



Islamic Ecotheology and Digital Counterpublics: Muhammadiyah Youth Activism against Mining Concessions in Indonesia

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Abstract

The decision of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah (*Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah*, PPM) to accept a mining concession from the Indonesian government has drawn opposition from the Green Cadres of Muhammadiyah (*Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah*, KHM)—an environmental movement based on Muhammadiyah's youth community. This article analyzes how KHM mobilizes Islamic ecotheology as a moral basis for criticizing the decision and constructs an alternative framing through digital activism, thereby

forming a digital counterpublic within the Muhammadiyah community. Drawing on Robert Entman's framing function, this study analyzes KHM's website publications and social media content from December 2023 to December 2024. The results show that KHM frames mining not merely as an economic opportunity but as an ecological, social, institutional, and moral issue. Moral evaluation is the most prominent framing function, linking rejection of mining to Islamic ethics, social justice, ecological responsibility, and Muhammadiyah's normative commitments. Meanwhile, recommendations for action are implemented through calls to reject the concession, mobilization of collective action, petitions, public pressure, and reaffirmation of Muhammadiyah's ecological commitment. These findings suggest that ecotheology can serve as a source of internal legitimacy for organizational resistance and support the articulation of a digital counterpublic that challenges dominant institutional interpretations of Muhammadiyah's involvement in extractive industries.

[Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah (PPM) untuk menerima konsesi tambang dari pemerintah Indonesia menimbulkan penentangan dari Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah (KHM)—sebuah gerakan lingkungan berbasis komunitas muda Muhammadiyah. Artikel ini menganalisis bagaimana KHM memobilisasi ekoteologi Islam sebagai landasan moral untuk mengkritik keputusan tersebut, serta bagaimana KHM membangun pembingkai alternatif melalui aktivisme digital yang mengarah pada pembentukan kontrapublik di dalam komunitas Muhammadiyah. Mengacu pada fungsi pembingkai Robert Entman, penelitian ini menganalisis publikasi situs web dan konten media sosial KHM sepanjang Desember 2023 hingga Desember 2024. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa KHM membingkai pertambangan bukan semata sebagai peluang ekonomi, melainkan juga sebagai persoalan ekologis, sosial, institusional, dan moral. Evaluasi moral menjadi fungsi pembingkai yang paling menonjol, dengan menautkan penolakan terhadap pertambangan pada etika Islam, keadilan sosial, tanggung jawab ekologis, dan komitmen normatif Muhammadiyah. Sementara itu, rekomendasi penanganan diwujudkan melalui seruan penolakan konsesi, mobilisasi aksi kolektif, petisi, tekanan publik, serta peneguhan kembali komitmen ekologis Muhammadiyah. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa ekoteologi dapat berfungsi sebagai sumber legitimasi internal bagi perlawanan organisasi, sekaligus menopang artikulasi kontrapublik digital yang menantang interpretasi institusional dominan mengenai keterlibatan Muhammadiyah dalam industri ekstraktif.]

Keywords: Green Cadres of Muhammadiyah; Islamic ecotheology; mining concessions; digital activism

Introduction

Over the past decade, discussions regarding the relationship between religion, the ecological crisis, and digital transformation have gained momentum in Indonesia. Several studies show that Muslim groups have shifted their strategies for representation and mobilization as digital platforms have evolved into spaces for public discourse. Research on eco-religious movements confirms that digitalization has strengthened the ability of Muslim groups to negotiate religious values with environmental narratives.¹ Broadly speaking, the Muslim community's response to ecological issues is quite diverse, reflecting the lack of a single interpretation of Islamic teachings regarding the environment.² One form of this response is environmental activism that draws on Islamic interpretations to foster ecological awareness and action.³ On the other hand, digital architecture also enables Muslim communities to build alternative public spaces for voicing dissent and intervening in dominant representations.⁴

This diversity of eco-theological interpretations has also developed within the context of Muhammadiyah, one of the largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia. Various studies indicate that Muhammadiyah's eco-theological movement has evolved in tandem with growing new awareness of the urgency of the environmental crisis, including through the revitalization of the theology of Al-Mā'ūn, the development of responsive fiqh, and institutional reforms focused on environmental conservation.⁵ At the community level, the

¹ Kurnia Arofah et al., "Mediatized Eco-Religious Movements in Indonesia: Negotiating Religiosity and Environmentalism in Digital Islam," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 26, no. 3 (May 2025): 530–51, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2025.2489888>.

² Jens Koehrsen, "Muslims and Climate Change: How Islam, Muslim Organizations, and Religious Leaders Influence Climate Change Exceptions and Mitigation Activities," *WIREs Climate Change* 12, no. 3 (2021): e702, <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.702>.

³ Rosemary Hancock, *Islamic Environmentalism: Activism in the United States and Great Britain* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315543062>.

⁴ Morten Stinus Kristensen, "We Are Never Allowed to Just Be Ourselves!': Navigating Hegemonic Danishness in the Online Muslim Counterpublic," *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, no. 2 (November 2023): 113–29, <https://doi.org/10.7146/kkf.v36i2.132551>; Jing Wang, "Networked Islamic Counterpublic in China: Digital Media and Chinese Muslims during Global Pandemic of COVID-19," *New Media & Society* 26, no. 6 (June 2024): 3068–87, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221095437>.

⁵ Hendy Setiawan, Nanang Indra Kurniawan, and Purwo Santoso, "Ecotheological Movement of the Muhammadiyah Environmental Council in Response to the Environmental

younger generation of Muhammadiyah plays a crucial role in developing ecotheology-based movements through the proliferation of social media practices, as evident in the Green Cadres of Muhammadiyah (*Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah*, KHM) movement and various digital-based environmental initiatives.⁶

However, these changes have been faced with a new political context following the Indonesian government's decision to allow religious-based civil society organizations to obtain mining permits.⁷ This policy not only opens new avenues for the involvement of religious organizations in the management of natural resources but also raises normative questions regarding the relationship between religious authorities, organizational interests, and ecological responsibilities. In this context, the decision by the Central Board of Muhammadiyah (*Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah*, PPM) to accept the offer to manage the mine⁸ has drawn criticism from various young Muhammadiyah circles, including KHM, who view the decision as contrary to the eco-theological values and the history of Muhammadiyah's environmental movement.

These tensions demonstrate that religious environmentalism is not always a harmonious and homogeneous movement. Tension is an inherent part of religious environmentalism and can manifest as differences in actions, perspectives, and theology, as well as

Governance Crisis," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, October 13, 2022, 639–70, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol21.iss3.art2>; M. Lutfi Mustofa, M. Fauzan Zenrif, and Ahmad Barizi, "Towards an Islamic Ecotheology: Indonesian Muslim Organizations in Climate Mitigation and Adaptation Efforts," *Problemy Ekorozwoju* 20, no. 2 (July 2025): 21–31, <https://doi.org/10.35784/preko.7089>.

