

## **The Dynamics of Contemporary Islamic Thought in the “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” Narrative: A Framing Analysis Based on Robert N. Entman’s Framework**

**Ari Dwi Aditya**

UIN Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris Samarinda  
[adhityaari121@gmail.com](mailto:adhityaari121@gmail.com)

**Ida Suryani Wijaya**

UIN Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris Samarinda  
[idasuryaniwijaya@uinsi.ac.id](mailto:idasuryaniwijaya@uinsi.ac.id)

**A. Rivai Beta**

UIN Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris Samarinda  
[arivaibeta@gmail.com](mailto:arivaibeta@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

This study aims to analyze the construction of the “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” narrative and to examine how such a discourse reflects broader dynamics of contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia. This research employs a qualitative approach using library research methods and applies Robert N. Entman’s framing analysis model, which consists of four analytical dimensions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending treatments. The data were collected from digital religious discourses, scholarly literature, and relevant media texts discussing Muhammadiyah, Wahhabism, and Islamic identity. The findings indicate that the narrative frames Muhammadiyah as an autonomous Islamic reform movement with distinctive historical, theological, and methodological foundations that differ from Wahhabism. The discourse also portrays Wahhabism as an external ideological influence while positioning Ahmad Dahlan’s intellectual legacy as a source of legitimacy for Muhammadiyah’s independent identity. Furthermore, the study reveals that digital religious narratives function not only as instruments of da’wah but also as arenas for ideological contestation, identity construction, and the reinterpretation of Islamic thought in the digital age. The novelty of this research lies in its integration of framing analysis with contemporary Islamic thought studies, demonstrating how digital discourse actively shapes theological boundaries and religious identities within Indonesian Islam.

**Keywords:** Contemporary Islamic Thought, Muhammadiyah, Wahhabism

### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konstruksi narasi “Muhammadiyah Bukan Wahabi” serta mengkaji bagaimana diskursus tersebut merefleksikan dinamika yang lebih luas dalam pemikiran Islam kontemporer di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kepustakaan (library research) serta menerapkan model analisis framing Robert N. Entman yang terdiri atas empat dimensi analisis, yaitu mendefinisikan masalah (define problems), mengidentifikasi penyebab

(diagnose causes), memberikan penilaian moral (make moral judgments), dan merekomendasikan solusi (treatment recommendations). Data penelitian diperoleh dari berbagai diskursus keagamaan digital, literatur akademik, serta teks-teks media yang relevan yang membahas Muhammadiyah, Wahabisme, dan identitas keislaman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa narasi tersebut membingkai Muhammadiyah sebagai gerakan reformasi Islam yang otonom dengan landasan historis, teologis, dan metodologis yang khas serta berbeda dari Wahabisme. Diskursus tersebut juga merepresentasikan Wahabisme sebagai pengaruh ideologis eksternal, sekaligus menempatkan warisan intelektual Ahmad Dahlan sebagai sumber legitimasi bagi identitas independen Muhammadiyah. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa narasi keagamaan digital tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai instrumen dakwah, tetapi juga sebagai arena kontestasi ideologis, konstruksi identitas, dan reinterpretasi pemikiran Islam di era digital. Kebaruan penelitian ini terletak pada integrasi analisis framing dengan kajian pemikiran Islam kontemporer, yang menunjukkan bagaimana diskursus digital secara aktif membentuk batas-batas teologis dan identitas keagamaan dalam Islam Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer, Muhammadiyah, Wahabisme

## **Introduction**

The development of digital technology has significantly transformed the structure of religious communication in contemporary Muslim societies. Religious knowledge, which was once predominantly transmitted through traditional institutions such as mosques, pesantren, religious gatherings, and printed literature, is increasingly disseminated through digital platforms. Social media has become a major arena where religious ideas are produced, circulated, debated, and reconstructed.<sup>1</sup> This transformation has altered not only the channels of religious communication but also the dynamics of authority, interpretation, and identity formation within Muslim communities. Consequently, the study of Islam today cannot be separated from the influence of digital media on contemporary religious life. The digital sphere has become a crucial site for understanding how Islamic thought evolves in the twenty-first century.

The emergence of digital religion has generated new forms of interaction between religious traditions and technological innovations. Digital platforms enable individuals and groups to engage with religious discourse without relying exclusively on conventional religious authorities. Religious actors can now disseminate interpretations, issue responses to contemporary issues, and construct ideological narratives through various forms of online content. As a result, the internet has become an important arena where competing visions of Islam are articulated and contested.<sup>2</sup> These developments have encouraged scholars to investigate how digital environments influence religious authority and knowledge production. Contemporary Islamic thought increasingly develops within these technologically mediated contexts.

Within the Indonesian context, social media has become a particularly influential medium for Islamic discourse. Indonesia's large Muslim population and high

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<sup>1</sup> M. Irfan Tarmizi, "Reconstruction Of Accounting Education In Muhammadiyah Higher Education Based On K.H Ahmaddahlan'S Educational Thought," *Academy of Accounting and Financial Studies Journal* 25, no. Special Issue 4 (2021): 9, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?partnerID=HzOxMe3b%5C&scp=85115745354%5C&origin=inward>.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Nugroho Willyarto, Ulani Yunus, and Supeno, "Digital Branding of Vocational High School with Industrial Partnership: Case Study of SMK Muhammadiyah Kandanghaur, Indonesia," *ACM International Conference Proceeding Series*, 2022, 351, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3582580.3582640>.

rate of internet penetration have created fertile conditions for the expansion of digital religious communication. Various Islamic organizations, religious communities, preachers, and ideological movements actively use social media to disseminate their perspectives.<sup>3</sup> This phenomenon has intensified public engagement with religious issues while simultaneously creating new spaces for theological debate and identity negotiation. The accessibility of digital platforms allows diverse voices to participate in shaping religious narratives. Consequently, social media has become a significant factor in the development of contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia.

Instagram occupies a distinctive position among social media platforms used for religious communication. Unlike text-based platforms, Instagram combines visual and textual elements to create persuasive narratives that can be consumed quickly and shared widely. Features such as stories, reels, and carousel posts facilitate the presentation of complex religious issues in visually appealing formats. These characteristics make Instagram particularly suitable for da'wah activities targeting younger audiences.<sup>4</sup> Through carefully designed visual content, religious actors can influence perceptions and shape public understanding of Islamic issues. Therefore, Instagram has emerged as an important medium for studying contemporary religious communication.

