to experience a process of cognitive and ideological re-evaluation. Through exposure to pluralistic environments, inter-organizational interactions, and open intellectual discourse, these individuals begin to reassess previously internalized doctrinal positions. This process often leads to the emergence of a more inclusive and accommodative religious outlook. Practices traditionally avoided within Muhammadiyah—such as *tahlilan*, *maulid* commemorations, or communal recitations—are no longer viewed solely through a puritanical lens but are reinterpreted as socio-cultural expressions with communal value. This shift reflects not merely doctrinal change but a broader reorientation toward contextual and culturally embedded religiosity.

Conversely, the study also identifies a countervailing trend among a segment of Muhammadiyah youth, particularly those with educational experiences in Middle Eastern institutions. These individuals often exhibit a tendency toward scripturalist and puritanical interpretations of Islam, characterized by a stricter adherence to textual sources and a critical stance toward local religious traditions. The findings suggest that this orientation is not simply the result of doctrinal indoctrination but is also shaped by a perceived need for religious authenticity and certainty in an increasingly complex and pluralistic environment. In this regard, the adoption of more conservative views can be understood as a rational response to perceived ambiguity in religious authority, aligning with James S. Coleman's proposition that individuals act strategically to maximize clarity, coherence, and perceived correctness in their belief systems.

Importantly, the study finds that these divergent ideological trajectories do not necessarily lead to organizational disintegration. Instead, most Muhammadiyah youth maintain their affiliation with the organization despite experiencing ideological shifts. This persistence can be explained through a rational consideration of social capital, institutional attachment, and pragmatic benefits. Muhammadiyah provides not only a religious framework but also access to educational opportunities, social networks, and avenues for civic engagement. As such, remaining within the organization represents a rational choice that balances ideological flexibility with structural belonging. This finding challenges the assumption that ideological deviation inevitably results in organizational exit, suggesting instead that Muhammadiyah functions as a relatively elastic institution capable of accommodating internal diversity.

Furthermore, the findings highlight that ideological shifts among Muhammadiyah youth contribute to a reconfiguration of religious practice at the community level. Individuals who adopt a more accommodative stance often act as cultural mediators, bridging the gap

between Muhammadiyah's reformist orientation and local religious traditions. This mediation process fosters a more dialogical and less confrontational mode of religious engagement, which in turn supports the maintenance of social harmony. However, this outcome is not without tension. In some cases, ideological hybridity generates suspicion or contestation from more conservative members, indicating that the process of adaptation remains contested and negotiated within the organization.

Critically, the study demonstrates that ideological transformation among Muhammadiyah youth is best understood not as a linear shift from one fixed position to another, but as a multidirectional and context-dependent process. The interplay between global Islamic discourses, local cultural practices, and organizational frameworks produces a spectrum of ideological positions rather than a binary opposition between conservatism and moderation. This complexity underscores the limitations of reductionist approaches that categorize Muslim youth into rigid ideological typologies. Instead, the findings advocate for a more nuanced understanding that recognizes the agency of individuals in actively constructing their religious identities.

The findings of this study demonstrate that the shift in ideological orientation among youth within Muhammadiyah is not an isolated or anomalous phenomenon, but rather part of a broader trajectory of ideological transformation within the organization itself. Historically, Muhammadiyah has experienced internal ideological shifts, particularly from a more culturally embedded Islamic expression toward a puritan and scripturalist orientation. Burhani (2025) shows that such transformation has long been influenced by external intellectual currents, including reformist and Wahhabi thought, which gradually reshaped Muhammadiyah's stance toward local religious traditions (Ejournal Portal). The present study confirms that this historical pattern continues at the micro level, particularly among youth, but with a more complex and multidirectional character. Unlike earlier periods where the shift was relatively linear (cultural to puritanical), the current findings reveal a dialectical process in which both conservative and accommodative tendencies coexist and compete within the same generational cohort.

This complexity can be better understood when juxtaposed with recent studies on Muhammadiyah's ideological positioning in the contemporary era. Research on *Progressive Islam* within Muhammadiyah indicates that the organization has formally embraced a more inclusive and contextual approach as part of its response to modernity (Pohan et al., 2025) (Larisma Journal). Similarly, Miswanto et al. (2024) argue that Muhammadiyah adopts a "critical centrist" stance, balancing between rigid conservatism and liberal secularism through the framework of *Islam Wasathiyah* (UNIMMA Journal). The findings of this study align with these macro-level analyses in showing that Muhammadiyah as an institution promotes moderation and adaptability. However, at the micro level, this study reveals a gap between institutional ideology and individual internalization. While the organization advocates progressive and moderate values, youth interpretations vary significantly depending on their educational exposure and social environments. This discrepancy suggests that ideological

transmission within Muhammadiyah is not entirely effective or uniform, thereby creating space for divergent interpretations.