⁶ Mansurni Abadi et al., "The Ecotheological Movement among the Muslim Youngers Generation in Indonesia: Case Studies Eco Deen and Green Cadre of Muhammadiyah," *Asian People Journal (APJ)* 5, no. 2 (October 2022): 179–94, <https://doi.org/10.37231/apj.2022.5.2.473>; Bakhruddin Fannani et al., "Aswaja and Al-Ma'un Theology in Brantas River Preservation: Local Muslim Environmental Activism and Indonesia's Green Constitution," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 2 (December 2025): 350–77, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2025.15.2.350-377>

⁷ Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 25 Tahun 2024 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 96 Tahun 2021 tentang Pelaksanaan Kegiatan Usaha Pertambangan Mineral dan Batubara (2024), <https://jdih.go.id/pencarian/detail/1973718/peraturan-pemerintah-nomor-25-tahun-2024-tentang-perubahan-atas-peraturan-pemerintah-nomor-96-tahun-2021-tentang-pelaksanaan-kegiatan-usaha-pertambangan-mineral-dan-batubara>.

⁸ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, "Risalah Konsolidasi Nasional Muhammadiyah (Yogyakarta, 27–28 Juli 2024 di Universitas Aisyiyah Yogyakarta)," Konsolidasi Nasional Muhammadiyah, July 27, 2024.

ambivalence, misunderstandings, or distrust.⁹ In the context of Muhammadiyah, this tension becomes more complex because criticism of the organizational elite's decisions is actually carried out using the very same identity, traditions, and ecological values that originate from the organization itself. In other words, KHM does not position itself outside of Muhammadiyah to criticize the PPM but instead uses Muhammadiyah's internal sources of legitimacy to challenge the decisions of the organizational elite.

Until now, studies on Muhammadiyah's ecotheology have primarily focused on normative theological aspects, institutional strategies, or descriptive analyses of environmental movements.¹⁰ Meanwhile, research on Muhammadiyah's digital activism typically focuses on Islamic moderation, ideological contestation, or the construction of religious identity in online spaces.¹¹ Less attention has been paid to how ecotheology-based digital activism functions as an arena for intra-organizational dissent when youth groups challenge the decisions of the elites within their own religious organizations, particularly when such criticism continues to draw legitimacy from the traditions and identity of the very organizations being criticized. Studies on organizational dissent indicate that dissent within religious organizations can serve as a space for articulating voices and making sense of the world. However, under certain conditions, it can also reproduce the very power structures it criticizes.¹²

⁹ Jens Koehrsen, Julia Blanc, and Fabian Huber, "Tensions in Religious Environmentalism 1," in *Religious Environmental Activism* (Routledge, 2022).

¹⁰ David Efendi and Alim Bubu Swarga, "Green Faith in Action: Eco-Theological Insights from Muhammadiyah in Contemporary Indonesia," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, ahead of print, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5186205>; Frans Wijsen and Ahmad Afnan Anshori, "Eco-Theology in Indonesian Islam: Ideas on Stewardship among Muhammadiyah Members," *Journal of Government and Civil Society* 7, no. 1 (May 2023): 109, <https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v7i1.7303>; Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya and Jeanne Elizabeth McKay, "Reviving an Islamic Approach for Environmental Conservation in Indonesia," *Worldviews* 16, no. 3 (2012): 286–305, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685357-01603006>.

¹¹ Fikri Mahzumi et al., "Cyber-Islamic Moderation in Indonesia: Digital Activism of Islami.co and IBTimes.id and Its Implications for Young Muslims," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman* 49, no. 1 (May 2025): 22, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v49i1.1290>.

¹² Johny T. Garner and Brittany L. Peterson, "A Chorus of Dissent: Exploring the Aims and Audiences of Online Dissent," *Communication Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (January 2020): 73–93, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2019.1681485>; Amorette Hinderaker, "Whom I Have Called: The Ordain Women Movement and the Narrative of Dissent in the Church of Jesus

In this situation, the issue at hand is not merely whether KHM rejects or accepts PPM's decision, but how that decision is defined and given meaning through digital discourse. KHM's criticism can be understood as a framing process from Robert Entman's perspective, which includes defining the problem, identifying causes, making moral evaluations, and offering recommendations for action.¹³ In the digital space, this framing process can take place through the formation of a counterpublic, where KHM articulates dissent, builds legitimacy, and offers alternative interpretations of the organization's decision.

Based on the above context, this study poses two main questions. First, how does KHM mobilize ecotheology as a moral basis for criticizing PPM's decision to accept the mining concession offer? Second, how does KHM construct alternative framings through digital activism, and how do these framings contribute to the formation of a counterpublic within the Muhammadiyah community? This study aims to analyze how ecotheology is used as a source of legitimacy for dissent and how alternative framings are constructed through digital spaces. Theoretically, this study brings together research on Islamic environmentalism, organizational dissent, and digital counterpublics by demonstrating how ecotheology is an internal legitimating resource for organizational dissent. Methodologically, this study employs framing analysis to examine how dissent is constructed through digital discourse within religious organizations. This approach enables the study to connect the textual dimensions of KHM's criticism with the broader context of contestations over religious authority, ecology, and organizational structure.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach using framing analysis to examine the construction of KHM's discourse in response to PPM's decision to accept a mining concession offer. Data were collected through a census of KHM's digital posts from December

Christ of Latter-Day Saints," *Southern Communication Journal* 82, no. 3 (May 2017): 152–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1041794X.2017.1315448>.

¹³ Robert Entman, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

2023 to December 2024, sourced from its website (kaderhijaumu.id) and social media accounts (Instagram, Facebook, and X). This period was selected because it spans from the initial emergence of KHM's response to the discourse that PPM would enter the mining industry, through to the continued criticism following PPM's official acceptance of the mining concession offer. Data collection was conducted through the chronological tracking and recording of all materials that met the inclusion criteria, including digital posts that explicitly or implicitly addressed mining concessions granted to religious organizations, the PPM's decision to accept a mining concession offer, and the KHM's criticism of that decision. This process yielded 58 substantive KHM's digital posts; identical posts republished across platforms were counted as a single unit of analysis.