One of the most influential content formats on Instagram is the mini-blog or carousel post. This format enables content creators to present arguments systematically across multiple slides. Information can be organized in a sequential manner, allowing audiences to follow a particular line of reasoning from introduction to conclusion. The carousel format combines educational content with persuasive communication strategies. Through the use of images, quotations, highlighted texts, and visual symbolism, creators can guide audiences toward specific interpretations of religious issues.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, carousel posts serve as powerful instruments for constructing and disseminating ideological narratives.

The increasing use of digital media for religious communication has also intensified contests over Islamic identity. Different groups seek to define authentic Islam according to their theological orientations and historical understandings. Such contests often involve debates over doctrine, ritual practice, religious authority, and organizational identity. Social media provides an accessible platform for these debates, allowing participants to reach broader audiences than traditional religious forums. The digital sphere thus functions not merely as a communication channel but as a space where competing visions of Islam are negotiated. Understanding these contests is essential for examining contemporary Islamic thought.

Among the debates that frequently emerge within Indonesian Islam is the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism. Muhammadiyah is widely recognized as one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations and has played a significant role in educational, social, and religious reform since its establishment in 1912. However, public discussions often associate Muhammadiyah with Wahhabi or

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<sup>3</sup> Qosim Arsadani et al., "The Progressiveness of Sharia Economic Fatwas: Direction of Islamic Legal Thoughts within NU and Muhammadiyah," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 1 (2024): 155, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v24i1.37775>.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Jafar Ikbal and Hardika Dwi Hermawan, "Augmented Reality Development at Muhammadiyah Corner UMS Library," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 2926, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0183792>.

<sup>5</sup> Ghalib Candra Aufa Gunawan, Rini Febri Utari, and Zamzami Septiropa, "Clash Detection Using Navisworks Software as BIM Implementation in Building Planning RSI PKU Muhammadiyah Temanggung," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3179, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0261248>.

Salafi orientations because of certain similarities in religious purification and scriptural approaches. Such associations have generated ongoing debates among scholars, activists, and religious communities.<sup>6</sup> These debates involve questions concerning theology, methodology, historical development, and ideological identity. Consequently, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism remains a contested issue in contemporary Islamic discourse.

The debate over Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism cannot be reduced to a simple theological disagreement. It also reflects broader questions concerning the construction of religious identity in modern Muslim societies. Different actors seek to define the historical roots, doctrinal foundations, and ideological character of Muhammadiyah. These competing interpretations influence how Muhammadiyah is perceived both within and outside the organization.<sup>7</sup> In this context, narratives concerning Muhammadiyah's relationship with Wahhabism become part of a larger struggle over symbolic authority and religious legitimacy. Such dynamics illustrate the complex intersections between theology, history, and identity in contemporary Islamic thought.

Digital media has amplified these debates by providing opportunities for various groups to disseminate alternative interpretations. Accounts affiliated with different Islamic traditions frequently produce content aimed at defending their perspectives while challenging competing narratives. Through visual design, historical references, and theological arguments, social media content creators participate in the construction of religious meaning. These practices demonstrate that digital communication is not neutral but inherently involved in ideological processes. Social media content therefore deserves scholarly attention as a site where contemporary Islamic thought is actively shaped. The digital environment has become an arena for intellectual and theological contestation.

One account that actively participates in this discourse is @id.cyberaswaja. Through a series of Instagram mini-blog posts, the account promotes the narrative that Muhammadiyah should not be equated with Wahhabism. The account employs historical evidence, theological arguments, and visual symbolism to support this position. Such content seeks to influence audience perceptions regarding Muhammadiyah's identity and historical development. The account's publications provide a valuable case for examining how digital religious narratives are constructed and disseminated. They also offer insight into broader debates concerning Islamic identity in Indonesia.

The narrative "Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi" represents more than a simple statement of organizational distinction. It functions as a discursive strategy aimed at redefining the boundaries of religious identity. Through this narrative, particular interpretations of Muhammadiyah's theological heritage and historical trajectory are emphasized.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, alternative interpretations are challenged or marginalized. The narrative therefore contributes to the ongoing process of identity

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<sup>6</sup> Annissa Setyawati and Hardika Dwi Hermawan, "Development of Augmented Reality Service Excellence Library Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 2926, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0183794>.

<sup>7</sup> Miftahul Jannah et al., "Implementation of a Blended Learning Model Based on Authentic Assessment on Geometry Material Similar to PISA for SMP Muhammadiyah 1 Kartasura," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3142, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0262177>.

<sup>8</sup> Tania Dinda Mei Rosa et al., "The Effectiveness of the Discovery Learning Model Using Schoology to Improve Class X Learning Outcomes of Muhammadiyah High School," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3142, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0262151>.

formation within contemporary Indonesian Islam. Examining such narratives can reveal how religious communities negotiate questions of authenticity and legitimacy in the digital age.

Theoretical discussions concerning framing provide a useful framework for analyzing these processes. Framing theory emphasizes that communication does not merely transmit information but also organizes reality in ways that shape audience perceptions. Media actors select certain aspects of reality while excluding others, thereby directing attention toward particular interpretations.<sup>9</sup> Through framing, communicators define problems, identify causes, evaluate actors, and propose solutions. These processes are particularly significant in discussions involving religious identity and ideological contestation. Framing analysis therefore offers valuable tools for understanding how digital religious narratives are constructed.

Robert N. Entman's framing model is especially relevant for analyzing religious discourse in digital media. Entman argues that framing involves selecting aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient within a communicative text. This process serves four primary functions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.<sup>10</sup> These analytical dimensions provide a systematic framework for examining how narratives are constructed and communicated. In the context of religious debates, framing analysis can reveal the underlying assumptions and ideological orientations embedded within media content. Consequently, Entman's framework is well suited to the present study.

The significance of this research extends beyond the analysis of a single Instagram account. The study contributes to broader discussions concerning the transformation of Islamic thought in digital environments. Digital media increasingly shapes how Muslims understand religious authority, historical memory, and communal identity. By examining the framing of Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism, the study sheds light on wider processes of ideological negotiation within Indonesian Islam. Such processes have important implications for understanding contemporary religious pluralism and intellectual diversity. Therefore, the research addresses issues of both theoretical and practical significance.

