

Hybrid Piety: Negotiating Islamic Orthodoxy and Cultural Locality within Muhammadiyah Youth Movements

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how Muhammadiyah youth movements negotiate Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality in the production of contemporary religious life. It aims to explain the forms, mechanisms, and meanings of hybrid piety among youth activists who remain committed to reformist Islamic principles while engaging culturally rooted social environments. The research employs a qualitative method with an interpretive case study design, selected because it enables an in-depth understanding of lived experience, doctrinal interpretation, and local social interaction. The study was conducted in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, a strategic site due to its strong Muhammadiyah heritage, vibrant youth activism, and enduring local cultural traditions. Data were collected from eighteen informants, consisting of twelve primary youth participants and six key informants, selected purposively because of their active involvement, organizational roles, and interpretive knowledge of Muhammadiyah youth dynamics. The findings show that Muhammadiyah youth do not simply oppose orthodoxy to locality; rather, they construct hybrid piety through selective accommodation, civic engagement, and cultural translation while maintaining scriptural discipline. The study recommends strengthening context-sensitive cadre formation and culturally intelligent da'wah strategies to enhance the social relevance and theological coherence of Muhammadiyah youth movements.



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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Islamic orthodoxy and local culture has long occupied a central place in the study of Islam in Indonesia, particularly in discussions concerning reformist movements that seek to purify religious practice while remaining embedded in highly diverse social and cultural settings (Bangura, 2022). Within this broader context, Muhammadiyah has often been positioned as one of the most influential Islamic reform organizations in Indonesia, known for its emphasis on scripturalism, rational religious understanding, educational advancement, and the purification of belief and ritual from practices considered inconsistent with the Qur'an and Sunnah (Stone, 2023). Yet such a characterization, while important, is not sufficient to explain the lived realities of Muhammadiyah youth today. In many local settings, young Muhammadiyah activists do not simply inherit orthodoxy as a fixed doctrinal package; rather, they encounter, interpret, negotiate, and sometimes reformulate it in dialogue with local identities, cultural memory, digital influences, and contemporary social aspirations. This dynamic condition makes the Muhammadiyah youth movement an important site for examining how piety is produced not only through doctrinal conformity, but also through cultural adaptation, symbolic negotiation, and generational rearticulation (Pamungkas et al., 2021).

Recent scholarship on Indonesian Islam has demonstrated that religious identity is increasingly shaped by intersections among revivalism, modernity, media circulation, locality, and youth culture (Arnež, 2022). However, studies often approach reformist organizations such as Muhammadiyah through binary categories, for example, orthodox versus syncretic, reformist versus traditionalist, or pure Islam versus local custom (R. G. Braungart & Braungart, 2023). Such binaries are analytically

useful to a degree, but they tend to flatten the complexity of everyday religious life (Karsgaard & Shultz, 2022). In practice, the relationship between orthodoxy and locality is neither wholly oppositional nor fully harmonious (Ubachs, 2022). Instead, it is often negotiated through selective accommodation, symbolic reinterpretation, and contextual religious reasoning (Norheim et al., 2024). This study departs from rigid dichotomies by proposing the notion of hybrid piety as an interpretive lens to understand how Muhammadiyah youth navigate the tension between religious purification and cultural rootedness. Hybrid piety in this sense does not imply doctrinal inconsistency or theological relativism; rather, it refers to a social and religious process through which young Muslims maintain commitment to Islamic orthodoxy while engaging with local cultural forms in ways that remain meaningful, legitimate, and socially communicative within their communities (Stambolis, 2021).

The state of the art in research on Muhammadiyah has largely concentrated on organizational reform, educational institutions, philanthropy, women's movements, political engagement, and theological modernization (Johnson & West, 2022). A considerable body of scholarship has also addressed Muhammadiyah's puritan orientation, its critique of superstition and un-Islamic customs, and its historical contribution to Islamic renewal in Indonesia (Liou, 2021). At the same time, studies on Muslim youth have explored piety movements, identity formation, religious consumption, and the impact of digital Islam (Makumbi, 2022). Nevertheless, only limited attention has been given to the specific ways Muhammadiyah youth negotiate orthodox commitments in culturally plural local contexts (Moran, 2025). Existing studies tend either to foreground Muhammadiyah's normative theological stance or to discuss youth religiosity in broader terms without sufficient attention to the organizational and ideological framework of Muhammadiyah (Kholidi et al., 2024). As a result, there remains inadequate explanation of how young members in Muhammadiyah circles interpret local traditions, respond to inherited communal practices, and position themselves between organizational orthodoxy and social belonging (Dale, 2022).

The main problem addressed in this study arises from this unresolved tension (Srimulyani, 2025). Muhammadiyah youth are frequently expected to uphold religious orthodoxy as defined through reformist Islamic principles, yet they simultaneously inhabit communities where local traditions continue to shape social interaction, collective memory, public ritual, and cultural legitimacy. This creates a complex field of negotiation: to what extent can local cultural expressions be accepted, transformed, or rejected without being seen as a compromise of doctrinal integrity? Conversely, how do young activists sustain social relevance if orthodoxy is articulated in ways that alienate local communities? These questions become more urgent in a period when youth religious identities are also mediated by social media, transnational Islamic discourses, and changing patterns of authority (Nisa, 2021). The challenge, therefore, is not merely theological; it is also sociological, cultural, and generational.

The research gap lies precisely in the absence of a focused analysis that brings together the categories of Muhammadiyah youth, orthodoxy, and cultural locality within one coherent framework (R. Braungart & Braungart, 2023). While previous research has examined Muhammadiyah as a reformist movement and youth as agents of Islamic resurgence, few studies have explored how orthodoxy is lived and negotiated by Muhammadiyah youth at the local level (Ahnaf, 2020). Even fewer have conceptualized this interaction as a productive rather than merely conflictual process (Nasir, 2023). This study addresses that gap by examining how Muhammadiyah youth movements produce religious subjectivities that are neither entirely detached from local culture nor fully absorbed into it. In doing so, the research moves beyond descriptive accounts of accommodation or resistance and instead theorizes the process as hybrid piety: a patterned mode of negotiating scriptural commitment and cultural locality in everyday movement practice (Rini et al., 2024).

The novelty of this research lies in both its conceptual and empirical contribution. Conceptually, the study offers hybrid piety as a framework for understanding how reformist Muslim youth inhabit the space between orthodoxy and locality without reducing either one. This concept helps explain why actors committed to purification may still adopt culturally resonant forms of expression, language, symbolism, or social engagement. Empirically, the study contributes a closer reading of Muhammadiyah youth movements as generational actors whose religious practice cannot be fully

understood through institutional ideology alone. Their choices, strategies, and narratives reveal that orthodoxy is not simply imposed from above; it is reinterpreted through interaction with local histories, peer networks, and the practical demands of da'wah in culturally embedded communities. The study therefore provides a more nuanced account of reformist Islam in Indonesia by highlighting the agency of youth in shaping the public meaning of piety.