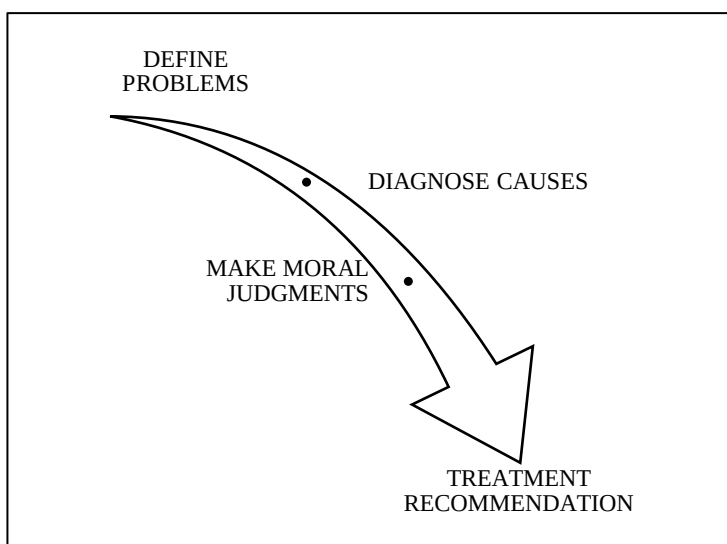


Figure 1: Frame Functions of Robert Entman's Framing Analysis Model

The analysis was conducted using Entman's four framing functions: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation.¹⁴ Each unit was examined in its entirety, taking into account the available text and

¹⁴ Robert Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (December 1993): 51–58, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>.

visual elements, and the framing functions that emerged were identified based on the material's primary communicative purpose. A single unit may contain more than one framing function, but a single dominant function was identified based on the function that most significantly determined the direction of the message. Problem definition refers to the construction of the issue or harm being addressed; causal interpretation refers to the identification of actors, forces, or conditions positioned as causes or contributors to the issue; moral evaluation refers to normative, ethical, religious, or organizational judgments; and treatment recommendation refers to actions or solutions that are recommended, demanded, or justified. The coding process was conducted systematically by a single researcher using established coding rules to ensure consistency in interpretation. Since this study did not involve a second independent coder, inter-coder reliability was not calculated, and this limitation was taken into account in the interpretation of the findings.

Results

KHM and the Hybridity of Environmental Activism

KHM was established in Surabaya on December 14, 2018,¹⁵ amid advocacy efforts by a group of environmental activists on behalf of the residents of Dukuh Sepat in the Waduk Sepat agrarian conflict against PT Ciputra Surya Tbk. (Ciputra Land) and the Surabaya City Government. Although it has cultural ties to Muhammadiyah,¹⁶ KHM operates independently¹⁷ and continues to foster collaboration with PPM in educational activities, campaigns, and environmental advocacy, particularly through the Environmental

¹⁵ "Profil," *Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah*, n.d., accessed November 5, 2025, <https://kaderhijaumu.id/visi-misi/>.

¹⁶ Muhammadiyah is the largest reformist Islamic organization in Indonesia and has historically played a significant role in the development of Indonesia's Muslim community. Haedar Nashir, *Muhammadiyah Gerakan Pembaruan* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2016), 6.

¹⁷ Testriono et al., *Gerakan Green Islam di Indonesia: Aktor, Strategi, dan Jaringan*, ed. Testriono and Aldi Nur Fadil Auliya (Tangerang Selatan: UIN Jakarta Press, 2024), 9, <https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/download/gerakan-green-islam-diindonesia-aktor-strategi-dan-jaringan/>.

Council (*Majelis Lingkungan Hidup*, MLH).¹⁸ Organizationally, KHM is divided into the National Committee (*Komite Nasional*, Komnas), which coordinates organization at the central level, and the Regional Committee (*Komite Daerah*, Komda), which coordinates organization at the city or provincial level. The collaborative organizational work between the Komnas and the Komda indicates that their relationship is not strictly hierarchical or bureaucratic, but rather one of coordination.

In Mansour Fakih's categorization of non-governmental organization (NGO) paradigms in Indonesia, KHM can be placed within the transformation paradigm, as reflected in its program focus on environmental campaigns and advocacy.¹⁹ This focus differs from that of MLH, which places greater emphasis on a sustainable development approach.²⁰ KHM's action programs tend to emphasize *muballighah* (campaign) movements and ecological advocacy within the framework of class analysis. KHM's involvement in advocating for residents affected by agrarian crisis in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi Regency,²¹ is part of KHM's action program that goes beyond the normative-positivistic prescription in viewing agrarian conflict, by siding with *al-mustad'afin* (the oppressed).

Within the same framework, KHM campaigns are run to raise public awareness of ecological issues, influence public opinion on environmental issues, attract mass support or solidarity for ecological advocacy, and so on. In this case, KHM primarily conducts its

¹⁸ MLH is one of the supporting elements of the Muhammadiyah organization's board, whose main task is in the field of the environment. The formulation of MLH's vision is to become an organization capable of carrying out Muhammadiyah's mandate to build and develop a model of environmental ethics and practices integrated with other fields, all based on Islamic values. "Majelis Lingkungan Hidup," Pediamu, *Suara Muhammadiyah*, November 13, 2021, <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2021/11/13/majelis-lingkungan-hidup/>.

¹⁹ Mansour Fakih mapped the paradigm of Indonesian NGOs into three types: (1) conformism, (2) reform, and (3) transformation. Mansour Fakih, *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial: Pergolakan Ideologi LSM Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: INSISTPress, 2010), 113–14.

²⁰ David Efendi, Nanang Indra Kurniawan, and Purwo Santoso, "From Fiqh to Political Advocacy: Muhammadiyah's Ecological Movement in the Post New Order Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 28, no. 2 (August 2021): 349–83, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i2.14444>.

²¹ Zulfikar Ilmi Putra Pramada, "Konflik Agraria di Pakel (Studi Kasus Gerakan Sosial Baru Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah)" (Undergraduate Thesis, Universitas Trunojoyo, 2024), <https://library.trunojoyo.ac.id/clib/detil.php?id=31993>.

campaigns through digital platforms, particularly its website and social media accounts. The use of digital means for campaigns is carried out not only by Komnas but also by Komda, either unilaterally or collaboratively.

In response to the political discourse on granting mining concessions to religious organizations, KHM has been consistently engaged in digital activism since December 2023, ranging from campaigns opposing the idea to calls for action to reject it. Then, this movement also demonstrates KHM's commitment to reject Government Regulation Number 25 of 2024 concerning Amendments to Government Regulation Number 96 of 2021 regarding the Implementation of Mineral and Coal Mining Business Activities. In addition to ecological concerns, KHM's opposition is also directed at the provisions of Article 83A, which offers Special Mining Business Permit Areas (*Wilayah Izin Usaha Pertambangan Khusus*) to religious organizations as a priority; a move that, according to KHM, opens the door to the involvement of religious organizations in the extractive industry. The political discourse is also seen as an attempt by the government to co-opt religious organizations so that they, as a part of civil society, will not be critical or even remain silent about any structural injustices.²²

Table 1. Composition and Chronology of the KHM Digital Corpus

Date	Platform(s)	Content Type	Posts / Issue	Dominant Entman Function
22/12/2023	Website; Instagram; X; Facebook	Article + reposts	"Turn Back, Father, Will You Side with Environmental Destroyers?"	Moral Evaluation
02/05/2024	X	Post	Rejection of the government's mining plan	Treatment Recommendation
03/06/2024	Website; X; Facebook	Article + reposts	"The Danger of Religious Organizations Getting Involved in Mining"	Problem Definition

²² Muhammad Sirajuddin Syamsuddin, "Pandangan Saya tentang Konsesi Tambang Batubara buat Muhammadiyah," Sabili.id, June 6, 2024, <https://sabili.id/pandangan-saya-tentang-konsesi-tambang-batubara-buat-muhammadiyah/>.

