Promoting Religious Moderation in New Media: Between Contestation and Claiming Religious Authority

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Abstrak:
Pengarusutamaan moderasi beragama menjadi hal yang krusial bagi umat Islam Indonesia, khususnya di era digital. Para ahli setuju bahwa media digital adalah cara yang paling efisien dan efektif untuk mengatasi hal ini. Artikel ini menganalisis produksi konten NU dan Muhammadiyah, dua ormas Islam terkemuka di Indonesia untuk memahami representasi Islam di ranah digital Indonesia. Artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan Netnografi dan analisis situs web *Similarweb.com* untuk menganalisis lalu lintas situs web, demografi audiens (mencakup usia dan jenis kelamin), dan status global. Data ini digunakan untuk menganalisa platform media mana yang paling kuat dalam menyebarkan ide-ide moderasi beragama. Menurut statistik terkini, *nu.or.id* saat ini berada di peringkat global 18.914, jauh di atas *muhammadiyah.or.id*, yang berada di posisi 140.435. Data statistik lalu lintas dan keterlibatan Desember 2022 menunjukkan bahwa *nu.or.id* memiliki 4,169 juta pengunjung lebih banyak daripada *muhammadiyah.or.id* dengan 503.163 ribu pengunjung. Beberapa negara yang paling banyak melakukan kunjungan diantaranya adalah Indonesia, Malaysia, Amerika Serikat, Singapura, dan Jerman. Berdasarkan metrik tersebut, *nu.or.id* lebih berpotensi untuk menyebarkan isu-isu moderasi beragama lebih kuat dibandingkan dengan *muhammadiyah.or.id*. Kami yakin bahwa pengarusutamaan moderasi beragama akan berdampak lebih kuat secara global jika kedua platform organisasi ini terintegrasi.
Keywords: *Kontestasi, Digital Islam, Indonesia, Otoritas Agama, Moderasi Beragama*

Abstract:
Mainstreaming religious moderation has become crucial for Indonesian Muslims, particularly in the digital era. Experts agree that digital media is the most efficient and effective way of achieving this issue. To better understand the representation of Islam in Indonesia's digital sphere, this article aims to analyze content production by NU and

Muhammadiyah, two of Indonesia's most prominent Islamic organizations. Using a Netnography approach and website analysis by *Similarweb.com*. This article analyzed the website's traffic, audience demographics (covering age and gender), and global standing. This information is used to investigate which social media network is most suited to disseminate ideas for religious moderation. According to up-to-date statistics, *nu.or.id* is globally ranked 18,914, which placed it above *muhammadiyah.or.id*, positioned at the far more distant position of 140,435. Comparing December 2022 traffic and engagement statistics, *nu.or.id* had 4.169 million more visitors than *muhammadiyah.or.id* with 503,163 thousand visitors. The top country such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the United States, Singapore, and Germany perform admirably. The two sides are statistically about even when looking at viewer demographics. Based on these metrics, content created by *nu.or.id* that promotes religious moderation has a more powerful of being shared extensively. We believe there is potential for a more substantial impact on mainstreaming religious moderation in Indonesia and globally if these two organizational platforms are integrated.
Keywords: *Contest, Digital Islam, Indonesia, Religious Authority, Religious Moderation*

INTRODUCTION

The debate *Pribumisasi Islam* from KH. Abdurrahman Wahid's idea (Gus Dur) (Wahid, 2001) in the 1980s sparked discussions in various academic and clergy circles in Indonesia. Through his works, Gus Dur seemed to invite scholars to analyze the dynamics of Indonesian Islam. It made various discussions mushroom in educational booths, from campus classrooms to seminars, journal articles, and books. Later, Islam appeared in the 33rd NU Congress forum in Jombang (2015) as an alternative identity and a new face of Indonesian Islam (Schaefer, 2021; Umar, 2021). Until its peak, the idea of religious moderation echoed by Lukman Hakim Saifudin in 2019 also became a prominent theme in the discourse on the development of Indonesian Islam (Hefni, 2020).

We highlighted the state's role as an intervening theological and ideological force in developing religious moderation. Consider the arguments of Omid Safi (2006) in his book, "The Politics of Knowledge in Pre-modern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry," in which he examined the rise of Sunni orthodoxy in pre-Modern Islam, or those of Ahmed T. Kuru (2019) in "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Underdevelopment: A Global and Historical Comparison," in which he examined the blending of politics and stated in the contestation between Sunni and Shia orthodoxy. Thus, religious ideology is inextricably bound up with the workings of politics and the dominance of the state, which has considerable sway over all spheres of life, including religious ones.