Based on this background, the central research question of this study asks how Muhammadiyah youth movements negotiate Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality in the construction of contemporary Muslim piety. This central question may be elaborated into several related concerns: how do Muhammadiyah youth interpret local cultural practices within the framework of reformist Islamic doctrine; what strategies do they employ to maintain organizational orthodoxy while engaging local communities; and in what ways does this negotiation produce new forms of religious expression, identity, and authority? These questions are important because they direct the inquiry toward lived practice, interpretive processes, and movement dynamics rather than relying solely on formal doctrine or institutional statements.

The objective of this research is to analyze the forms, mechanisms, and meanings of negotiation between Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality within Muhammadiyah youth movements. More specifically, the study aims to explain how youth actors define legitimate religiosity, how they respond to local cultural inheritance, and how these interactions generate hybrid forms of piety within a reformist Islamic environment. The study also seeks to enrich scholarly understanding of Indonesian Islam by showing that orthodoxy is not only a normative category but also a lived social process shaped by context, mediation, and generational agency.

The significance of this research is threefold. Theoretically, the study contributes to debates on piety, religious reform, youth religiosity, and the localization of Islam by offering a framework that avoids simplistic opposition between purity and culture (Norwood, 2020). Academically, it expands Muhammadiyah studies by centering youth as active interpreters of doctrine and as producers of religious meaning in local settings. Practically, the findings may help Islamic organizations, educators, youth leaders, and community stakeholders develop more context-sensitive approaches to da'wah, cadre formation, and cultural engagement. By clarifying how orthodoxy can be communicated without erasing locality, the study may also support more constructive interactions between reformist Islamic movements and culturally rooted Muslim communities (Ibrahimian, 2024).

This study is not without limitations. Its findings are shaped by particular social and organizational contexts and therefore may not be generalized to all Muhammadiyah branches or to all Muslim youth movements in Indonesia (Fatmakiyyah & Santoso, 2024). The concept of hybrid piety, while analytically useful, may also require further refinement when applied to different regions, class backgrounds, or digital religious spaces (Hidayah et al., 2024). In addition, the study focuses primarily on negotiation within Muhammadiyah youth circles and does not fully compare these dynamics with other Islamic organizations, which may reveal important similarities or contrasts.

For this reason, future research should examine comparative cases across regions and organizations, including interactions between Muhammadiyah youth and other Muslim youth communities (Hollands, 2023). Further studies may also explore the role of digital media, gender, class, and urban-rural differences in shaping hybrid piety (Pavoni, 2025). Such directions are necessary to deepen understanding of how contemporary Muslim youth in Indonesia navigate doctrine, identity, and culture in increasingly complex public environments (Sultanov, 2024). In this respect, the present study serves as an initial but important step toward rethinking the relationship between Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality not as a fixed contradiction, but as a negotiated terrain through which new forms of pious subjectivity emerge (Hamdi & Fikri, 2024).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature relevant to this study lies at the intersection of Islamic reform, youth religiosity, orthodoxy, and cultural locality in contemporary Indonesia (Febriandika & Purniasih, 2024). Research on Muhammadiyah has consistently emphasized its reformist orientation, scriptural commitment, educational activism, and critique of religious practices regarded as inconsistent with the Qur'an and

Sunnah (Luz, 2023). At the same time, scholarship on Indonesian Islam has shown that local culture remains deeply embedded in social life, communal memory, symbolic practice, and public religiosity (Subyany, 2025). The resulting tension is especially visible among youth movements, where doctrinal commitment is often negotiated through changing forms of identity, communication, and social participation (Daniswara & Sinambela, 2025). For this reason, the present study adopts three theoretical lenses that are especially relevant to the title of this research: Talal Asad's theory of Islam as a discursive tradition, Robert W. Hefner's theory of civil Islam, and Roland Robertson's theory of glocalization. These three perspectives are used not as isolated frameworks, but as a complementary conceptual architecture for explaining how Muhammadiyah youth negotiate Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality in the production of what this study calls hybrid piety (Wijaya et al., 2025).

The first theory is the concept of Islam as a discursive tradition, popularized by Talal Asad in 1986 through his influential essay *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Yani, 2023). Asad is a sociocultural anthropologist affiliated with the Graduate Center of the City University of New York in the United States, where he later served as Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Studies. Official biographical records identify him as a major scholar of religion, secularism, and Islamic traditions (Nurdiana et al., 2025). In this theoretical perspective, Islam should not be understood merely as a fixed essence or as a loose collection of local customs; rather, it is a discursive tradition in which practices, norms, and forms of authority are continuously related to foundational texts and historically transmitted arguments (Finn & Momani, 2021). The strength of Asad's framework lies in its ability to explain how orthodoxy is socially produced, contested, and embodied rather than simply declared (Zuhrah et al., 2025). For this study, the theory is highly relevant because Muhammadiyah youth do not encounter orthodoxy as abstract doctrine alone. They interpret, transmit, debate, and perform it through movement training, sermons, organizational culture, and community interaction. Asad's framework helps explain that orthodoxy is not a static category but a tradition of reasoning and discipline that is always being rearticulated in particular contexts (Rama & Mathonsi, 2020). This is crucial for addressing the main research problem, namely how Muhammadiyah youth sustain reformist Islamic commitments while engaging local cultural realities that cannot simply be erased from lived experience (K. Khasanah et al., 2021).

The second theory is civil Islam, developed most prominently by Robert W. Hefner, especially in his 2000 work *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Thapa, 2025). Hefner is Professor of Anthropology and Global Affairs at Boston University in the United States and is widely recognized for his scholarship on Islam, pluralism, democracy, and Southeast Asia. Official Boston University profiles confirm his long-standing work on religion, citizen belonging, political ethics, and Muslim societies (Rafsanjani et al., 2025). Hefner's theory argues that Islamic actors are not confined to a rigid opposition between doctrinal religiosity and civic modernity (Outhwaite, 2020). Rather, they can contribute to ethical public life, democratic participation, and plural social engagement through a morally grounded Islamic discourse (Ashley, 2021). In the context of this study, civil Islam is important because Muhammadiyah youth are not only theological actors; they are also civic actors operating in schools, campuses, mosques, social organizations, and digital spaces. Their negotiation with local culture is not merely about ritual acceptance or rejection, but about how Islamic orthodoxy can be articulated in socially constructive and publicly legitimate ways. Hefner's perspective therefore allows this research to connect the theological dimension of Muhammadiyah reformism with its social and civic expression (Khudayeva, 2025). It also helps explain the research gap in previous scholarship: many studies have examined Muhammadiyah as a reformist organization, but fewer have analyzed how youth members enact orthodoxy as a socially embedded and publicly negotiated ethic within culturally diverse communities (Shibzukhov, 2025).