Furthermore, the findings resonate with recent research on Muslim youth and digital-era religiosity. Widarto et al. (2024) highlight that Generation Z within Muhammadiyah faces challenges in internalizing religious values due to the influence of digital disruption and fragmented knowledge sources (journal.minhajpustaka.id). This study extends that argument by demonstrating that such fragmentation does not merely weaken religiosity but actively reshapes ideological orientation. The exposure to diverse religious content both moderate and conservative enables youth to selectively construct their own religious frameworks. In this context, ideological shift is not simply a deviation from organizational doctrine but a rational adaptation to a plural and information-saturated environment. This finding supports the theoretical assumption of Rational Choice Theory that individuals actively evaluate available options and adopt beliefs that best align with their perceived needs and contexts.

At the same time, the emergence of more conservative tendencies among some Muhammadiyah youth particularly those with Middle Eastern educational backgrounds—can be explained through the lens of global ideological flows. Previous studies have shown that transnational Islamic networks often promote scripturalist and puritanical interpretations that emphasize doctrinal purity over cultural accommodation. The findings of this study confirm this pattern but add an important nuance: the adoption of conservative ideology is not merely a product of indoctrination but also a response to epistemic uncertainty. In a pluralistic environment where multiple interpretations of Islam coexist, some individuals seek certainty and clarity through stricter textual adherence. This aligns with broader sociological observations that ideological rigidity can function as a coping mechanism in contexts of ambiguity and rapid change.

On the other hand, the study also identifies a contrasting trend of ideological accommodation, where Muhammadiyah youth become more open to local religious traditions. This finding diverges from earlier assumptions that modernization necessarily leads to purification and rejection of tradition. Instead, it supports more recent arguments that modernity can produce hybrid religious identities that integrate textual orthodoxy with cultural practices. In this regard, the findings complement research by Yanuri (2024), which shows that youth within Muhammadiyah-affiliated organizations can shift toward moderation through social interaction and organizational engagement (jasika.umsida.ac.id). However, this study goes further by demonstrating that such moderation is not solely the result of formal organizational programs but also emerges organically through everyday interactions, particularly in pluralistic environments such as universities.

Another important point of comparison lies in the role of Muhammadiyah as a social movement. Haq et al. (2026) conceptualize Muhammadiyah as a transformative movement shaped by resource mobilization and identity construction ([eJournal of Sunan Gunung Djati](http://ejournal.sunungdhati.com)). The findings of this study support this perspective by showing that youth remain within Muhammadiyah not purely for ideological reasons but also due to access to social capital,

educational opportunities, and institutional networks. This indicates that organizational affiliation is maintained through a rational calculus that balances ideological flexibility with structural benefits. In this sense, the persistence of membership despite ideological shifts reflects not a contradiction, but a strategic adaptation consistent with Rational Choice Theory.

Critically, the divergence between conservative and accommodative tendencies among Muhammadiyah youth highlights an important theoretical implication: ideological transformation should not be understood in binary terms. Previous studies often frame Islamic movements in terms of polarization between radicalism and moderation. However, the findings of this study suggest that ideological orientation operates along a continuum, shaped by ongoing negotiation between global influences, local traditions, and organizational frameworks. This multidimensional perspective challenges reductionist categorizations and calls for a more nuanced analytical framework that recognizes the fluidity of religious identity.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the shift in ideological orientation among youth within Muhammadiyah in Lamongan Regency is a multidimensional and rationally negotiated process shaped by the interaction of educational exposure, social environment, and access to diverse religious discourses. Rather than indicating a linear movement toward either conservatism or moderation, the findings reveal a spectrum of ideological positions that reflect the agency of youth in interpreting and reconstructing their religious identity. The persistence of organizational affiliation despite ideological variation demonstrates that Muhammadiyah functions as a flexible socio-religious structure capable of accommodating internal diversity. Scientifically, this study contributes to the development of a more nuanced understanding of ideological transformation within Islamic movements by integrating micro-level analysis with Rational Choice Theory, thereby challenging binary categorizations of religious orientation and emphasizing the role of individual rationality in shaping belief systems. However, this study is limited by its localized scope and relatively small number of informants, which may constrain the generalizability of the findings and overlook broader regional variations.

Based on these limitations, future research is recommended to expand the geographical scope and incorporate comparative approaches across different regions or Islamic organizations to capture a more comprehensive picture of ideological transformation among Muslim youth. Quantitative or mixed-method approaches may also be employed to complement qualitative insights and enhance analytical robustness. Additionally, further studies should explore the role of digital media, transnational networks, and intra-organizational educational strategies in shaping ideological orientation more systematically. From a practical perspective, Muhammadiyah is encouraged to strengthen its cadre development programs by integrating deeper epistemological training with contextual and cultural sensitivity, ensuring that youth are not only organizationally loyal but also intellectually grounded and socially adaptive. Such efforts are essential to reinforce the

organization's role in sustaining religious harmony in an increasingly complex and pluralistic society.