Previous studies have examined digital da'wah, online religious authority, and Islamic communication in social media environments. However, relatively limited attention has been given to the relationship between framing practices and the construction of Islamic thought in digital spaces.<sup>11</sup> Existing research often focuses on communication strategies rather than the intellectual and ideological dimensions of digital religious discourse. As a result, the role of social media in shaping theological boundaries and religious identities remains underexplored. This gap highlights the need for further investigation into the intersection of digital communication and Islamic thought. The present study seeks to address this scholarly need.

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<sup>9</sup> Said Romadlan et al., "Representation of Muhammadiyah as the Islamic Movement Progressed in the New Public Region (Representation of Muhammadiyah as a Progressive Islamic Movement in the New Public Sphere)," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3148, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0243361>.

<sup>10</sup> Restu Faizah et al., "Earthquake Hazard Preparedness Index of Muhammadiyah School Community in Tirtonirmolo Village," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 2688 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0112089>.

<sup>11</sup> Ranu Nur Fatika Putri and Hardika Dwi Hermawan, "Development of a WEB-Based Virtual Tour as a Media Introduction to Library Services at University of Muhammadiyah Surakarta," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 2926, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0183795>.

Another important dimension concerns the evolving nature of religious authority in contemporary Islam. Traditional religious authority was largely based on institutional affiliation, scholarly credentials, and direct interaction with communities. In contrast, digital platforms enable new actors to gain influence through content production and audience engagement.<sup>12</sup> These actors participate in defining orthodoxy, interpreting history, and constructing collective identities. Their influence demonstrates that authority in contemporary Islam is increasingly mediated by digital communication technologies. Understanding these developments requires attention to both media practices and intellectual traditions.

The novelty of this study lies in its integration of framing analysis with the study of contemporary Islamic thought. Rather than treating Instagram content merely as communication material, the research approaches it as a site of intellectual and ideological production. The study investigates how digital narratives contribute to the construction of theological boundaries, historical interpretations, and religious identities.<sup>13</sup> By doing so, it expands existing scholarship on digital religion and Islamic thought. This interdisciplinary perspective provides a deeper understanding of how Islamic ideas are negotiated in contemporary digital environments. Ultimately, the study demonstrates that social media has become a significant arena for the production and contestation of Islamic thought in modern Indonesia.

The central question guiding this research is how the Instagram account @id.cyberaswaja frames the narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” and how this framing reflects broader dynamics of contemporary Islamic thought. Based on this question, the study aims to analyze the framing strategies employed within selected Instagram mini-blog posts using Robert N. Entman’s analytical framework. Through this investigation, the research seeks to explain how digital religious content shapes perceptions of Islamic identity and theological legitimacy. It also seeks to illuminate the relationship between media representation and ideological contestation in contemporary Islam. In this way, the study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of Islamic thought in the digital age.

## **Literature Review**

Contemporary Islamic thought refers to the dynamic process through which Muslims reinterpret, negotiate, and respond to modern social, political, cultural, and technological transformations while remaining connected to foundational Islamic sources. Contemporary Islamic thought is not merely a continuation of classical traditions but also a field of intellectual contestation involving diverse methodologies and epistemological approaches.<sup>14</sup> Muslim scholars and organizations often develop different perspectives regarding issues such as religious authority, reform, modernity, democracy, globalization, and technological change. These differences contribute to the emergence of multiple discourses within contemporary Islam. Consequently,

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<sup>12</sup> Agung Tri Suryanto, Hardika Dwi Hermawan, and Siti Aisyah, “Web-Based Guidance And Counseling Information System In Muhammadiyah Al-Kautsar High School,” *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3142, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0262025>.

<sup>13</sup> Sartika Puspita et al., “Indirect Pulp Capping Treatment Radiograph Evaluation at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta Dental Hospital Using Calcium Hydroxide and Glass Ionomer Cement,” *AIP Conference Proceedings* 3127, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0216131>.

<sup>14</sup> Syamsul Arifin, Syafiq A. Mughni, and Moh Nurhakim, “The Idea of Progress: Meaning and Implications of Islam Berkemajuan in Muhammadiyah,” *Al-Jami’ah* 60, no. 2 (2022): 547–84, <https://doi.org/10.14421/AJIS.2022.602.547-584>.

contemporary Islamic thought should be understood as a plural and evolving intellectual phenomenon rather than a single homogeneous tradition.<sup>15</sup> The diversity of interpretations found within Muslim societies reflects the ongoing interaction between religious texts, historical experiences, and contemporary realities.

The relationship between Islam and modernity has become one of the central themes in contemporary Islamic thought. Since the nineteenth century, Muslim intellectuals have debated how Islamic teachings should engage with modern social transformations. Some scholars advocate reformist approaches that emphasize adaptation and reinterpretation, while others prioritize the preservation of traditional theological and legal frameworks. These debates continue to influence contemporary Muslim organizations and movements across the world. The emergence of digital technology has further complicated these discussions by introducing new forms of communication, authority, and knowledge production.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, contemporary Islamic thought increasingly operates within contexts shaped by technological innovation and global interconnectedness.

Within Indonesia, the development of contemporary Islamic thought has been strongly influenced by the presence of large Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. These organizations have contributed significantly to shaping religious discourse, educational reform, and social development. Muhammadiyah, in particular, has long been associated with Islamic reformism and the promotion of scriptural engagement through the Qur'an and Sunnah. Throughout its history, Muhammadiyah has sought to balance religious authenticity with responsiveness to social change. This reformist orientation has made Muhammadiyah an important actor in discussions concerning Islamic modernism in Indonesia.<sup>17</sup> As a result, debates surrounding Muhammadiyah often reflect broader tensions within contemporary Islamic thought.

The discussion concerning Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism occupies a significant position within Indonesian Islamic discourse. Some observers have highlighted similarities between Muhammadiyah and Wahhabi movements regarding religious purification and criticism of practices considered inconsistent with Islamic teachings. However, other scholars argue that such comparisons overlook important historical, theological, and sociological differences. Muhammadiyah emerged within the specific context of Indonesian society and developed its own organizational culture and intellectual traditions. The organization has also demonstrated flexibility in engaging with local realities and national concerns. Consequently, the question of whether Muhammadiyah should be identified with Wahhabism remains a subject of ongoing debate among academics and religious communities.