04/06/2024	Instagram	Post	Screenshots of PP 25/2024 and calling for rejection	Treatment Recommendation
04/06/2024	Website	Article	“The Frog Trap in Mining Management for Civil Society Organizations”	Problem Definition
05/06/2024	Instagram	Video	Warning to PPM	Treatment Recommendation
06/06/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Curated post	Din Syamsuddin’s rejection of mining concessions	Moral Evaluation
08/06/2024	Instagram	Satirical video	Wayang satire on mining	Moral Evaluation
12/06/2024	Instagram; X; Facebook	Informational post	Tips for religious organizations to reject mining	Treatment Recommendation
12/06/2024	X	Satirical post	Satire on PPM taking too long	Treatment Recommendation
13/06/2024	X	Post	The myth of green mining	Moral Evaluation
15/06/2024	Website; Instagram; Facebook; X	Position paper + reposts	“Together Rejecting Mining”	Treatment Recommendation
20/06/2024	Instagram; X	Satirical video	Criticism of the search for examples of green mining	Moral Evaluation
23/06/2024	Instagram; X	Video/post	Response to the Green Mining Symposium	Moral Evaluation
05/07/2024	Change.org; Instagram; X; Facebook	Petition + campaign	“Muhammadiyah Youth Reject the Association’s Involvement in Mining!” + #AllEyesOnMuhammadiyah	Treatment Recommendation
07/07/2024	Instagram; X	Petition call	Call to sign the petition	Treatment Recommendation
07/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook; X	Infographic	PHIWM guidance	Moral Evaluation
08/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Poll analysis	Analysis of a Kabar Muhammadiyah poll	Problem Definition
09/07/2024	X	Post	Mining as a prosperity myth	Moral Evaluation
10/07/2024	X	Policy analysis	Analysis of Article 83A of PP 25/2024	Problem Definition
10/07/2024	Website	Article	“Islam Progressed Through Mining, Is That Possible?”	Problem Definition

11/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Post	“Mining is Death”: health, economic, social, and ecological crisis	Problem Definition
12/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Evaluating the ‘Helmet’ Politics of Mr. A.R. in Mining Concessions”	Causal Interpretation
12/07/2024	Website; Google Drive	Petition report	>1000 youth urge PPM to reject concessions	Moral Evaluation
12/07/2024	Instagram	Audio-visual	Netizens’ voices urging rejection	Treatment Recommendation
13/07/2024	Website	Open letter	Open Letter from a Berau Cadre	Treatment Recommendation
22/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Drunken Tactics of New Colonialism...”	Causal Interpretation
25/07/2024	X	Post	Disappointment with PPM acceptance	Moral Evaluation
25/07/2024	X	Poll	Responses to PPM acceptance	Treatment Recommendation
25/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Post	Motion of No Confidence	Moral Evaluation
26/07/2024	Website	Article	Independence, Mining, and Nature Conservation	Problem Definition
26/07/2024	X	Poll	Capacity and environmental concerns	Problem Definition
26/07/2024	Instagram; X; Facebook	Protest call	Action to Urge Muhammadiyah to Reject Mining	Treatment Recommendation
26/07/2024	X	Solidarity post	Solidarity with ‘Aisyiyah	Moral Evaluation
27/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Fatwa on Mining”	Moral Evaluation
27/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Politics that Mines Religion with Oligarchy”	Causal Interpretation
27/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Accepting Coal Mining, Muhammadiyah Takes a Step Back”	Moral Evaluation
27/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Muhammadiyah and Fair Mining?”	Problem Definition
28/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Satirical post	“Congratulations on the Election of Father of Muhammadiyah Mining”	Moral Evaluation
28/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Satirical illustration	“PT Maunambangiyah”	Moral Evaluation
29/07/2024	X	Satirical post	“Divided by Eid al-Fitr, United by Mining”	Moral Evaluation

30/07/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Because We Care, We Regret”	Moral Evaluation
30/07/2024	X	Critical post	Mining team lacks expertise	Causal Interpretation
30/07/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Commitment post	“Stand Firm as in the Beginning!!!”	Treatment Recommendation
02/08/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Mining Organizations: The Failure of Religion (Islam) as the Foundation of Environmental Ethics”	Moral Evaluation
02/08/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“Reflect Deeply Before Mining”	Treatment Recommendation
03/08/2024	Google Drive; Instagram; Facebook; X	Resource repository + reposts	References on mining, disasters, and green energy	Moral Evaluation
05/08/2024	Instagram	Images	Coal-mining damage	Problem Definition
07/08/2024	Instagram	Video	Call to fight mining	Treatment Recommendation
08/08/2024	Website	Article	“Muhammadiyah’s Soap Opera Approach to Accepting Mining”	Moral Evaluation
08/08/2024	Website; X	Article + repost	“The Compromise of Muhammadiyah’s Environmental Movement’s Consistency Due to Accepting Mining Management Permits”	Moral Evaluation
10/08/2024	Website; Instagram; Facebook	Article + reposts	“Disappointed with Muhammadiyah Accepting Mining, Muhammadiyah Members Choose to Log Out”	Treatment Recommendation
12/08/2024	Instagram	Video clip	Parid Ridwanuddin statement on mining harm	Treatment Recommendation
12/08/2024	Instagram; X; Facebook	Infographic	PP25 issues	Problem Definition
25/10/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Infographic	Profiles of NU/Muhammadiyah receiving concessions	Moral Evaluation
26/10/2024	Instagram; Facebook	Infographic	Profiles of PGI/KWI rejecting concessions	Treatment Recommendation

11/11/2024	Instagram	Video clip	Bahlil statement on political reciprocity	Causal Interpretation
14/12/2024	Instagram; X; Facebook	Anniversary/commitment post	Sixth-anniversary reaffirmation of opposition to mining	Treatment Recommendation

Corpus profile: 58 analytical units; X (34), Instagram (30), Website (20), Facebook (19), Google Drive (2), Change.org (1).

As a side note, the press release dated December 22, 2023, was a direct response to Muhadjir Effendy, Chairperson of the PPM and Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, who gave a speech at the reception for Muhammadiyah's 111th anniversary in Sidoarjo, "Muhammadiyah is also preparing to enter the mining industry; we are currently exploring this opportunity, so please keep us in your prayers."²³ Furthermore, the release dated June 23, 2024, was also a direct response to the PPM, which, through its Council for Higher Education, Research, and Development, held a "Green Mining Symposium" in Yogyakarta.²⁴ Then, the releases dated July 25, 2024, and thereafter are a direct response to the PPM, which held a plenary meeting in Jakarta and produced a report on mine management.²⁵ This was clarified by a statement from Anwar Abbas, Chairperson of PPM and Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian Council of Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), that PPM had decided to accept the mining concession at that plenary meeting.²⁶ The decision was then approved at the meeting of National Consolidation at 'Aisyiyah University in Yogyakarta.²⁷

In addition, KHM's protests against PPM's decision were also carried out through physical activism, including an anti-mining

²³ Darul Setiawan, "Muhammadiyah Siap Masuk Industri Pertambangan," *PWMU.CO*, December 17, 2023, <https://pwmu.co/muhammadiyah-siap-masuk-industri-pertambangan/>.