As far as the authors observed, Islam does not recognize the existence of a single religious authority. In this case, every Muslim has the right to choose a proper Imam (a religious leader) or a religious elite and trust him as the holder of religious authority. Borrowing Messcik's term calls this phenomenon Polyvocal Islam (Starrett, 1994). In Indonesia, we can see that each Muslim community has its view of figures to serve as the holders of their religious authority. Whether fundamentalist, liberalist, or moderate, each has the effort to fight over religious authority in real and virtual spaces.

It is interesting to underline that religious contestation has recently become the most echoing issue, especially when this discourse is brought to the digital space. The relationship between religion and the digital world has attracted the attention of researchers such as Heidi Campbell (H. Campbell, 2012; H. A. Campbell & Tsuria, 2021; Mustofa et al., 2023) and Cheong (2012; 2017); who called it "Digital Religion." The researchers analyzed how digital media changed religious practices and the struggle for authority within them. We can see this using websites, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and podcasts, which have become new arenas of religious contestation in the digital space. In the context of Islam, several other researchers, such as Peter Mandaville (2001, 2003) and Gary R Bunt (Mustofa, Nadhifah, et al., 2023), called this link between the Muslim community and digital media "Digital Islam." We can see this with new terms such as "Virtual Ummah" (Mandaville, 2003) and "Virtual Islam" (Midden & Ponzanesi, 2013).

On the other hand, the contestation of religious authority was also triggered by the transformation from old to new media (Cheong, 2016). New media refers to media that have emerged or evolved due to technological advancements and changes in communication patterns (Cheong, 2017). It encompasses various digital platforms, tools, and technologies that enable the creation, distribution, and consumption of content in interactive and participatory ways. New media is characterized by its digital nature, interactivity, and ability to customize and personalize content (H. Campbell, 2010). Unlike traditional media forms like newspapers, radio, and television, which are typically one-way communication channels, new media allows for two-way communication and active user participation. It enables individuals to create and share content, engage in online communities, and interact with others in real-time through social media platforms, blogs, forums, and messaging apps (Lundby & Evolvi, 2021).

According to this term, Pascal Buresi argued that digitalization and technological innovation had had a tremendous influence on Islam that deserved to be studied from

various perspectives. Of course, it is time for scholars (anthropologists in particular) to recognize Islam as a discursive tradition that includes and relates itself to power relations and social changes. In this case, NU and Muhammadiyah, the two big carriages of the locomotive of religious moderation in Indonesia, must work hard to internalize the idea. Therefore, religious moderation ideas may be internalized quickly through mass power and digital media.

The author analyzed the previous research. Several researchers have conducted an in-depth analysis of Indonesia's contestation of Islamic religious authority (Mustofa, Nadhifah, et al., 2023). Wahyudi (2022) started by looking at the role of the significant figures of NU and Muhammadiyah, namely KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and Buya Syafi'i Maarif spread the idea of religious moderation. He saw what the Wahid Foundation and the Ma'arif Institute have done as a substantial effort for both. In the era of disruption, Wahyudi noticed that digital and technological developments threaten these two large moderate Islamic organizations in Indonesia. He also argued that both became a minority group in online da'wah activities. As a result, their voices had yet to be heard related to religious issues. He added that to be able to contest with an Islamic platform that was considered immoderate, both of them must improve their digital work in terms of content, appearance, and human resources in it. However, looking at the data from *Alexa.com*, what Wahyudi said was debatable because *nu.or.id* and *muhammadiyah.or.id* have been included in Indonesia's top 20 most popular Islamic sites which *nu.or.id* is in the first rank, and *muhammadiyah.or.id* ranks 11 (@IBTimes.dot.id, 2020).

More about the struggle for religious authority, Hidayatullah (2020), which focused on the contestation between moderate, radical, and liberal Indonesian Islamic groups in cyberspace, found that virtual world contestation is motivated not only by religious or primordial sentiments but also by practical political interests. This contestation gave birth to new actors and displaced established actors facing Indonesian Islam. Responding to this, Zaimul Asroor came with optimism in his study, which concluded that the face of moderate Islam in Indonesia would be maintained as long as NU and Muhammadiyah remained consistent as religious moderators (Asroor, 2019). However, of course, with various notes, as previously stated by Wahyudi, both of NU and Muhammadiyah must improve digital work.