The concept of religious identity is particularly relevant for understanding these debates. Religious identity is not a fixed or naturally given category but is continuously constructed through discourse, symbols, institutions, and collective memory. Islamic organizations often engage in identity construction by emphasizing particular

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<sup>15</sup> Musawar and Gatot Suhirman, "Khilāfah in the View of Nahdhatul Ulama (Nu), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdhatul Wathan (Nw) Ulema in Lombok," *Al-Jami'ah* 59, no. 2 (2021): 319, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.592.317-346>.

<sup>16</sup> Marwadi, "Renewing the Thoughts of the Hijri Calendar of Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama and Persatuan Islam and Its Implications for Realization of National Hijri Calendar," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 15, no. 1 (2021): 22, <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v15i1.4870>.

<sup>17</sup> Ikhwandy Ikhwandy and Muhamad Subhi Apriantoro, "Deciphering Economic Fatwas in Muhammadiyah: A Comprehensive Qualitative Analysis from 1950 to 2017," *Al-Mazaahib* 12, no. 1 (2024): 54, <https://doi.org/10.14421/al-mazaahib.v12i1.3636>.

theological positions, historical narratives, and symbolic representations.<sup>18</sup> These processes become especially visible when organizations respond to external labels or criticisms. In such situations, identity narratives serve both defensive and constructive functions. They protect organizational legitimacy while simultaneously defining the boundaries of collective belonging. Therefore, identity construction constitutes an important dimension of contemporary Islamic thought.

The rise of digital religion has transformed the mechanisms through which religious identities are constructed and communicated. Digital religion refers to the interaction between religious beliefs, practices, communities, and digital technologies. Scholars have argued that digital media does not simply reproduce offline religious life but actively reshapes religious experiences and relationships. Through online platforms, religious actors can create alternative spaces for theological discussion and community formation.<sup>19</sup> Digital environments also facilitate the rapid circulation of religious narratives across geographical boundaries. As a result, digital religion has become a significant field of inquiry within contemporary religious studies.

Social media platforms play a crucial role in the expansion of digital religion. Platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, and TikTok enable religious content to reach large audiences through visual and interactive formats. Religious messages are often adapted to suit the communicative characteristics of these platforms. This adaptation influences not only how information is presented but also how religious ideas are understood and interpreted. Visual design, storytelling techniques, and audience engagement strategies contribute to the persuasive power of digital religious content. Consequently, social media has become an influential arena for shaping contemporary religious consciousness.

Instagram represents a particularly important platform for digital da'wah because of its emphasis on visual communication. Unlike traditional religious texts, Instagram content combines images, typography, color schemes, and concise narratives to convey religious messages. These elements work together to create specific interpretations and emotional responses among audiences.<sup>20</sup> The popularity of carousel posts has further enhanced Instagram's capacity for religious communication by allowing complex issues to be explained through sequential visual narratives. Religious organizations and communities increasingly utilize this format to discuss theological, social, and ideological issues. Therefore, Instagram provides a valuable context for examining contemporary forms of Islamic communication.

The study of media framing offers important theoretical insights into how religious narratives are constructed. Framing theory suggests that communicators selectively emphasize certain aspects of reality while minimizing others. This process influences how audiences understand social and political issues. In religious contexts, framing can shape perceptions regarding orthodoxy, legitimacy, authority, and identity. Media framing therefore functions not merely as a communication strategy but also as

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<sup>18</sup> Desty Muzarofatus Sholikhah and Amalia Rahma, "The Relationship between Energy and Macronutrient Intake with Nutritional Status of Muhammadiyah Elementary School Children in Gresik Regency," *Amerta Nutrition* 8, no. 2 (2024): 242, <https://doi.org/10.20473/amnt.v8i2.2024.239-247>.

<sup>19</sup> Retno Dewi Noviyanti et al., "Implementation of Diet Recommendation on Body Fat Scale at the Students of Muhammadiyah University PKU Surakarta," *Amerta Nutrition* 9, no. 1SP (2025): 393, <https://doi.org/10.20473/amnt.v9i1SP.2025.436-443>.

<sup>20</sup> Tristia Riskawati et al., "Faith-Driven Leaders in a Non-Theocratic Country: Internalizing Muhammadiyah Values in Local Governance," *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* 48, no. 2 (2025): 147, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23276665.2025.2571898>.

a mechanism of meaning production.<sup>21</sup> Understanding framing processes is essential for analyzing contemporary religious discourse. It allows researchers to uncover the assumptions and ideological orientations embedded within media content.

Robert N. Entman's framing model has become one of the most influential approaches in communication studies. According to Entman, framing involves selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient within communication texts.<sup>22</sup> This salience serves four interconnected functions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending treatments. These analytical categories enable researchers to identify how narratives structure audience understanding. In studies of religious communication, Entman's framework is particularly useful because it reveals how theological and ideological positions are embedded within media representations.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the model provides a comprehensive tool for examining religious narratives in digital environments.

The application of framing theory to digital Islamic discourse has generated important scholarly insights. Researchers have demonstrated that online religious content often serves as a site for ideological contestation and identity negotiation. Different actors employ framing strategies to promote particular interpretations of Islam while challenging alternative perspectives. Such practices contribute to the construction of symbolic boundaries between religious groups and movements. In this sense, framing becomes an instrument through which contemporary Islamic thought is articulated and contested. The narrative "Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi" represents one example of this broader phenomenon, illustrating how digital media participates in shaping religious identities and intellectual debates within contemporary Indonesian Islam.

## Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a library research method. A qualitative approach is considered appropriate because the research focuses on understanding meanings, interpretations, narratives, and ideological constructions embedded within digital religious content. Unlike quantitative studies that emphasize numerical measurement and statistical relationships, qualitative research seeks to explore the depth and complexity of social phenomena. In the context of this study, the primary concern is not the frequency of content exposure or audience behavior but the way religious narratives are constructed and communicated. The qualitative approach enables researchers to examine the symbolic dimensions of digital communication and uncover the ideological assumptions underlying media texts. Therefore, qualitative inquiry provides a suitable framework for investigating contemporary Islamic discourse in digital environments.