²⁴ Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, "Kajian Tambang Ramah Lingkungan (Executive Summary)," Sarasehan Tambang Ramah Lingkungan, June 22, 2024.

²⁵ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, "Risalah Pleno Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah tentang Pengelolaan Tambang yang Ramah Lingkungan dan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat," Pleno Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, July 13, 2024.

²⁶ Ihsan Reliubun, "Muhammadiyah Putuskan Terima Izin Tambang," *Tempo.co*, July 25, 2024, <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/muhammadiyah-putuskan-terima-izin-tambang-36835>.

²⁷ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, "Risalah Konsolidasi Nasional Muhammadiyah."

campaign through discussion forums held by KHM unilaterally and collaboratively with other NGOs, mass mobilization in demonstrations to intervene in the Muhammadiyah National Consolidation at ‘Aisyiyah University in Yogyakarta on July 27, 2024, and cross-element consolidation, one of which was through the Mother Earth Festival themed “Together for Ecological Justice” in Trenggalek, Kupang, and Samarinda.

Discussions

Framing Analysis of KHM’s Digital Activism

Digital activism has become one of the main approaches used by KHM to articulate its opposition to Muhammadiyah’s involvement in mining operations. Throughout the research period, KHM utilized its website and various social media accounts to produce and circulate articles, position statements, infographics, videos, petitions, and other forms of digital posts. These pieces repeatedly addressed issues of environmental damage, extractive politics, the implications of mining policies, and the tension between PPM’s decisions and Muhammadiyah’s ecological commitments. KHM’s framing of the mining concession issue articulates an alternative interpretation of PPM’s decision within the broader context of the Muhammadiyah organization. Using Entman’s framing model, this analysis examines 58 substantive digital posts from KHM to identify how the organization defines the issue, attributes its causes, evaluates it morally, and recommends actions regarding Muhammadiyah’s involvement in mining.

The following table summarizes the results of Entman’s framing analysis. The coding identified four framing functions—Problem Definition, Causal Interpretation, Moral Evaluation, and Treatment Recommendation—and noted the function deemed dominant. Moral Evaluation was identified as the most frequent function, appearing in 23 units (39.7%), followed by Treatment Recommendation in 19 units (32.8%), Problem Definition in 11 units (19.0%), and Causal Interpretation in 5 units (8.6%). These figures are presented descriptively to show the distribution of the coded functions, not to establish statistical dominance of any particular framing function. Since a single post may contain more than one

framing function, the subsequent discussion focuses on how these functions are substantively articulated throughout the corpus.

Table 2: Entman Framing Functions in the KHM Corpus

Entman Framing Function	Number of Units	%	Main Framing Pattern	Representative Evidence
Problem Definition	11	19,0%	Mining concessions are framed as ecological, social, and institutional problems rather than merely as economic opportunities.	Instagram and Facebook posts about “Mining is Death”
Causal Interpretation	5	8,6%	The mining policy is linked to political interests, extractive actors, and institutional dynamics that shape the decision and its consequences.	Website article and X repost entitled “Politics that Mines Religion with Oligarchy”
Moral Evaluation	23	39,7%	Mining concessions are evaluated through Islamic ethics, environmental responsibility, justice, and Muhammadiyah’s normative commitments.	Instagram, Facebook, and X posts that emphasize <i>Guidance for the Islamic Life of Muhammadiyah Members</i> as an environmental norm
Treatment Recommendation	19	32,8%	KHM calls for rejection of mining	Website release and Instagram, Facebook, and

			concessions, collective action, public pressure, and reaffirmation of environmental commitments.	X posts containing release KHM’s position paper entitled “Together Rejecting Mining”
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Note: Percentages summarize the current single-researcher coding of the 58-unit corpus and are presented descriptively, not as statistical evidence of frame dominance. A post may contain more than one Entman function; the table reports the function judged dominant according to the coding rules. No intercoder reliability coefficient was calculated.

1. Defining the Problem of the PPM’s Decision

In Entman’s framing model, problem definition refers to the process of selecting and highlighting certain aspects of reality so that a particular situation is positioned as a major issue. Thus, framing does not merely present facts but organizes an issue by highlighting specific aspects as the core of the problem.²⁸ In this study, the analysis examines KHM’s digital activism in response to the growing debate over Muhammadiyah’s involvement in mining, which reached a critical juncture with the PPM’s decision to accept a mining concession in July 2024.

Among the 58 substantive digital posts analyzed, 11 units (19.0%) were coded with “Problem Definition” as the dominant framing function. As summarized in Table 2, these posts primarily framed the mining concession as an ecological, social, and institutional issue, rather than merely as an economic opportunity. In these posts, four recurring dimensions emerged in how KHM defined the issue. First, KHM framed mining not as a solution that inherently guarantees well-being but as an activity that can cause ecological damage, including pollution, flooding, and drought. Second, KHM frames PPM’s acceptance of the mining concession as a deviation from Muhammadiyah’s history and commitment to environmental conservation. Third, mining is framed as an issue that concerns not only the depletion of natural resources but also community rights, social injustice, and the potential for corruption. Fourth, KHM links

²⁸ Entman, “Framing,” 52.

the issue of mining to the Islamic legal principle of *dar' al-mafāsid muqaddam 'alā jalb al-maṣāliḥ* (avoiding harm takes precedence over achieving benefits), which it uses in its posts to emphasize that the prevention of harm must take precedence over the pursuit of benefit.

Thus, the problem definition in KHM's digital posts broadens the meaning of the mining issue from a matter of resource management to a matter concerning the direction and responsibility of the Muhammadiyah organization. In this context, KHM's framing can be understood as an alternative narrative to PPM's justification regarding Muhammadiyah's involvement in mining. As evident in the digital activism context and documents referenced in this study, PPM's justification emphasizes the principle of the permissibility of *mu'āmalāt* and the concept of "green mining" as the basis for the argument that mining activities can be conducted responsibly.²⁹ KHM, on the other hand, prioritizes the potential for ecological damage, social impacts, and consistency with Muhammadiyah's normative commitments as more decisive considerations.

2. Diagnosing the Causes of the PPM's Decision

In Entman's framing model, causal interpretation concerns how a defined issue is attributed to specific actors, structures, conditions, or mechanisms that are viewed as contributing to its emergence. In framing analysis, such attribution is understood as part of an argumentative construction regarding who or what is positioned as the cause or contributor to a problem, rather than as causal proof of an actual cause-and-effect relationship.³⁰ In the research corpus, only 5 units (8.6%) were coded with "Causal Interpretation" as the dominant framing function. As shown in Table 2, these posts primarily linked mining policies to political-economic interests, extractive actors, and institutional dynamics that, according to KHM, shape decisions and their consequences. In these posts, four recurring patterns of attribution emerge.