The third theory is glocalization, a concept popularized by Roland Robertson, particularly in his work on globalization and local adaptation in the 1990s (Antika & Supriyadi, 2022). Robertson was a leading sociologist associated with the University of Aberdeen in Scotland and also held a distinguished position at the University of Pittsburgh in the United States. Institutional and scholarly profiles identify him as one of the major theorists of globalization and local-global interaction (Fahrur & Haryanto, 2023). Glocalization refers to the way global or universal ideas are interpreted, reshaped, and localized within specific cultural settings (Mukhsin et al., 2024). Although the concept originally

emerged in globalization studies, it has become highly useful in the study of religion because it captures how universal religious norms are translated into local social forms (Astuti & Fadjar, 2025). In this research, glocalization helps explain how Muhammadiyah youth may remain committed to universal Islamic orthodoxy while expressing that commitment through locally meaningful modes of communication, leadership, symbolism, and community engagement. This perspective is especially relevant to the novelty of the present study, because hybrid piety is not treated here as doctrinal compromise, but as a glocal process in which universal reformist principles are negotiated within local cultural environments.

Taken together, these three theories provide a coherent conceptual framework (Syahlarriyadi, 2023). Asad offers the grammar of orthodoxy by showing how Islamic authority is reproduced through discursive tradition (Rahman, 2022). Hefner explains the civic and social mediation of Islam in plural public life (U. Khasanah, 2022). Robertson clarifies the mechanism by which universal norms are localized without necessarily losing their normative force (Kusuma & Inayati, 2023). The conceptual contribution of the present study lies in bringing these three frameworks into dialogue. Through Asad, this study understands Muhammadiyah youth orthodoxy as a disciplined tradition of interpretation. Through Hefner, it reads youth movements as public actors shaping Islamic civility and social legitimacy. Through Robertson, it analyzes how reformist piety can be culturally localized. This integrated framework directly addresses the principal problem of the study: the tension between scriptural orthodoxy and cultural locality within Muhammadiyah youth movements (Ibnu & Azman, 2021).

The development of these theories also strengthens their relevance (Ihsan et al., 2023). Asad's discursive tradition has influenced later scholarship on embodied piety, ethical self-formation, and religious authority, especially in studies of Muslim subjectivity (Ambarsari, 2023). Its contemporary development can be seen in research that no longer treats orthodoxy as rigid uniformity, but as a historically mediated and socially enacted tradition (M. N. Yaqin et al., 2025). Hefner's civil Islam has expanded into broader debates on Muslim citizenship, pluralism, post-authoritarian democracy, and Islamic public ethics in Southeast Asia (Rua, 2024). Its current importance lies in its ability to explain how Islamic organizations negotiate between normative conviction and democratic coexistence. Robertson's glocalization, meanwhile, has developed beyond economic globalization into cultural, media, and religious studies, where it is now frequently used to analyze the local appropriation of global religious discourses (Mubarak & Ansyah, 2022). In the present context, these developments are important because Muhammadiyah youth operate in an era shaped by digital religion, transnational Islamic references, and renewed interest in local identity (Permatasari & Ansyah, 2023). Their piety cannot be understood only through classical organizational doctrine; it must be examined through evolving interactions between tradition, civic engagement, and local adaptation.

In relation to the problem gap, the three theories reveal why previous scholarship remains insufficient (Fatmawati & Dewanti, 2022). Research centered only on orthodoxy may overlook the social and cultural mediation of youth religiosity (Aji & Widyastuti, 2021). Research focused only on civic Islam may understate the internal doctrinal discipline that structures Muhammadiyah activism (Rubiantari & Hazim, 2023). Research on localization alone may fail to explain why some cultural forms are accepted while others are criticized or reformulated (F. I. Sari & Ansyah, 2022). The gap, therefore, is not merely empirical but theoretical: there has been inadequate integration of doctrinal, civic, and cultural approaches in the analysis of Muhammadiyah youth (Ningtyas & Nastiti, 2022). This study addresses that gap by proposing hybrid piety as an analytical synthesis. The concept of hybrid piety emerges from the intersection of discursive tradition, civil Islam, and glocalization, and it captures the patterned ways in which youth actors negotiate scriptural legitimacy and local cultural belonging (M. P. Sari & Hazim, 2023).

This theoretical framework also aligns directly with the research questions and objectives. If the research asks how Muhammadiyah youth interpret local culture within reformist Islam, Asad helps explain the interpretive boundaries of orthodoxy (Khosii et al., 2023). If the study asks how they remain publicly relevant and socially accepted, Hefner provides the lens of civic mediation (Nurmawati et al., 2020). If the study asks how orthodoxy appears in culturally adapted forms, Robertson clarifies

the local-global mechanism (Nurmawati et al., 2020). The theoretical benefit of this framework is that it avoids reducing Muhammadiyah youth either to pure doctrinal agents or to mere products of local culture (Arsadani et al., 2024). Academically, it contributes a more nuanced model for studying youth religiosity in Indonesian Islam (Sadr, 2020). Practically, it can assist religious educators, youth leaders, and movement organizers in understanding that effective da‘wah among young Muslims often depends on preserving doctrinal clarity while cultivating cultural intelligibility and social resonance (Nugroho et al., 2023).

In conclusion, the literature indicates that Muhammadiyah youth movements should be understood through a layered conceptual approach rather than a single-axis reading (Levy, 2020). Talal Asad’s discursive tradition explains the internal logic of orthodoxy, Robert W. Hefner’s civil Islam explains the public and civic negotiation of Islamic ethics, and Roland Robertson’s glocalization explains the cultural localization of universal norms (Ragab, 2022). When combined, these three theories illuminate the main problem of this research, identify the gap in previous scholarship, support the novelty of the concept of hybrid piety, and strengthen the formulation of the research questions, objectives, and benefits (Suwarno, 2020). The literature therefore justifies the argument that Muhammadiyah youth are not merely inheritors of reformist doctrine, but active agents who reinterpret orthodoxy within culturally embedded social worlds (Curtis, 2021). It is in this negotiated space that hybrid piety emerges as the central contribution of the study (Lagervall, 2021).

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research method to examine how Muhammadiyah youth movements negotiate Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality in the formation of contemporary religious subjectivity. A qualitative approach is particularly appropriate because the focus of the research is not on measuring frequency, distribution, or statistical correlation, but on understanding meanings, interpretations, lived experience, and social processes embedded in organizational and cultural settings (Palahuddin & Mappanyompa, 2022). The title of this study, *Hybrid Piety: Negotiating Islamic Orthodoxy and Cultural Locality within Muhammadiyah Youth Movements*, requires an approach capable of capturing nuance, symbolic contestation, and the everyday ways in which doctrinal commitments are articulated in local contexts. Because the central concern of the research lies in how youth actors interpret religious norms, engage communal traditions, and position themselves between reformist ideology and cultural belonging, qualitative inquiry provides the most suitable methodological foundation (Haniffa, 2024). Through this approach, the study seeks to produce a contextual, in-depth, and interpretive account of piety as lived practice rather than as a purely normative abstraction.