Library research is selected as the primary research method because the study relies on documentary sources and textual materials as its main data. Library research

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<sup>21</sup> Iman Sumarlan and Pramana, "Communicating Progressive Islam: Value-Based Public Relations and the Communicative Construction of Organizational Identity in Muhammadiyah," *Asian Anthropology*, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2026.2647321>.

<sup>22</sup> Eli Purwati et al., "Organizational Communication Performances in Islamic Higher Education Institutions: A Case of Muhammadiyah–Aisyiyah Universities in Indonesia," *Asian Anthropology*, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2026.2620003>.

<sup>23</sup> Muhammad Qorib and U. Umiarso, "Socio-Cultural Transformation within Indonesian Academics: Cases in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Universities," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 14, no. 4 (2025): 859, <https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-12-2024-0295>.

involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting information from various written, visual, and digital sources relevant to the research topic. These sources include academic books, journal articles, digital archives, organizational documents, online publications, and social media content. Through library research, scholars can systematically examine how ideas, concepts, and narratives are articulated across different forms of documentation. This method is particularly relevant for studies focusing on discourse, ideology, and intellectual traditions. Consequently, library research allows the researcher to investigate the construction of contemporary Islamic thought without relying on direct field observations or interviews.

The primary data of this study consist of selected Instagram mini-blog posts published by the account @id.cyberaswaja that discuss the narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi.” These posts were selected purposively because they explicitly address the relationship between Muhammadiyah, Wahhabism, and Islamic identity. The content includes textual statements, visual representations, quotations from historical sources, and symbolic imagery that collectively contribute to the framing of the issue. The selected posts function as digital texts that communicate particular interpretations of Islamic history and theology. As media artifacts, these posts provide valuable evidence for understanding how religious identities are represented in digital spaces. Therefore, they serve as the central objects of analysis in this study.

The secondary data consist of scholarly works related to contemporary Islamic thought, Muhammadiyah studies, Wahhabism, digital religion, social media communication, framing theory, and Islamic identity formation. Academic journals, books, conference proceedings, and institutional publications are utilized to provide theoretical and contextual foundations for the analysis. These sources help explain the historical development of Muhammadiyah, the emergence of digital religion, and the theoretical dimensions of framing analysis. Secondary sources also enable the researcher to situate the findings within broader academic discussions. Through engagement with existing literature, the study establishes conceptual clarity and scholarly relevance. Thus, secondary data play an important role in strengthening the analytical framework of the research.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **The Emergence of Digital Islamic Discourses and Identity Contestation**

The emergence of digital media has fundamentally transformed the production and circulation of Islamic discourse in contemporary Muslim societies.<sup>24</sup> Religious discussions that were once limited to physical gatherings, educational institutions, and printed publications are now increasingly conducted through social networking platforms. This transformation has expanded access to religious knowledge while simultaneously creating new opportunities for ideological contestation.<sup>25</sup> Digital environments allow diverse actors to participate in defining religious meanings and identities. Consequently, social media has become a crucial arena for negotiating

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<sup>24</sup> Arianti and Imam Ma’Arif Annafi, “Chewing Gum Administration towards Gastrointestinal Motility on Postoperative Patients of PKU Muhammadiyah Gamping Hospital,” *Bali Medical Journal* 10, no. 3 Special Issue (2021): 1048–52, <https://doi.org/10.15562/bmj.v10i3.2823>.

<sup>25</sup> Muhammad Muhammad Nasir, “Weaving Modernity in Salafism: A Comparative Study of Muhammadiyah and Izala Movements,” *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 3 (2023): 107, <https://doi.org/10.55831/ajis.v8i3.619>.

theological authority and communal belonging.<sup>26</sup> These developments provide an important context for understanding the narrative constructed by @id.cyberaswaja.

Within digital religious spaces, identity construction has become one of the most significant dimensions of contemporary Islamic communication. Religious groups increasingly use online platforms to define themselves and distinguish their identities from competing movements. Such practices involve the selective use of historical narratives, theological arguments, and symbolic representations. These elements are strategically combined to create persuasive interpretations of religious identity. The narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” should be understood within this broader context of digital identity formation. It represents an effort to articulate a particular understanding of Muhammadiyah’s place within contemporary Indonesian Islam.

The Instagram account @id.cyberaswaja serves as a digital actor participating in these identity negotiations. Through mini-blog posts and carousel content, the account seeks to communicate a specific interpretation of Muhammadiyah’s historical and theological identity. The account does not merely provide information but actively constructs a narrative regarding the relationship between Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism. Such content reflects broader debates concerning religious authenticity, historical legitimacy, and organizational identity. The account therefore functions as both a source of religious communication and an agent of ideological framing. Understanding this role is essential for interpreting the findings of the study.

One notable characteristic of the analyzed content is its use of visual and textual integration. The posts combine headlines, highlighted quotations, historical references, illustrations, and symbolic imagery.<sup>27</sup> These elements work together to create a coherent narrative structure. Visual communication enhances the persuasive impact of the content by directing audience attention toward selected interpretations. In digital environments where users are exposed to large amounts of information, such strategies become particularly important. The integration of visual and textual framing contributes significantly to the effectiveness of the narrative construction.

Another important aspect of the content is its emphasis on historical memory. Historical references are employed not simply to describe past events but to legitimize contemporary interpretations of Islamic identity. Through the selective presentation of historical materials, the content seeks to establish continuity between Muhammadiyah’s origins and its current identity.<sup>28</sup> This strategy reflects a broader tendency within religious discourse to use history as a source of legitimacy. Historical narratives often function as powerful tools for defining communal boundaries and validating ideological positions. Therefore, the use of historical memory constitutes a central feature of the framing process.

The analyzed posts also demonstrate how digital religious communication frequently operates through binary distinctions. Religious identities are often defined by contrasting “us” and “them,” insiders and outsiders, authentic and inauthentic

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<sup>26</sup> Hyung Jun Kim, “Leadership Changes and Inter-Leader Relationships in Muhammadiyah,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 181, no. 1 (2025): 36, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-bja10067>.