²⁹ Fatwa tentang Pengelolaan Pertambangan dan Urgensi Transisi Energi Berkeadilan, 077/I.1/F/2024 15 (2024); Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, "Risalah Konsolidasi Nasional Muhammadiyah," 2–3.

³⁰ Entman, "Framing," 52.

First, at the political-power level, KHM attributes the granting of concessions to political dynamics that it views as a form of “political bribery”—that is, the granting of concessions that potentially place religious organizations in a position closer to the government’s interests and reduce their critical independence. In KHM’s framing, this attribution contrasts with PPM’s justification, which positions the concessions as something Muhammadiyah deserves based on its contributions to the nation and state.³¹ KHM, however, interprets this acceptance as a dynamic that could undermine the organization’s independence. Second, at the ideological-organizational level, KHM directs its criticism toward actors within the PPM structure who are seen as pushing for Muhammadiyah’s involvement in mining. In KHM’s narrative, this push is portrayed as inconsistent with Muhammadiyah’s history and ecological orientation. Several of KHM’s posts explicitly name PPM elites, including Muhadjir Effendy and Anwar Abbas, in their criticism of this mining policy direction. Third, at the economic-extractive level, KHM links the mining issue to the interests of mining companies and oligarchs, which in its narrative are positioned as part of an extractive economic structure that contributes to ecological destruction, poverty, and agrarian conflicts. Fourth, at the moral-systemic level, KHM links these issues to what it views as the failure of religious organizations to fulfill their ethical responsibilities toward the environment when economic considerations are prioritized over efforts to prevent ecological damage.

However, the causal attributions in KHM’s digital posts do not, by themselves, fully explain the reasons behind PPM’s decision. The decision can also be understood in relation to economic considerations and organizational resource management, political and institutional relationships, organizational strategies in responding to government policies, as well as temporal considerations that emerged during the decision-making process. These factors were not tested causally in this study because the research focus was limited to KHM’s digital framing. Therefore, the findings regarding Causal Interpretation should be interpreted as a

³¹ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, “Risalah Konsolidasi Nasional Muhammadiyah,” 2.

mapping of how KHM explains and attributes issues, rather than as a determination of the objective causes of PPM's decisions.

Thus, Causal Interpretation in the KHM corpus primarily shifts the focus from mining decisions as mere policy choices toward the relationships between political interests, organizational actors, extractive economic structures, and moral responsibility. Unlike Problem Definition, which primarily determines what is viewed as a problem, this function demonstrates how KHM constructs explanations regarding why the issue arises and who or what is placed within that chain of attribution.

3. Making Moral Judgments of the PPM's Decision

In Entman's framing model, moral evaluation refers to the assignment of normative judgments to issues, actors, or actions based on specific moral values, norms, and principles.³² In the context of this study, this function is important because KHM not only raises concerns about the impacts of mining but also evaluates PPM's decisions based on a set of ecological values, Islamic principles, and Muhammadiyah's normative commitments. Of the 58 substantive posts analyzed, 23 units (39.7%) were coded with "Moral Evaluation" as the dominant framing function, making this category the one most frequently identified as dominant in the descriptive coding. As summarized in Table 2, these evaluations were primarily grounded in Islamic ethics, ecological responsibility, justice, and Muhammadiyah's normative commitments.

First, KHM evaluates Muhammadiyah's involvement in mining based on the principle of ecological responsibility. In this framing, the decision to accept the concession is viewed as problematic because extractive activities are deemed to potentially conflict with the responsibility to maintain environmental sustainability and prevent ecological damage. Second, KHM situates PPM's decision in relation to Muhammadiyah's identity and normative commitments. In KHM's digital posts, the acceptance of the concession is presented as a step inconsistent with Muhammadiyah's historical involvement in environmental issues and with the ecological commitments referenced in the organization's principles. Third, KHM's moral assessment is also

³² Entman, "Framing," 52.

grounded in a framework of social justice. Environmental damage and the impacts of mining on communities are treated not merely as technical consequences, but as moral issues because they relate to rights, the distribution of impacts, and the protection of affected groups. Fourth, KHM employs principles of Islamic ethics and law to provide normative legitimacy for its assessment. The principle of *dar' al-mafāsīd muqaddam 'alā jalb al-maṣāliḥ*, for example, is used to assert that preventing harm must take precedence over pursuing the potential benefits of mining.

In some posts, KHM employs a more definitive normative category by characterizing such involvement as “*haram*”. In a number of other posts, KHM’s criticism also employs harsher normative language, for example, by describing the acceptance of concessions as a form of betrayal of ecological commitments or as a departure from the Progressive Islam orientation. This language demonstrates that the mining conflict is framed not merely as a policy difference, but as an issue concerning moral consistency and the identity of Muhammadiyah. References to *Guidance for the Islamic Life of Muhammadiyah Members (Pedoman Kehidupan Islami Warga Muhammadiyah, PHIWM)* reinforce this normative dimension.³³ In KHM’s framing, the ecological principles formulated within Muhammadiyah’s normative framework serve as a benchmark for evaluating whether involvement in mining is consistent with religious and organizational responsibilities. Thus, KHM’s moral evaluation carries normative implications for PPM’s policy choices: the acceptance of mining concessions is deemed increasingly problematic when measured against ecological principles and Muhammadiyah’s Islamic commitment.

4. Treatment Recommendation of the PPM’s Decision

In Entman’s framing model, treatment recommendation refers to actions, policies, or solutions proposed to address an issue defined and explained in causal terms.³⁴ In KHM’s posts, this function is a crucial stage because criticism of PPM’s decision does not stop at defining the impacts of mining or making a moral

³³ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, “Pedoman Kehidupan Islami Warga Muhammadiyah,” Muktamar Muhammadiyah Ke-44 Jakarta, July 8, 2000, 23.

³⁴ Entman, “Framing,” 52.

judgment on the decision, but translates into demands regarding the actions that Muhammadiyah and relevant parties should take. Of the 58 substantive posts, 19 units (32.8%) were coded with “Treatment Recommendation” as the dominant framing function. As summarized in Table 2, these recommendations primarily took the form of rejecting mining concessions, calls for collective action, public pressure, and a reaffirmation of Muhammadiyah’s ecological commitments.

The most consistent recommendation in KHM’s posts is the rejection of mining concessions. In KHM’s framing, rejecting or returning concessions is presented as a necessary step to prevent Muhammadiyah’s involvement in extractive activities and to maintain the organization’s consistency with its ecological commitments. In addition to demands regarding the PPM’s decision, KHM also uses digital posts to encourage collective action. This includes calls for Muhammadiyah members and the public to voice their opposition, join campaigns, support statements or petitions, and participate in various ecological advocacy activities.