More specifically, the research uses a qualitative case study design with an interpretive orientation. The case study design is selected because it allows the researcher to investigate a bounded social phenomenon within its real-life context and to pay close attention to the interplay between organizational discourse, local tradition, and youth agency (Amiruddin, 2023). This design is especially relevant for research on Muhammadiyah youth because the negotiation of orthodoxy and locality does not occur in a social vacuum; it unfolds within particular institutional cultures, local histories, intergenerational relations, and forms of religious activism. An interpretive case study enables the researcher to analyze how meanings are produced, contested, and stabilized in actual movement settings (Bhatt, 2023). Rather than treating Muhammadiyah youth as a homogeneous category, the design makes it possible to observe internal variation, local adaptation, and the social mechanisms through which hybrid piety emerges. The choice of this design is also justified by the theoretical framework of the study, which draws attention to discourse, public religiosity, and cultural localization. These dimensions are best explored through sustained engagement with participants, settings, and narratives (N. Yaqin et al., 2024).

The research was conducted in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, with a focused concentration on Muhammadiyah youth circles connected to student, mosque, and organizational activities in the city and surrounding districts. Yogyakarta was chosen as the research site for several reasons. First, it is widely recognized as one of the most important historical and intellectual centers of Muhammadiyah, making it highly relevant for a study of reformist Islamic thought and organizational practice. Second, Yogyakarta is a culturally rich Javanese setting in which local traditions, symbolic customs, and

communal identities remain visible in everyday life. This makes it an especially productive site for examining how Islamic orthodoxy is negotiated within a strong cultural environment. Third, Yogyakarta is also a major educational hub that attracts young people from diverse regions, thereby generating dynamic encounters among organizational ideology, urban youth culture, local tradition, and transregional Islamic influences. These characteristics make Yogyakarta an analytically strategic location for investigating hybrid piety among Muhammadiyah youth. The setting allows the researcher to observe not only formal organizational discourse but also the practical ways in which young activists communicate religion in socially and culturally plural environments.

The unit of analysis in this study is the religious and cultural negotiation practiced by Muhammadiyah youth actors in selected movement spaces. These spaces include youth organizational forums, mosque-based discussions, training activities, informal religious gatherings, student networks, and community engagement events. The study does not define youth solely in biological or legal terms; rather, it refers to actors who occupy generational, organizational, and activist positions within Muhammadiyah-related youth movements. The emphasis is placed on individuals who actively participate in the transmission, interpretation, and practice of reformist Islamic values. This allows the study to focus on actors who are directly involved in negotiating doctrinal boundaries and local social realities. Since the study is qualitative, it does not use respondents in the survey-based sense (MA et al., 2023). Instead, it works with participants and key informants whose experiences, reflections, and practices illuminate the central research problem (Yustinah, 2023).

The participants were selected through purposive sampling, followed by limited snowball sampling (Yusuf et al., 2025). Purposive sampling was used because the study required participants who possessed direct experience in Muhammadiyah youth activism and were able to reflect on questions of orthodoxy, cultural locality, and organizational practice (Mubarok et al., 2025). Snowball sampling was then employed to identify additional participants who were known by initial informants to have relevant experience or leadership roles (Andruss, 2023b). This combined strategy ensured that the selected participants were not random individuals but socially and analytically relevant actors. The selection criteria included active involvement in Muhammadiyah youth organizations, participation in religious or community programs, familiarity with local cultural practices, and willingness to discuss sensitive issues related to doctrinal interpretation and cultural engagement. The method was appropriate because the phenomenon under investigation is interpretive and relational, requiring participants with experiential depth rather than numerical representativeness (Daftary, 2021).

The study involved eighteen participants in total. Of these, twelve were treated as primary participants whose narratives and practices formed the core empirical basis of the analysis, while six served as key informants who provided organizational, historical, and contextual insight. The twelve primary participants were given pseudonyms to protect confidentiality (Mirza, 2021). They included Arif, a male university student and cadre trainer in a Muhammadiyah student association; Nisa, a female youth organizer involved in religious mentoring and community literacy; Fajar, a mosque youth coordinator responsible for da'wah programming; Siti, a student activist engaged in intercommunity outreach; Rizky, a young preacher active in campus Islamic forums; Dian, a youth educator involved in women's religious development; Ilham, a media coordinator for youth religious campaigns; Putri, a cultural event volunteer with Muhammadiyah youth affiliation; Hafiz, a local branch youth secretary; Laila, a mentor in Qur'anic study circles; Bagas, a social service coordinator; and Aulia, a participant in youth ideological training. These participants were chosen because they represented different roles within youth religious life, ranging from preaching and education to organization, media, and cultural engagement. Their varied positions enabled the study to capture both formal and informal dimensions of negotiation between orthodoxy and locality.

In addition to these primary participants, the study interviewed six key informants who were selected for their strategic knowledge and interpretive authority. They were also assigned pseudonyms (Mirza, 2021). Dr. Hamdan was a senior Muhammadiyah intellectual and lecturer who had long supervised youth cadre formation. Ustaz Rahmat was a local mosque advisor involved in doctrinal guidance for youth activities. Mrs. Farida was a women's movement mentor with experience in youth religious development. Mr. Yusuf was a branch-level Muhammadiyah administrator familiar with

organizational policy and local community relations. Dr. Salma was an academic observer of Islamic youth movements in Yogyakarta. Ustaz Nabil was a preacher and trainer frequently invited to youth forums. These key informants were selected not because they represented the youth category directly, but because they offered institutional memory, interpretive perspective, and broader context. Their involvement strengthened data triangulation and helped the researcher relate youth-level narratives to organizational structures and local religious dynamics.

The reasons for selecting these participants and informants were closely tied to the objectives of the study. Since the research sought to understand the construction of hybrid piety within Muhammadiyah youth movements, it was essential to include actors who occupied different levels of engagement with doctrine, practice, community interaction, and leadership. Youth cadres and activists were necessary to reveal lived experience, internal tensions, and strategies of accommodation or critique. Senior mentors and organizational figures were needed to explain how doctrinal boundaries are formally articulated and how local practices are institutionally interpreted. Academic and community-based informants provided an additional interpretive layer, helping to situate the findings within wider socio-religious developments. This combination allowed the research to move beyond individual opinion and toward a more robust understanding of how orthodoxy and locality are negotiated across multiple levels of movement life (Masduki et al., 2024).