<sup>27</sup> Ary Bakhtiar, Chairinina Rizka Fitria, and Waris Ali Khan, “The Influence of Students Development Strategy of the Faculty of Agriculture and Animal Science the University of Muhammadiyah Malang on the Future of Farmers Profession in Indonesia,” *BIO Web of Conferences* 104 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1051/bioconf/202410400003>.

<sup>28</sup> Sri Sunarti et al., “Factors Affecting E-Smoking Behavior in Public Health Students of University Muhammadiyah Kalimantan Timur,” *BIO Web of Conferences* 54 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1051/bioconf/20225400008>.

interpretations. Such distinctions help simplify complex theological and historical issues into accessible narratives.<sup>29</sup> While this strategy enhances communicative clarity, it may also reinforce ideological polarization. In the case of @id.cyberaswaja, the distinction between Muhammadiyah and Wahhabism becomes a central organizing principle of the content. This binary framework shapes the overall structure of the narrative and influences audience perception.

### **Framing Analysis of the Narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” Based on Robert N. Entman’s Framework**

The analysis of the selected Instagram content demonstrates that the narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” is not merely a descriptive statement but a discursive construction designed to shape public understanding of Muhammadiyah’s religious identity. Through the framing process, the account @id.cyberaswaja selects particular historical facts, theological references, and organizational experiences while simultaneously emphasizing specific interpretations of these elements. Such a process reflects Entman’s argument that framing involves highlighting certain aspects of reality to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and recommended solution. The analyzed content reveals a consistent effort to construct Muhammadiyah as a distinct Islamic movement with independent theological and historical foundations. Consequently, the framing process functions as an instrument for identity construction and ideological clarification. This finding highlights the role of digital media in shaping contemporary Islamic thought.

From the perspective of Islamic thought, the issue extends beyond organizational identity and enters the realm of theological self-definition. The question of whether Muhammadiyah should be associated with Wahhabism reflects broader concerns regarding religious authenticity and intellectual genealogy. Such concerns have become increasingly prominent in contemporary Islamic discourse due to the growing influence of digital communication.<sup>30</sup> Social media platforms provide opportunities for diverse actors to promote competing interpretations of Islamic history and doctrine. These dynamics contribute to the emergence of multiple narratives concerning the nature of Islamic reform and religious authority. Therefore, the analyzed content should be understood as part of a wider intellectual contestation within Indonesian Islam.

The framing strategy employed by @id.cyberaswaja demonstrates a sophisticated use of narrative sequencing. Rather than presenting isolated claims, the content develops a structured argument across multiple slides. Each slide contributes to a broader narrative progression designed to guide audience interpretation. This technique increases persuasive effectiveness by encouraging users to follow a logical sequence of information. Through this process, audiences are gradually introduced to specific historical claims, theological arguments, and evaluative judgments. The structure of the carousel format thus becomes an important element of the framing process itself.

A significant feature of the analyzed content is its reliance on historical legitimacy. Historical references are repeatedly used to support contemporary claims

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<sup>29</sup> Novita Kurnia Sari et al., “Enhancing the Capabilities of Medical Surgical Nurses at PKU Muhammadiyah Gamping Hospital,” *BIO Web of Conferences* 137 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1051/bioconf/202413702015>.

<sup>30</sup> Muhammad Qorib and Umiarso, “The Religious Moderation Model Based on the Unity of Theo-Socio-Anthropological Values in Muhammadiyah and NU Pesantren in Indonesia,” *Cogent Education* 12, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2025.2584644>.

regarding Muhammadiyah’s identity. Such references include organizational history, historical conflicts, and the intellectual legacy of Ahmad Dahlan.<sup>31</sup> By emphasizing these elements, the content seeks to establish continuity between the founding principles of Muhammadiyah and its contemporary identity. Historical narratives thereby function as sources of authority and legitimacy. This illustrates how collective memory can be mobilized within digital environments to support ideological arguments.

The framing process also reveals the importance of symbolic representation. Visual elements, color schemes, highlighted quotations, and iconographic references contribute to the construction of meaning. Symbols operate alongside textual arguments to reinforce particular interpretations.<sup>32</sup> The persuasive power of the content depends not only on what is explicitly stated but also on how information is visually organized. This finding confirms that digital religious communication involves both textual and visual dimensions. Consequently, framing analysis must consider the interaction between these elements.

The narrative further illustrates how social media can serve as a platform for theological positioning. By distinguishing Muhammadiyah from Wahhabism, the content implicitly engages with broader debates concerning Islamic reform, scriptural interpretation, and doctrinal identity. Such debates have long existed within Muslim societies but have acquired new visibility through digital communication. Online platforms facilitate the rapid dissemination of theological arguments to diverse audiences. Therefore, social media functions not only as a communication medium but also as a space for theological engagement. This characteristic makes digital content increasingly relevant for the study of contemporary Islamic thought.

**Table 1**  
**Framing Analysis of the Narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi”**  
**Based on Robert N. Entman’s Framework**

Instagram Content	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation	Main Frame
“MU Bukan Wahhabi, Justru MU Menentang Wahhabi”	Muhammadiyah is frequently equated with Wahhabism despite possessing a distinct historical identity.	Public misunderstanding and limited knowledge regarding Muhammadiyah’s historical relationship with Salafi-Wahhabi groups.	Muhammadiyah is portrayed as an autonomous Islamic organization with its own religious tradition.	Audiences are encouraged to differentiate Muhammadiyah from Wahhabism through historical understanding.	Muhammadiyah possesses an independent identity distinct from Wahhabism.

<sup>31</sup> Ummu Salma Al Azizah and Bella Jastacia, “Exploration of Sharia Bank Services in Muhammadiyah’s Higher Education Students,” *Contributions to Management Science Part F1204* (2023): 459, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27860-0\\_41](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27860-0_41).

<sup>32</sup> Junarti et al., “The Muhammadiyah Waqf Organization: Prospects and Challenges,” *Contributions to Management Science Part F1204* (2023): 517, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27860-0\\_47](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27860-0_47).