Some of these posts are also aimed at building public pressure on the PPM to reconsider or reject the concession. This pressure is built through open statements, petitions, digital campaigns, and social media posts calling for a response from both Muhammadiyah members and the broader public. KHM’s recommended approach is not solely focused on rejection but on reaffirming Muhammadiyah’s ecological commitment. Thus, the recommended actions are understood not merely as a response to a single mining decision, but also as an effort to uphold an ecological orientation across the organization’s operations.

In several posts, KHM also rejects the notion that the issue can be resolved through approaches such as “green mining,” strict oversight, or restrictions on certain types of minerals. In KHM’s framing, these approaches are viewed as inadequate to address the structural and ecological risks inherent in extractive activities. This demand for rejection is supported by several recurring reasons in KHM’s posts. First, KHM questions the possibility of mining activities that are truly free from ecological impacts. Second, KHM raises concerns about Muhammadiyah’s technical capacity to manage mining activities responsibly. Third, KHM links the acceptance of a mining concession to risks to the organization’s

independence. Fourth, KHM assesses that the potential ecological and social harms outweigh the expected economic benefits. Fifth, KHM emphasizes the existence of alternatives for welfare development that do not depend on extractive activities.

Thus, KHM's recommendations tend to employ a firm normative formulation: consistency with Muhammadiyah's ecological commitments is used to reject involvement in mining. In contrast, alternatives such as "green mining" are deemed insufficient to address the issues they have identified. The recommendations for action in these digital posts are also linked to KHM's offline advocacy activities, including discussion forums, campaign events, consolidation efforts, and cross-organizational initiatives. These activities provide context showing that the treatment recommendation extends beyond digital expression, although in this study, these offline activities were not counted as separate units of analysis.

Overall, Entman's four functions of framing indicate that KHM does not construct criticism of PPM's decisions merely as a rejection of mining activities, but rather as a series of interrelated interpretations. Problem definition positions the granting of mining concessions as an ecological, social, and institutional issue; causal interpretation links it to political dynamics, extractive economic interests, organizational actors, and institutional accountability; moral evaluation assesses the decision based on principles of ecological responsibility, Islamic ethics, and Muhammadiyah's normative commitments; while treatment recommendations translate these assessments into demands for rejection, collective mobilization, public pressure, and a reaffirmation of ecological commitments. Thus, KHM's framing forms an argumentative sequence ranging from what is considered problematic, why the problem arises, why it is evaluated normatively, to what should be done.

When analyzed descriptively based on the 58 posts examined, the coding patterns also indicate that moral evaluation (39.7%) and treatment recommendations (32.8%) more frequently serve as dominant functions compared to causal interpretation (8.6%) and problem definition (19.0%). This pattern is not intended as a statistical measure of the strength of framing, but rather illustrates the communicative character of KHM's activism: its digital criticism is

used more to evaluate decisions and articulate responses than merely to explain their causes. In this context, framing serves to link ecological issues to the identity, values, and responsibilities of the Muhammadiyah organization. This means that KHM's objections to mining are constructed not merely as an environmental policy issue, but as a matter concerning the organization's direction and the consistency between institutional decisions and the ecological values and Islamic ethics that they consider inherent to Muhammadiyah.

Interpreting the Ecotheology, Articulating a Counterpublic

Through digital activism, KHM does not propose a fundamentally new theological perspective in responding to PPM's decision to accept mining concessions; rather, it revitalizes existing Muhammadiyah eco-theological resources as a basis for dissent. KHM's protest stems from the tension between accepting mining concessions and the ecological values and principles articulated in PHIWM and institutionalized through MLH. Muhammadiyah's ecotheology, formulated from Al-Mā'ūn's theology, also became KHM's theological basis in carrying out ecological activism, including in protesting PPM's decision. Thus, the distinction between KHM's and PPM's stances on the mining concession tends to be influenced by a paradigmatic tension, particularly in interpreting Muhammadiyah's ecotheology. Within this framework, Fakih's distinction between reformist and transformative approaches in NGO paradigms is used heuristically to understand the apparent differences in orientation between KHM's ecological advocacy and PPM's responses to mining issues.³⁵

Within the framework of the reform paradigm, PPM's decision to accept mining concessions can be understood as not necessarily contradicting Muhammadiyah's eco-theological principles. By emphasizing the commitment to green mining-based management, the decision underlines Article 64 of PHIWM, which refers to the Qur'an surah al-Baqarah verses 27 and 60, surah al-A'rāf verse 56, surah al-Syu'arā' verse 152, and surah al-Qaṣaṣ verse 77.

³⁵ Fakih, *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial*, 113–14.

“The environment, as the natural surroundings with all its contents, is God’s creation and gift that must be cultivated/prospered, preserved, and not be destroyed.”³⁶

This decision also underlines one of the main ideas in *Teologi Lingkungan: Etika Pengelolaan Lingkungan dalam Perspektif Islam* (Environmental Theology: Environmental Management Ethics in an Islamic Perspective)—a book published by MLH in collaboration with the Deputy for Environmental Communication and Community Empowerment of the Ministry of Environment.

“To sustain and fulfill their needs, humans are permitted by God to utilize all natural resources reasonably, in accordance with their needs, and responsibly.”³⁷

PPM, as per the fatwa of the Council for Religious Opinion and Tajdid, does not consider mining and extractive industries to be completely haram, provided they are carried out correctly and fairly.³⁸ Therefore, PPM does not have to reject the government’s offer of mining concessions to religious organizations through Government Regulation No. 25 of 2024. In fact, this tendency can also be understood through previous PPM decisions, such as exploring opportunities for cooperation with investors for the gold mining business in 2023,³⁹ and the acceptance of 19,685 hectares of Agrarian Reform Land (*Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria*, TORA) concessions in South Sumatra through the Central Board of Muhammadiyah Youth Association (*Pimpinan Pusat Pemuda*

³⁶ Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, “Pedoman Kehidupan Islami Warga Muhammadiyah,” 23.

³⁷ Ilyas Asaad et al., *Teologi Lingkungan: Etika Pengelolaan Lingkungan dalam Perspektif Islam* (Deputi Komunikasi Lingkungan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat [Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup] dan Majelis Lingkungan Hidup [Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah], 2011), 10.

³⁸ Fatwa tentang Pengelolaan Pertambangan dan Urgensi Transisi Energi Berkeadilan, 077/I.1/F/2024.

³⁹ Afandi, “Terima Kunjungan Investor, Muhammadiyah Berpeluang Kerja Sama Pertambangan Emas,” *Muhammadiyah*, July 13, 2023, <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2023/07/terima-kunjungan-investor-muhammadiyah-berpeluang-kerja-sama-pertambangan-emas/>.