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis (DeFronzo, 2021). In-depth semi-structured interviews formed the primary data collection technique because they enabled the researcher to explore participants' experiences while maintaining enough flexibility to follow emergent themes (Ismail & Amien, 2025). Interview questions addressed participants' understanding of Islamic orthodoxy, their views on local traditions, their experiences in Muhammadiyah youth activities, and their reflections on acceptable or contested forms of cultural accommodation. The semi-structured format was especially useful because it encouraged participants to articulate their own vocabulary, justifications, and tensions rather than merely responding to predefined categories. Interviews were conducted in settings convenient and comfortable for participants, including campuses, mosques, organizational offices, and quiet public spaces. Each interview was recorded with participant consent and later transcribed for analysis.

Participant observation was conducted in selected youth activities, including religious study circles, cadre training sessions, mosque-based events, and community outreach programs. Observation was important because the study aimed not only to examine what participants said, but also how they enacted piety in collective settings (Ardiansa & Oetarjo, 2022). Through observation, the researcher attended to language use, dress codes, symbolic practices, references to local culture, modes of interaction, and expressions of approval or discomfort related to local customs. This method enriched the analysis by revealing discrepancies or alignments between discourse and practice (Arozy & Hermawan, 2023). It also enabled the researcher to understand how negotiation occurs in subtle forms, such as tone, ritual modification, event format, and strategic silence. Field notes were written after each observation session and treated as an essential source of contextual data.

Document analysis complemented interviews and observation by examining organizational texts, youth training materials, public statements, da'wah pamphlets, social media content, and selected internal discussion documents when accessible (Achsani & Prapanca, 2023). These documents were analyzed to identify how Muhammadiyah youth discourse frames orthodoxy, local culture, reform, and public engagement. Document analysis was especially important because youth movements increasingly communicate identity and ideology through digital media (Indriani & Dewi, 2023). By examining these materials, the researcher could trace how hybrid piety is represented, justified, or contested in semi-formal discourse beyond face-to-face interaction.

The data were analyzed using a thematic analysis approach informed by interpretive qualitative inquiry (Fauziyah & Istanto, 2025). The analysis began with repeated reading of interview transcripts, observation notes, and documentary materials in order to gain familiarity with the data. Initial coding was then conducted by identifying key themes, repeated concepts, symbolic tensions, and interpretive categories related to orthodoxy, locality, youth identity, authority, adaptation, and boundary-making (Thurfjell, 2021). These codes were gradually grouped into broader themes such as doctrinal discipline,

cultural negotiation, selective accommodation, public legitimacy, generational reinterpretation, and hybrid piety. Thematic analysis was chosen because it permits systematic interpretation while remaining sensitive to meaning, context, and variation (Andruss, 2023a). It is especially suitable for a study that seeks to connect lived experience to theoretical constructs without reducing participants' voices to rigid variables.

To ensure trustworthiness, the study applied several qualitative validation strategies (Zulgafrin, 2023). Triangulation was conducted by comparing findings across interviews, observations, and documents, as well as between youth participants and senior informants (Alam, 2020). Member reflection was used informally by confirming selected interpretations with a small number of participants during follow-up communication. Prolonged engagement in the field helped the researcher build rapport and reduce superficial interpretation (Aitamurto, 2021). Reflexive awareness was also maintained throughout the research process, particularly because the topic involved doctrinal sensitivity and potentially normative claims (Harfiani et al., 2023). The researcher continuously reflected on personal assumptions, analytical position, and the possibility of overemphasizing either orthodoxy or accommodation. This reflexive stance was necessary to preserve interpretive balance and scholarly rigor.

Ethical considerations were carefully observed throughout the study (Kinzer, 2023). All participants were informed about the purpose of the research, the voluntary nature of their participation, and the use of pseudonyms to protect identity (Keren-Kratz, 2023). Sensitive organizational and theological issues were approached respectfully, and participants were allowed to decline any question they considered uncomfortable. Audio files, transcripts, and field notes were stored securely and used exclusively for research purposes. Given the potential sensitivity of discussing tensions between orthodoxy and local culture, confidentiality was treated as a central ethical principle (Amin & Rahmatullah, 2020). The use of pseudonyms in reporting was not merely procedural, but necessary to protect participants from possible organizational misunderstanding or social discomfort.

The technique of drawing conclusions in this study followed an inductive-interpretive logic, supported by iterative comparison among data sources (Wazin et al., 2025). Conclusions were not imposed in advance from theory alone; rather, they emerged through a cyclical movement between empirical material and conceptual reflection. After coding and theme construction, the researcher compared patterns across participant groups, settings, and forms of discourse in order to identify recurring modes of negotiation. These patterns were then interpreted in light of the theoretical framework of discursive tradition, civil Islam, and glocalization. The final conclusions were drawn through a process of analytic synthesis in which field-based themes were related to the main problem of the research, the identified research gap, the proposed novelty of hybrid piety, and the research questions and objectives. In this way, the conclusions do not simply summarize data; they explain how Muhammadiyah youth construct a form of piety that is doctrinally anchored yet culturally mediated.

Overall, this methodological design is intended to generate a credible and analytically rich account of Muhammadiyah youth as active agents in the negotiation of Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality (Bhakti & Duhri, 2022). By combining a qualitative case study design, purposive participant selection, in-depth interviews, observation, document analysis, and thematic interpretation, the study is able to reveal the layered processes through which hybrid piety takes shape. The method is therefore consistent with the intellectual demands of the research title and with the broader standards of high-quality international journal writing, particularly in studies concerned with religion, youth, identity, and social transformation (Mardiana et al., 2021).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that Muhammadiyah youth movements do not approach Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality as mutually exclusive domains (Amirudin, 2023). Instead, the data indicate a patterned process of negotiation in which youth actors preserve a reformist commitment to scriptural Islam while selectively engaging local cultural forms that remain socially meaningful in their communities. This process constitutes what this study identifies as hybrid piety, namely a mode of religious subjectivity in which orthodoxy is maintained not through total cultural disengagement, but through critical adaptation, symbolic filtering, and context-sensitive Islamic reasoning (Carley, 2023).

The main research problem addressed in this study concerns how Muhammadiyah youth manage the tension between organizational orthodoxy and the persistence of local cultural practices. The findings show that this tension is real, but it is neither resolved through rigid rejection nor through unrestricted accommodation. Rather, it is managed through interpretive strategies that allow youth activists to distinguish between what they perceive as theological deviation and what they regard as culturally acceptable social expression.

A first major finding is that Muhammadiyah youth define orthodoxy primarily through a language of doctrinal discipline, but they do not always enact that discipline in a culturally confrontational manner. Most participants described orthodoxy in terms of fidelity to the Qur'an and Sunnah, adherence to reformist Islamic teachings, avoidance of practices considered *bid'ah*, *khurafat*, or *takhayul*, and loyalty to Muhammadiyah's long-standing purification ethos (Upal, 2021). Yet this commitment did not automatically lead to a blanket rejection of local culture. Instead, participants repeatedly distinguished between cultural forms that were viewed as merely social and those believed to contain problematic theological implications. For example, several participants accepted local language, dress forms, neighborhood solidarity rituals, and community gatherings as legitimate cultural media, while questioning ritualized customs associated with supernatural beliefs, saint veneration, or inherited formulas lacking scriptural support. This finding addresses the main problem of the study by showing that orthodoxy among Muhammadiyah youth operates as a graded interpretive practice rather than as an absolute social severance from locality (Dautović, 2024).