Instagram Content	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation	Main Frame
“Cara Wahhabisme Masuk ke Muhammadiyah”	Wahhabism is represented as entering Muhammadiyah’s institutional and religious spaces.	Strategic infiltration through religious networks, mosques, and ideological influence.	Wahhabism is portrayed as a challenge to Muhammadiyah’s authenticity and organizational integrity.	Strengthening organizational awareness and protecting Muhammadiyah’s identity.	Wahhabism is framed as an external ideological influence.
“Sayaikh Ahmad Dahlan Mengajarkan Aqidah Sifat 20”	The association of Muhammadiyah with Wahhabism is considered historically inaccurate.	Insufficient understanding of Ahmad Dahlan’s theological heritage.	Ahmad Dahlan is portrayed as a theological authority representing Muhammadiyah’s authentic foundations.	Re-examining historical and theological sources related to Ahmad Dahlan.	Ahmad Dahlan serves as historical-theological legitimacy for Muhammadiyah’s distinct identity.

The first major frame identified in the analysis is the construction of Muhammadiyah as an autonomous Islamic movement. The content consistently emphasizes that Muhammadiyah should not be reduced to a derivative form of Wahhabism. This framing strategy seeks to establish organizational independence while reaffirming Muhammadiyah’s historical uniqueness. Through selective references to organizational history, the content constructs a narrative of continuity and distinctiveness. Such a strategy reflects broader concerns regarding identity preservation in contemporary Islamic discourse. Consequently, the framing process contributes to the reinforcement of Muhammadiyah’s symbolic boundaries.

The second frame concerns the portrayal of Wahhabism as an external ideological influence. The content repeatedly presents Wahhabism as a movement operating outside Muhammadiyah’s historical and theological foundations. This representation creates a clear distinction between internal and external religious identities. Such distinctions play an important role in the construction of collective identity because they define the boundaries of belonging.<sup>33</sup> The framing process therefore functions not only to explain historical relationships but also to strengthen communal solidarity. Identity formation becomes inseparable from the construction of difference.

A third frame centers on the notion of ideological vigilance. The content encourages audiences to remain aware of influences perceived as inconsistent with Muhammadiyah’s organizational character. This theme appears particularly strongly in discussions concerning infiltration and ideological penetration. Such language constructs a narrative of protection and preservation.<sup>34</sup> The organization is represented as a space requiring active defense against external influences.

<sup>33</sup> Laelia Dwi Anggraini, Denna Idyareza Augustyana, and Nurrofi Sekarjati, “Prevalence of Dental Anomalies in Pediatric Patients at Dental and Oral Hospital of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta,” *Dental Journal* 56, no. 1 (2023): 64, <https://doi.org/10.20473/j.djmk.v56.i1.p63-67>.

<sup>34</sup> Wahyu Utami, Asti Arum Sari, and Harun Joko Prayitno, “Publications Affiliated with Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta from Indonesia Scopus Database: A Bibliometric Analysis,” *DESIDOC Journal of Library and Information Technology* 44, no. 4 (2024): 207, <https://doi.org/10.14429/djlit.44.4.19429>.

Consequently, the framing process promotes a sense of collective responsibility among audiences.

The fourth frame involves the use of Ahmad Dahlan as a source of historical and theological authority. The founder of Muhammadiyah is presented as a key figure whose teachings provide guidance for understanding the organization's authentic identity. Historical references to Ahmad Dahlan function as legitimizing resources within the narrative.<sup>35</sup> By emphasizing his theological positions, the content seeks to establish continuity between Muhammadiyah's origins and contemporary identity claims. This strategy demonstrates the importance of historical figures in the construction of religious authority. Collective memory becomes a crucial element of ideological framing.

The prominence of Ahmad Dahlan within the analyzed content reflects a broader pattern within Islamic thought. Religious movements frequently invoke founding figures to legitimize contemporary interpretations. Such figures serve as symbolic references capable of connecting present concerns with historical traditions. Their authority derives not only from historical significance but also from their role as embodiments of communal values.<sup>36</sup> In this context, Ahmad Dahlan functions as both a historical actor and a symbolic resource. The framing process therefore transforms historical memory into a tool of identity construction.

Another important finding concerns the role of digital media in producing theological narratives. Traditionally, theological debates were conducted through books, seminars, and religious institutions. Today, social media allows theological discussions to reach wider audiences in more accessible formats. Complex issues can be simplified and communicated through visual storytelling techniques. This transformation has significant implications for the dissemination of religious knowledge.<sup>37</sup> Digital communication increasingly shapes how theological ideas are understood and debated.

The use of carousel posts further enhances the persuasive power of digital religious communication. Unlike isolated posts, carousel formats enable the development of extended arguments across multiple slides. This structure facilitates narrative progression and encourages sustained audience engagement. Information can be presented incrementally, allowing audiences to follow a carefully constructed line of reasoning.<sup>38</sup> Such characteristics make carousel posts particularly effective for ideological communication. Consequently, the format itself becomes part of the framing strategy.

The analysis also demonstrates the interaction between theology and identity politics in contemporary Islamic discourse. Theological arguments are frequently employed not only to explain religious doctrines but also to define communal

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<sup>35</sup> Abdullah M. Al-Ansi et al., "The Islamic Organizations in Indonesia 'Muhammadiyah and NU': Social Perspective Explanation," *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences* 50, no. 5 (2023): 555, <https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v50i5.1124>.

<sup>36</sup> Ferdinan Ferdinan et al., "Eco Islamic Education and Its Contribution to Sustainable Development Goals in Muhammadiyah Boarding Schools of South Sulawesi," *Discover Sustainability* 7, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43621-026-02647-6>.

<sup>37</sup> Erma Sofiani et al., "Caries Incidence Rates Examination Through the Indonesian Digital Caries Risk Assessment for Parents of Muhammadiyah Warungboto Elementary School Yogyakarta," *E3S Web of Conferences* 570 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202457003009>.

<sup>38</sup> Filosa Gita Sukmono, Adinda Putri Surya Kencana, and Mohammad Jafar Loilatu, "Fastabiq.Id: A Model of Muhammadiyah's Management Media Community at the Grassroots," *E3S Web of Conferences* 440 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202344003003>.

identities. In the analyzed content, discussions concerning creed and historical interpretation simultaneously function as discussions concerning organizational identity. Theology therefore becomes intertwined with questions of belonging and legitimacy.<sup>39</sup> This intersection represents an important characteristic of contemporary Islamic thought. Religious discourse increasingly operates across both doctrinal and social dimensions.