Muhammadiyah) in 2021.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the discourse on mining concessions for religious organizations cannot be separated from the context of Anwar Abbas's speech at the 2nd MUI's Congress of People's Economic (*Kongres Ekonomi Umat*) in 2021, which reflected data on the economic Gini ratio and land ownership disparity in Indonesia. President Joko Widodo, who attended the event, responded in his speech by openly offering concessions.⁴¹

Conversely, within the framework of the transformation paradigm, KHM advocacy emphasizes that mining concessions must be rejected in relation to ecological protection and the power relations structures that surround them. KHM's protests underlined articles in the subchapter Life in Preserving the Environment of PHIWM, especially article 69, which refers to the Qur'an surah al-Mā'idah verse 2.

“Carrying out cooperation and practical actions with various parties, both individuals and collectives, to maintain balance, sustainability, and safety of the environment and to prevent environmental damage as a form of devotion and stewardship in carrying out the mission of life on earth for the sake of salvation in this world and the hereafter,”⁴²

Additionally, KHM's protest is part of the effort toward *istiṣlāḥ* (the pursuit of the common good, one of the principles of Islamic law, including in the management of natural resources).⁴³

Through digital activism, KHM seeks to reclaim the interpretation of Muhammadiyah's ecotheology by challenging the dominant institutional interpretation in the mining concession case. This is done by offering alternative interpretations and disseminating them through digital public spaces such as websites and social media.

⁴⁰ Afandi, “Pemberdayaan, PP Pemuda Muhammadiyah Dipercaya Kelola 19 Ribu Hektar Lahan,” *Muhammadiyah*, March 20, 2021, <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2021/03/pemberdayaan-pp-pemuda-muhammadiyah-dipercaya-kelola-19-ribu-hektar-lahan/>.

⁴¹ Sekretariat Presiden, *Sambutan Presiden RI Untuk Kongres Ekonomi Umat Ke 2 MUI Tahun 2021*, Jakarta, 10 Desember 2021, 2021, 15:38, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmS11ap5ozs>.

⁴² Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, “Pedoman Kehidupan Islami Warga Muhammadiyah,” 23–24.

⁴³ Asaad et al., *Teologi Lingkungan*, 30.

The orientation is to build mass solidarity, especially among the younger members of the Muhammadiyah community, to challenge the legitimacy of PPM's decisions.

That dynamic can be understood through the conceptual debate between Jürgen Habermas' bourgeois theory of the public sphere⁴⁴ and Nancy Fraser's critique of counterpublics, which offers inclusivity.⁴⁵ In this case, KHM's digital activism represents what Fraser calls "subaltern counterpublics" within Muhammadiyah's broader public sphere. Utilizing digital spaces, KHM builds an alternative discursive arena in which they construct language, identity, and an agenda that differ from the institutional position of PPM as the dominant public.⁴⁶ At the discursive level, KHM introduced the term "greenwashing" to challenge the "green mining" claims put forward by PPM. KHM therefore formulated an alternative interpretation of Muhammadiyah's ecotheology that is more oriented towards ecological protection and anti-extractivism, emphasizing Muhammadiyah's identity as an organization that cares about the environment rather than a destroyer of nature.

As one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah cannot be understood as a homogeneous public space. The relationship between PPM, as the central institutional authority of Muhammadiyah, and KHM, as an independently organized ecological movement, reveals an asymmetry in access to the organizational decision-making process. Because it is not structurally affiliated with PPM, KHM does not have formal access to the organization's decision-making mechanisms. The National Consolidation of Muhammadiyah on July 27, 2024, illustrates this asymmetry, as KHM was not a formal participant in the organizational forum that confirmed the decision to accept the mining concession. In the context of limited access, digital public spaces provide an alternative arena for KHM to articulate dissent outside of formal participation mechanisms in organizational decision-making; thus, they can break through the participation gap, specifically regarding the acceptance of mining concessions.

⁴⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (MIT Press, 1991).

⁴⁵ Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (1990): 56, <https://doi.org/10.2307/466240>.

⁴⁶ Fraser, 67–68.

KHM undertook this effort through digital consolidation involving many elements, particularly the young Muhammadiyah community, which is concerned with environmental issues. This network-based consolidation aggregated aspirations to reject mining concessions, one of which was through an online petition,⁴⁷ and revealed a differentiated configuration of Muhammadiyah's digital public sphere: multiple publics versus a single public.⁴⁸ The decision to accept mining concessions became a centralized discourse (PPM) while the rejection of this decision became a fragmented discourse within the network (KHM and the Muhammadiyah youth community). The discourses that articulated a counterpublic worked within the network circulation. Based on the indicators formulated by Michael Warner: (1) the anti-mining discourse was self-organized by KHM through its website and social media accounts, (2) it establishes relationships between people who do not know each other through rhetorical mechanisms that absorb them as participants, and (3) it maintains a reflexive temporality in which KHM articles and posts circulate in a daily cycle so that discourse develops through intertextuality and collective action.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the contestation between multiple publics and a single public has implications for opinion formation (weak publics) and decision making (strong publics).⁵⁰ In reality, although KHM's digital activism consolidated a counterpublic, PPM still stood by its decision to accept the mining concession. Of course, this cannot be interpreted simplistically as KHM's failure in digital activism or as PPM's victory as the central institutional authority of Muhammadiyah. As a counterpublic, KHM's digital activism plays a significant role in discourse production, the construction of moral legitimacy, and the formation of an alternative public sphere within Muhammadiyah. It is effective at causing discursive disruption but less effective at bringing about structural policy change because it is

⁴⁷ "Tandatangani Petisi: Anak Muda Muhammadiyah Menolak Persyarikatan Terlibat Tambang!," Change.org, July 5, 2024, <https://www.change.org/p/anak-muda-muhammadiyah-menolak-persyarikatan-terlibat-tambang-fe6a8971-f752-449c-8f95-0c1302b5e32f>.

⁴⁸ Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 65–66.

⁴⁹ Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (January 2002): 84–85.

⁵⁰ Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 73–76.

not a formal participant within the organization. Nevertheless, within the framework of contemporary discourse theory, KHM is an important example of how contemporary Islamic ecological activism evolves, grows, and operates in digital spaces as an arena for contesting dissent against the dominant discourse in a religious intra-organization.

Conclusion

The case of KHM demonstrates how ecotheology can serve as a source of internal legitimacy for dissent within a religious organization. A framing analysis of KHM's digital corpus shows that KHM responded critically to the government's prioritization of mining concessions for religious organizations and fully opposed PPM's decision to accept them. This dissent was not constructed from outside the Muhammadiyah tradition but through an emphasis on ecological values in interpreting Muhammadiyah's theology itself. This then became the normative basis for KHM's activism, which not only disseminated environmental information but also aggregated anti-mining aspirations in the digital space to influence organizational decisions. In this context, KHM's activism operated within the framework of reinterpreting Muhammadiyah's ecotheology, framing mining politics, and articulating a digital counterpublic—three processes often studied separately. This article explains that the formation of digital counterpublics does not necessarily indicate a change in organizational policy; the KHM case is more appropriately understood as evidence of the development of activism operating in the digital space.

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