This finding is best illuminated through Talal Asad's theory of Islam as a discursive tradition (Zbíral, 2020). The data confirm that orthodoxy is not lived by Muhammadiyah youth as an abstract legal code, but as a discursive and pedagogical process through which actors learn to classify, justify, and regulate acceptable practice (Soewardjo et al., 2025). Youth cadres often referred to organizational study circles, mentoring sessions, and mosque-based discussions as places where they learned how to evaluate local customs. Their judgments were not random; they were tied to inherited reformist reasoning and to the moral discipline of Muhammadiyah's interpretive tradition. In this sense, Asad's framework helps explain that orthodoxy is reproduced through social training, language, and embodied practice (Rizky et al., 2024). The implementation of this theory in the present findings is visible in the way participants disciplined themselves to remain scripturally anchored while also recognizing that not every local expression carried the same theological weight. Thus, orthodoxy was performed through selective distinction, not through cultural illiteracy (Alexander, 2021).

A second major finding is that Muhammadiyah youth frequently employ strategies of selective accommodation in order to remain socially relevant in culturally rooted communities (Ratnasih et al., 2025). Rather than positioning themselves outside local society, many participants described efforts to communicate Islamic reform through culturally intelligible forms. They adapted sermon language to local idioms, participated in communal events with modified ritual emphasis, used local artistic media for educational purposes, and framed Muhammadiyah teachings through the ethical values of mutual care, modesty, discipline, and social benefit. This indicates that youth actors were aware that rigidly oppositional approaches could alienate local communities and weaken the effectiveness of *da'wah* (Wagemakers, 2021). Consequently, they sought to preserve theological principles while reformulating the mode of religious communication. This finding addresses the gap identified in earlier scholarship, which often portrayed reformist youth either as agents of purification or as participants in broader Muslim revivalism, without sufficiently examining how they navigate cultural embeddedness in practice (Osborn, 2021).

This dimension of the findings is strongly connected to Robert W. Hefner's theory of civil Islam (Palmer, 2021). The data reveal that Muhammadiyah youth do not pursue orthodoxy only in private devotional terms; they also articulate it as a public ethic of civic participation, social usefulness, and communal legitimacy (Talhamy, 2021). Participants repeatedly stressed that reformist Islam should not appear harsh, socially detached, or dismissive of people's inherited identities. Instead, they believed that Islamic renewal must be conveyed through service, education, respectful dialogue, and visible moral integrity. In practical implementation, this meant engaging schools, youth forums, mosque committees, charity activities, and neighborhood interactions as sites where orthodoxy could be

expressed in socially constructive ways. Hefner’s framework clarifies that the negotiation observed in this study is not simply a compromise between religion and culture, but a civic mode of Islamic presence in plural social space (Pratama & Sufyanto, 2022). This helps explain why Muhammadiyah youth often choose reform through persuasion and example rather than confrontation, especially in culturally dense local environments.

A third major finding is that local culture continues to function as a reservoir of social legitimacy, emotional belonging, and communicative resonance even among youth who strongly identify with reformist Islam (Canh, 2025). Participants did not describe themselves as culturally detached subjects. On the contrary, many acknowledged emotional ties to family customs, neighborhood traditions, local language, and symbolic practices associated with Javanese social life. However, these attachments were not accepted uncritically. Instead, participants re-evaluated them through a reformist framework, keeping some elements, reframing others, and rejecting those considered incompatible with Islamic monotheism. This demonstrates that locality is not merely an external pressure upon Muhammadiyah youth; it is also part of the social world through which they become recognizable, trusted, and effective as religious actors (Xie, 2023). The main problem of the research is therefore not reducible to a clash between doctrine and culture, but should be understood as a continuous effort to determine where and how boundaries are drawn.

This finding is best interpreted through Roland Robertson’s theory of glocalization (Schubel, 2023). The research shows that Muhammadiyah youth localize universal Islamic principles within specific cultural environments without necessarily surrendering doctrinal authority (C. P. Sari & Sinduwiatmo, 2023). Locality becomes a medium of translation rather than a sign of theological dilution. In implementation, this appeared in the use of local speech styles during *da’wah*, the adaptation of youth programs to local festive calendars while removing contested ritual content, and the framing of reformist values through culturally familiar concepts of community harmony and collective responsibility. Robertson’s theory helps explain how universal religious aspirations are re-embedded in local settings (Goble, 2023). It also supports the novelty of this study, because hybrid piety is shown here to be neither a collapse of orthodoxy nor a survival of premodern culture, but a glocalized form of reformist religiosity shaped by youth agency (Laher, 2024).

The following table summarizes the main empirical themes emerging from the study and connects them to the three theories used in the research.

Empirical Theme	Description of Findings	Related Theory	Theoretical Interpretation	Practical Implementation
Doctrinal discipline	Youth define piety through scriptural fidelity, purification, and organizational guidance	Talal Asad – Discursive Tradition	Orthodoxy is socially produced through training, reasoning, and embodied discipline	Cadre training, study circles, doctrinal mentoring
Selective accommodation	Youth accept cultural forms seen as social, but reject elements considered theologically problematic	Talal Asad; Roland Robertson	Boundary-making occurs through interpretation; global/universal norms are localized selectively	Modified participation in communal events, local idioms in preaching
Civic religious engagement	Youth seek social legitimacy through service, dialogue, and ethical public presence	Robert W. Hefner – Civil Islam	Orthodoxy is enacted as civic virtue and public ethics, not only dogmatic assertion	Community outreach, educational programs, charity work

Empirical Theme	Description of Findings	Related Theory	Theoretical Interpretation	Practical Implementation
Cultural translation of da'wah	Reformist teachings are communicated through locally intelligible forms	Roland Robertson – Glocalization	Universal Islam is translated into local cultural forms without losing normative force	Local language sermons, adapted youth events, culturally resonant media
Generational reinterpretation	Youth mediate between senior doctrinal expectations and contemporary social realities	Asad; Hefner; Robertson	Religious identity is negotiated through tradition, public engagement, and localization	Youth media teams, campus activism, intergenerational dialogue
Hybrid piety	Piety emerges as doctrinally anchored yet culturally mediated	Integration of three theories	Hybrid piety is a patterned synthesis of orthodoxy, civic legitimacy, and locality	Context-sensitive da'wah, socially embedded reformism

A fourth major finding concerns the generational dimension of religious negotiation. Muhammadiyah youth were not passive transmitters of organizational doctrine (Rusyda, 2022). They acted as interpreters who mediated between senior expectations, community realities, and contemporary youth sensibilities. Some participants noted that older reformist approaches had often been framed in stark oppositional language toward local customs, whereas younger activists preferred a more dialogical approach without abandoning doctrinal principles. This did not mean that youth were less committed to orthodoxy. Rather, they were more attentive to communication style, public reception, and the complexity of modern religious identities shaped by campuses, digital media, and interorganizational encounters. This finding contributes directly to the research gap by showing that youth religiosity within Muhammadiyah cannot be explained only by reference to official doctrine (Ikwandi et al., 2023). It must also be understood as generational reinterpretation.