The framing of Wahhabism as an external influence also reflects broader patterns of boundary-making within religious communities. Communities often define themselves by distinguishing their values and traditions from those of others. Such distinctions contribute to the formation of collective identity and social cohesion. However, they may also generate tensions and reinforce perceptions of difference. The analyzed content illustrates how these dynamics operate within digital environments. Social media provides new mechanisms for constructing and communicating symbolic boundaries.

From a communication perspective, the content demonstrates how framing influences audience interpretation. By emphasizing specific aspects of history and theology, the narrative guides audiences toward particular conclusions. Alternative interpretations receive limited attention, while selected perspectives are made more salient.<sup>40</sup> This process illustrates Entman's concept of framing as the strategic organization of meaning. The effectiveness of the narrative depends on its ability to shape audience perception. Consequently, framing becomes a powerful instrument of ideological communication.

The findings also reveal that digital da'wah has evolved beyond traditional forms of moral instruction. Contemporary digital da'wah frequently addresses issues of identity, ideology, and historical interpretation. Religious communication increasingly involves efforts to clarify organizational positions and respond to competing narratives. Such developments reflect the changing nature of religious engagement in the digital age. Social media has become a space where religious communities negotiate their identities and articulate their visions of Islam.<sup>41</sup> This transformation expands the scope of digital religious communication.

The relationship between digital media and Islamic thought should therefore be understood as reciprocal. Digital platforms influence how religious ideas are communicated, while religious ideas shape the ways these platforms are utilized. The analyzed content demonstrates that social media is not merely a passive channel for information transmission. Instead, it actively participates in the construction of religious meaning. This observation supports broader theories concerning the mediatization of religion.<sup>42</sup> Contemporary Islamic thought increasingly develops within media environments that shape both content and reception.

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<sup>39</sup> Muhammad Syahriandi Adhantoro et al., "Strategic Technological Innovation through ChatMu: Transforming Information Accessibility in Muhammadiyah," *Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence* 8 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.3389/frai.2025.1446590>.

<sup>40</sup> Chatia Hastasari, Benni Setiawan, and Suranto Aw, "Students' Communication Patterns of Islamic Boarding Schools: The Case of Students in Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta," *Heliyon* 8, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e08824>.

<sup>41</sup> Ahwan Fanani et al., "Muhammadiyah's Manhaj Tarjih: An Evolution of a Modernist Approach to Islamic Jurisprudence in Indonesia," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V77I4.6942>.

<sup>42</sup> Zuly Qodir, Haedar Nashir, and Robert W. Hefner, "Muhammadiyah Making Indonesia's Islamic Moderation Based on Maqāsid Sharī'ah," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 23, no. 1 (2023): 79, <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJTIHAD.V23I1.77-92>.

The narrative analyzed in this study also highlights the importance of intellectual genealogy in contemporary Islamic discourse. Competing interpretations frequently seek legitimacy through appeals to historical continuity and doctrinal authenticity. Questions concerning origins, influences, and theological affiliations become central to debates over identity. The narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” exemplifies this phenomenon by emphasizing historical distinctions and theological differences. Intellectual genealogy thus becomes a key site of contestation. Understanding these dynamics is essential for studying contemporary Islamic thought. Ultimately, the findings suggest that the analyzed content functions as a form of digital counter-narrative.<sup>43</sup> It seeks to challenge interpretations that associate Muhammadiyah with Wahhabism and to replace them with an alternative understanding. Through historical evidence, theological references, and visual framing, the content constructs a competing narrative of identity. Such practices illustrate how digital media enables the production and dissemination of counter-hegemonic religious discourses. The digital sphere has become an important arena for ideological negotiation within contemporary Islam. This development underscores the growing significance of social media in shaping religious identities and intellectual debates in Indonesia.

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<sup>43</sup> Ahmad Muttaqin, Ustadi Hamsah, and Robby Habiba Abror, “Muhammadiyah, Sufism, and the Quest for ‘Authentic’ Islamic Spirituality,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 1 (2023): 203, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v13i1.199-226>.

## **Conclusion**

The findings of this study demonstrate that the Instagram account @id.cyberaswaja constructs the narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” through a systematic framing process that reflects broader dynamics of contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia. Utilizing Robert N. Entman’s analytical framework, the study reveals that the account consistently defines the central problem as the public association of Muhammadiyah with Wahhabism, diagnoses the problem as resulting from historical misunderstanding and ideological influence, evaluates Muhammadiyah as an autonomous Islamic movement with distinct theological and organizational characteristics, and recommends the reaffirmation of Muhammadiyah’s independent identity through historical and theological clarification. The analysis further shows that the framing process is not merely communicative but also ideological, as it actively participates in the construction of religious meaning and communal boundaries. Through selective historical narratives, theological references, and symbolic visual representations, the account produces a counter-narrative designed to challenge existing perceptions regarding Muhammadiyah’s relationship with Wahhabism. Consequently, digital religious content functions as an important instrument for shaping public understanding of Islamic identity in contemporary society.

The study also highlights the transformation of Islamic discourse within digital environments. Social media platforms such as Instagram have become significant arenas where religious authority, historical memory, theological interpretation, and organizational identity are negotiated and contested. In this context, the analyzed content illustrates how digital da’wah extends beyond moral instruction and religious education to encompass ideological positioning and identity formation. The narrative “Muhammadiyah Is Not Wahhabi” reflects an ongoing effort to define the intellectual and theological boundaries of Muhammadiyah within the broader landscape of Indonesian Islam. The findings indicate that contemporary Islamic thought increasingly develops through interactions between religious traditions and digital communication technologies. Therefore, understanding Islamic discourse in the twenty-first century requires attention not only to theological texts and institutional actors but also to digital platforms that facilitate the production and dissemination of religious narratives. From a theoretical perspective, this research contributes to the growing scholarship on digital religion by demonstrating the relevance of framing analysis for understanding contemporary Islamic discourse. The study confirms that Entman’s framing model provides an effective framework for examining how digital religious narratives construct problems, identify causes, produce moral evaluations, and propose solutions. Furthermore, the research expands discussions on contemporary Islamic thought by showing that social media content functions as a site of intellectual production rather than merely a channel of communication. The novelty of this study lies in integrating communication theory with Islamic thought studies, thereby revealing how digital media participates in the formation of theological boundaries and ideological identities. This interdisciplinary approach contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between media, religion, and contemporary Muslim societies.

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