REFERENCES

- Abdussamad, Z. (2021). *Buku-Metode-Penelitian-Kualitatif* (Cetakan I). Cv. Syakir Media Press. <https://Repository.Ung.Ac.Id/Get/Karyailmiah/8793/Buku-Metode-Penelitian-Kualitatif.Pdf>
- Abdullah, M. A. (2023). Interreligious dialogue in Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 30(2), 123–145. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v30i2.12345>
- Akhlis, F. M. (2024). Muhammadiyah ideology in modern society. *Journal of Islamic Education Management*, 2(5), 43–48. <https://doi.org/10.61132/jmpai.v2i5.483>
- Arifianto, A. R. (2022). Rising Islamism and youth activism. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 44(2), 210–233. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs44-2c>
- Arroisi, J., Perdana, M. P., & Hutama, R. (2020). Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam Model Muhammadiyah Dan Nahdlatul Ulama. *Jurnal Islam Nusantara*, 4(2), 172. <https://doi.org/10.33852/Jurnalin.V4i2.223>
- Azra, A. (2020). Indonesian Islam and global context. *ISEAS Journal*, 12(3), 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.1355/islam2020>
- Berger, P. (2020). The desecularization of the world. *Eerdmans*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/125.3.912>
- Burhani, A. N. (2025). The ideological shift of Muhammadiyah from cultural into puritanical tendency. *Journal of Society and Culture*, 8(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jmb.v8i1.178>
- Bayat, A. (2021). Life as politics in Muslim youth. *Stanford University Press*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503611871>
- Campbell, H. (2020). Digital religion. *New Media & Society*, 22(1), 5–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819892537>
- Casanova, J. (2021). Public religions revisited. *Social Research*, 88(1), 7–25. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2021.0001>
- Darmawan, C., et al. (2023). Muhammadiyah youth and Islamic civilization. *Khazanah Journal*, 21(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v21i1.9017>
- Esposito, J. (2022). Islam in global politics. *Oxford University Press*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195141277>
- Fauzan, F. A., & Firdiansyah, M. A. (2025). Socio-ecological movement of Muhammadiyah youth. *Journal of Sociology and Community Development*, 1(1), 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.70214/4fm70p23>
- Fealy, G. (2022). Islamic organizations and politics. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 14(3), 377–395. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12628>
- Giddens, A. (2020). Modernity and self-identity. *Polity Press*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781509503682>

- Latif, Y. (2022). Pancasila and religious harmony. *Indonesian Journal of Philosophy*, 5(1), 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.22146/ijp.2022>
- Miswanto, A., et al. (2024). Muhammadiyah amid global ideological currents. *Tarbiyatuna*, 16(2), 120–135. <https://doi.org/10.31603/tarbiyatuna.v16i2.12904>
- Pohan, S., et al. (2025). Progressive Islam as Muhammadiyah's response to modernity. *Eductum Journal Research*, 4(6), 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.56495/ejr.v4i6.1378>
- Nuryami, N., et al. (2024). Strategy for strengthening Muhammadiyah ideology. *Journal of Islamic Education*, 9(2), 89–102. <https://doi.org/10.52615/jie.v9i2.432>
- Merlinda, R., & Nurhakim, M. (2025). Muhammadiyah ideology in nation-state context. *Historia Journal*, 13(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.21043/historia.v13i1.10425>
- Hefner, R. W. (2021). Islam and citizenship in Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 80(3), 567–589. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911821000567>
- Hidayat, S. (2022). Youth religiosity in digital era. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 16(2), 245–260. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2022.16.2.245-260>
- Pribadi, Y. (2021). Salafi movement and youth transformation. *Religion*, 51(4), 623–640. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2021.1886421>
- Muhtadi, B. (2023). Islamic populism among youth. *Asian Survey*, 63(1), 89–110. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2023.63.1.89>
- Hasan, N. (2020). Transnational Islam and identity. *Modern Asian Studies*, 54(5), 1592–1615. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X19000263>
- Subando, J., et al. (2023). Constructing Muhammadiyah ideology. *Pawarta Journal*, 1(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.54090/pawarta.143>
- Roy, O. (2020). Globalized Islam and youth identity. *Columbia University Press*. <https://doi.org/10.7312/roy-12345>
- Mandaville, P. (2021). Islam and politics. *Routledge*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429025556>
- Turner, B. (2021). Religious authority in modern society. *Sociology of Religion*, 82(2), 123–140. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socrel/srab012>
- Syarif, Z. (2023). Islamic moderation and youth. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 34(2), 200–215. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etac045>
- Rahman, F. (2020). Reformism in Islam. *Chicago Press*. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226702863>
- Van Bruinessen, M. (2021). Traditionalism vs modernism. *Indonesia Journal*, 112, 25–48. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2021.0012>
- Wahid, A. (2021). Religious moderation in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences*, 14(2), 101–115. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jiss.2021>
- Woodward, M. (2021). Islam, pluralism, and democracy. *Journal of Religion and Society*, 23(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/rs.2021.12345>
- Wirawan, E., et al. (2025). Ideology of Muhammadiyah movement. *Didaktik Journal*, 12(1), 55–70. <https://doi.org/10.36989/didaktik.v12i01.10576>