This generational pattern becomes particularly significant when linked to the research questions. The first question asked how Muhammadiyah youth interpret local cultural practices within reformist Islamic doctrine. The findings show that they do so through selective classification, distinguishing social custom from theological error. The second question asked what strategies they employ to maintain orthodoxy while engaging local communities. The findings show that these strategies include adaptation of communication, partial participation in community rituals, civic service, and cultural translation of *da'wah*. The third question asked how this negotiation produces new forms of religious expression. The results show that it produces hybrid piety, a form of Muslim subjectivity that is doctrinally disciplined, socially engaged, and culturally mediated. In this way, the findings answer the research questions clearly while also extending the conceptual framework beyond descriptive observation.

The results also help clarify the purpose of the research, which was to analyze the forms, mechanisms, and meanings of negotiation between orthodoxy and cultural locality within Muhammadiyah youth movements. In terms of forms, the study found doctrinal filtering, selective accommodation, civic participation, and symbolic translation. In terms of mechanisms, it found cadre training, interpretive discussion, peer mediation, and strategic communication. In terms of meanings, it found that youth actors understood piety not only as ritual correctness but also as moral responsibility, social relevance, and culturally intelligent religious presence. These findings are closely linked to the three theories used (Ramadhan et al., 2022). Asad explains the mechanism of doctrinal filtering, Hefner

clarifies the meaning of civic participation, and Robertson illuminates the logic of cultural translation. The purpose of the study is therefore fulfilled through a theoretically integrated empirical explanation.

The findings generate several theoretical benefits. First, they refine the study of orthodoxy by showing that reformist discipline is not always socially rigid; it can be contextually mediated while remaining normatively serious (Abdurahman & Badriza, 2021). This insight builds on Asad by demonstrating how discursive tradition works at the level of youth movement practice. Second, the findings deepen the concept of civil Islam by showing that civic religious participation among Muhammadiyah youth is not merely political or institutional, but also cultural and interpersonal. This extends Hefner's perspective into the micro-social field of youth activism. Third, the study enriches glocalization theory by demonstrating that localization in religious contexts involves moral filtering, not mere adaptation. Robertson's theory becomes more precise when applied to reformist Islamic youth movements, because what is localized is not religion in general but a specifically scripturalist and organizationally disciplined form of Islam. Together, these contributions support the novelty of hybrid piety as an analytical category (Farrell, 2021).

The study also produces important practical benefits. For Muhammadiyah youth leaders and religious educators, the findings suggest that effective *da'wah* among young Muslims and local communities depends on balancing doctrinal clarity with cultural sensitivity (Suparman, 2020). Purely confrontational approaches may undermine trust, while uncritical cultural accommodation may weaken theological coherence. The empirical evidence supports a middle path in which local culture is engaged through discernment, dialogue, and reformist reinterpretation. In practical implementation, this can inform curriculum design in cadre training, mosque youth programming, community outreach, and the development of digital religious content. For broader Muslim communities, the findings indicate that reformist Islamic engagement does not have to produce social estrangement. Orthodoxy can be communicated through ethical presence, service, and culturally legible forms.

The academic benefits are equally significant. This study contributes to the scholarship on Indonesian Islam by bringing Muhammadiyah studies, youth religiosity, and cultural sociology into one analytical conversation (Wicono & Affandi, 2022). Previous studies have often treated Muhammadiyah in institutional or ideological terms, while studies of Muslim youth have emphasized piety trends, media, and lifestyle religiosity. By centering the negotiation between orthodoxy and locality, this research offers an academically productive bridge between those literatures. It also shows the value of integrating discursive, civic, and glocal perspectives rather than relying on a single theory. In doing so, it helps reposition Muhammadiyah youth not as derivative actors under senior authority, but as an important field for theorizing contemporary Islamic reform.

When connected to previous research, the present findings both confirm and extend existing scholarship (Romelah, 2022). Earlier studies on Muhammadiyah have correctly emphasized the organization's reformist ethos, critique of superstition, and commitment to scriptural purification. The present study confirms those elements, as participants clearly articulated doctrinal boundaries and loyalty to reformist teachings. However, the findings extend earlier research by showing that these boundaries are not always enacted through outright cultural refusal. Similarly, previous scholarship on Indonesian Muslim youth has highlighted the rise of pious identities, campus Islamic activism, and digitally mediated religiosity. The present study supports this literature but adds that, within Muhammadiyah, youth piety is not formed only by revivalist enthusiasm or digital consumption; it is also shaped by negotiations with inherited local social worlds. Thus, the study contributes a more grounded account of how piety is socially lived in reformist organizational settings.

The findings also respond directly to the gap problem identified in the introduction and literature review. Earlier research insufficiently explained how Muhammadiyah youth deal with local culture while maintaining orthodoxy. Some accounts implicitly assumed that reformist Islam naturally opposes locality, while others paid limited attention to the doctrinal seriousness of reformist actors. The present results show that neither assumption is adequate. Youth activists maintain theological boundaries, but these boundaries are interpreted through practice, context, and social responsibility. This directly addresses the gap by demonstrating that the relationship between orthodoxy and locality is best understood as negotiated rather than binary. Through Asad, the study explains how boundaries

are discursively produced; through Hefner, how they are publicly mediated; and through Robertson, how they are culturally translated.

At the level of implementation, the findings reveal several concrete patterns that can be observed in Muhammadiyah youth movements. Youth activists adapt their preaching styles to local audiences, avoid unnecessarily accusatory language in community settings, reinterpret communal participation through educational or ethical framing, and use local symbols when these do not contradict core Islamic principles. They also rely on peer discussion and organizational mentoring to decide how far accommodation can go. These practices show that hybrid piety is not merely a theoretical abstraction but an observable social formation. Its implementation is especially visible in mosque programs, youth training, literacy initiatives, public religious talks, social media campaigns, and neighborhood engagement. In each of these spaces, youth actors attempt to maintain reformist integrity while remaining culturally intelligible and socially effective.

In relation to the benefits of the research, the findings support all three dimensions specified in the study. Theoretically, the research advances a more nuanced concept of piety by demonstrating that reformist orthodoxy can coexist with localized modes of practice. Practically, it offers insight for religious organizations seeking more effective youth engagement and community communication. Academically, it contributes to international discussions on Islam, youth, locality, and the sociology of religion by providing an empirically grounded conceptual synthesis. These benefits are strengthened by the use of the three theories in combination. Asad provides explanatory depth on religious discipline, Hefner on public ethics and civic embeddedness, and Robertson on local adaptation under universal norms. The integration of these perspectives is itself one of the main contributions of the study.

Overall, the discussion confirms that the central novelty of this research lies in the concept of hybrid piety. The study does not use hybridity to suggest theological relativism or ideological inconsistency. Rather, hybridity refers to a socially patterned process in which Muhammadiyah youth negotiate the demands of Islamic orthodoxy and the realities of cultural locality through interpretation, civic engagement, and contextual communication. This novelty arises precisely because previous scholarship has not sufficiently theorized the conjunction of these elements within Muhammadiyah youth movements. By showing how doctrinal discipline, civic presence, and cultural translation interact, the present study provides a new framework for understanding contemporary reformist Muslim youth in Indonesia.

In conclusion, the findings show that Muhammadiyah youth movements construct piety through a negotiated synthesis rather than a simple binary choice between orthodoxy and local culture. The main research problem is answered through evidence that youth actors maintain reformist commitments while selectively adapting to cultural realities. The research gap is addressed by demonstrating the practical mechanisms of this negotiation. The research questions are answered through findings on doctrinal classification, civic strategy, and cultural translation. The research objectives are achieved by explaining the forms, mechanisms, and meanings of hybrid piety. The theoretical, practical, and academic benefits are also clearly demonstrated through the integration of Talal Asad's discursive tradition, Robert W. Hefner's civil Islam, and Roland Robertson's glocalization. Taken together, these findings establish that Muhammadiyah youth are not merely inheritors of reformist orthodoxy, but active interpreters who reshape its public expression within culturally embedded social worlds.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Muhammadiyah youth movements do not experience Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality as two fixed and irreconcilable domains. Rather, the findings show that the relationship between the two is negotiated through a dynamic and interpretive process in which reformist doctrinal commitments are preserved while local cultural realities are selectively engaged, redefined, or filtered. The central contribution of the study lies in demonstrating that Muhammadiyah youth are not merely passive recipients of organizational orthodoxy, nor are they simply cultural actors absorbed into local tradition. They are active religious subjects who continuously interpret the boundaries of legitimate practice in response to the demands of doctrine, the expectations of community life, and the pressures of contemporary youth experience. In this sense, the study confirms that the

religious orientation of Muhammadiyah youth is best understood through the concept of hybrid piety, namely a form of pious subjectivity that is doctrinally grounded yet socially and culturally mediated.

The results and discussion indicate that orthodoxy among Muhammadiyah youth is not practiced as an abstract theological label alone, but as a disciplined and socially learned mode of religious reasoning. The participants consistently affirmed the authority of the Qur'an and Sunnah, the reformist ethos of Muhammadiyah, and the need to avoid practices considered incompatible with pure Islamic teaching. However, the study also found that such commitment does not necessarily produce a total rejection of locality. Instead, youth actors distinguish between cultural expressions that are socially meaningful and those that are seen as theologically problematic. This distinction allows them to remain loyal to reformist principles while sustaining communicative relationships with local communities. The conclusion drawn from this pattern is that orthodoxy within Muhammadiyah youth circles is enacted through selective judgment, interpretive discipline, and strategic adaptation rather than through complete cultural isolation.

The study further concludes that Muhammadiyah youth have developed practical strategies for negotiating their presence within culturally rooted social environments. The findings show that they often reformulate the style and language of *da'wah*, participate in community settings with doctrinal caution, and present Islamic reform through service, education, and ethical example rather than direct confrontation. This indicates that the negotiation of orthodoxy and locality is not only a theological matter, but also a civic and relational one. Youth activists are aware that religious authority in everyday life depends not only on doctrinal correctness, but also on public credibility, social sensitivity, and the ability to communicate reformist values in culturally intelligible ways. Therefore, the study concludes that hybrid piety is not a sign of inconsistency, but a mode of religious effectiveness shaped by social embeddedness.

Another important conclusion emerging from the findings and discussion is that locality remains significant even within a reformist youth movement often associated with purification and scriptural rigor. Local culture in this study does not appear merely as an obstacle to orthodoxy; it also functions as a medium of social belonging, emotional continuity, and symbolic recognition. Muhammadiyah youth do not engage local culture from outside it. They are themselves formed within families, neighborhoods, and communal worlds marked by inherited customs and local identities. What distinguishes them is not cultural detachment, but their effort to evaluate and reorganize cultural practices according to Islamic reformist reasoning. The conclusion here is that the negotiation observed in Muhammadiyah youth movements involves neither uncritical accommodation nor rigid exclusion. Instead, it involves a patterned process of reinterpretation in which some cultural forms are retained, others are revised, and still others are rejected.

From the perspective of the broader discussion, the study confirms that the concept of hybrid piety provides a more accurate analytical framework than binary categories such as orthodox versus local, pure versus syncretic, or reformist versus traditional. The results demonstrate that these oppositions are insufficient for explaining the lived realities of Muhammadiyah youth. Their religious practice is shaped by the interaction of doctrinal discipline, civic responsibility, and cultural translation. For that reason, the study concludes that hybridity should not be understood here as theological ambiguity, but as a structured negotiation through which young Muslims preserve normative commitment while responding to the complexity of local social life. This conclusion also strengthens the novelty of the research, as it shows that reformist Islam among youth is not adequately understood through institutional doctrine alone, but must be examined through everyday interpretation and generational mediation.

The findings also support the conclusion that Muhammadiyah youth play an important role as generational mediators within the wider reformist movement. They do not simply repeat established formulations of orthodoxy, but reinterpret them in response to contemporary conditions, including changing communication styles, civic expectations, and local community dynamics. Their role is therefore both preservative and transformative: preservative in maintaining loyalty to Muhammadiyah's reformist vision, and transformative in reshaping how that vision is articulated and practiced in culturally diverse settings. This generational mediation is one of the most significant implications of

the study, because it reveals that youth are central actors in the continuing public life of reformist Islam in Indonesia.

In sum, the conclusion of this study is that Hybrid Piety constitutes a meaningful and empirically grounded explanation of how Muhammadiyah youth negotiate Islamic orthodoxy and cultural locality. Derived directly from the findings and discussion, this conclusion shows that youth movements within Muhammadiyah sustain scriptural commitments while engaging locality through discernment, civic ethics, and cultural adaptation. The study therefore affirms that the relationship between orthodoxy and locality is not best described as a contradiction, but as a negotiated terrain through which new forms of pious expression emerge. By demonstrating this, the research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of Muhammadiyah youth, contemporary Indonesian Islam, and the broader sociology of religion in culturally plural societies.

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