Therefore, this study analyzed the two main sites of NU and Muhammadiyah as a representation of the face of moderate Islam in Indonesia. These two organizations were

selected based on the moderate view promoted by NU with *"Islam Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin"* and Muhammadiyah with *"Progressive Islam."* The authors also tried to answer at least two research questions regarding the contestation of religious moderation in the digital space, first, who got the power to mainstream religious moderation in the Digital Space and second, how is the strategy of the two in the fight for religious authority in the digital space about religious moderation.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative with a netnographic approach (R. Kozinets, 2019). This study aimed to analyze the phenomenon of the promotion of religious moderation in the digital era, focusing on the website of *nu.or.id* and *muhammadiyah.or.id* as a research object. The netnographic approach adapts and changes ethnographic analysis using new media as a means of expression (R. V. Kozinets et al., 2014). In addition, this approach was used to reflect the development of human culture in the digital space, especially regarding the development of religious education. Netnography is a method used to study society and culture in the digital space, specifically social media (Eriyanto, 2021). Digital field sites include web text, video, images, platform infrastructure, user behavior, social relationships, or information networks. This study also used a website analysis approach (Engholm & Klastrup, 2010) by examining the comparison between *nu.or.id* and *muhammadiyah.or.id*.

This approach was chosen to find content analysis and website movement trends from this religious corpus (Adami, 2015). *Similarweb.com* was used as a tool to analyze the two websites. Apart from its simplicity, this site can be used to directly compare ranking, visitor movement, and gender differentiation to the geographic distribution (Suksida & Santiworarak, 2017). In addition, the authors also conducted interviews with the contributors of the two sites to obtain additional data. The data obtained were then analyzed using a digital religious approach to see which websites had the most potential to mainstream religious moderation in digital media (H. A. Campbell & Tsuria, 2021).

Digital religious studies can be used to understand the impact of digital media on religion in digital culture in a broader context. It is also used to analyze the strategy of the media to mainstream religious moderation in the new media. Websites, specifically, have been explored as spaces for articulating religious identities, including religious moderation. A website is intended for a public audience; it can function as a source of

information or for articulating personal narratives (H. A. Campbell & Evolvi, 2020; Lövheim & Campbell, 2017). The relevance of this approach in the context of Islam in Indonesia can be seen in three trends: religious identity, authority, and society, which generally describe how religion is experienced and understood in various digitally mediated contexts (Evolvi, 2022).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Religious Moderation in the Digital Space: Doctrine and the Role of Islamic Religious Organizations in Indonesia

Religious moderation is not only understood as a symbol of certain religious groups; this concept is developing and covering a broader spectrum as part of "the cultural phenomenon" in politics, culture, and education (Sihombing et al., 2020). In Indonesia, religious moderation is used to overcome religious conflicts that often occur, generally triggered by an exclusive, extreme religious attitude, as well as the contestation between religious groups in gaining support from people who are not based on tolerance because each uses their strengths to win, thus triggering conflict (Arifinsyah et al., 2020) and often in the name of religion (Rohman, 2021).

Kamali stated that moderation is about bringing the different centers together and finding the right balance where people from different cultures, religions, and politicians listen to each other and learn how to overcome their differences.

> *"Moderation is about pulling together the disparate centers that want to find a proper balance wherein people of different cultures, religions, and politicians listen to each other and learn how to work out their differences."(Kamali, 2015).*

Therefore, moderate thinking means positioning oneself in the middle between the extreme right and left in religion (Mutohar et al., 2023). In Islam, moderation means choosing the middle path in religion or what is commonly referred to as *Wasathiyah Islam*. Muhajir views *wasathiyah* as a way to contextualize Islam amid the global civilization (Muhajir, 2018). At the practical level, the form of moderation or the middle way in Islam can be classified into four areas of discussion, namely moderate in the context of faith, moderate in the context of worship, moderate in the context of morality, and moderate in the context of *tasyri'* (establishment of sharia. In addition, Gus Dur formulated that religious moderation encourages efforts to realize social justice, which in religion is known as *al-maslahah al-*'ammah (Misrawi, 2010). Based on this view, the authors believed that

religious moderation can be understood theoretically and must develop into something practical. Religious moderation must be able to enter into all spaces, including the digital space.

Religion and technology are two essential aspects of contemporary society. With the advent of the internet and social media platforms, our religious practices have also undergone substantial changes (Kühle & Larsen, 2021). Particularly in Indonesia, religious organizations now actively use digital media to communicate with their followers and disseminate their message (Mustofa et al., 2022). The transmission of religious moderation is a significant aspect of this digital space. With millions of adherents, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are two of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations that pioneered religious moderation (Jubba et al., 2021). Both organizations have a long history of promoting religious moderation and have played a significant role in promoting interfaith dialogue and harmony (Burhani, 2018). In recent years, these organizations have recognized the significance of the digital space, especially in the early 2000s (Taufiq & Alkholid, 2021), and have utilized social media platforms actively to promote religious moderation and combat radicalization.

Nahdlatul Ulama, the biggest Islamic Organization in the world, was founded on 31 January 1926 in Surabaya, East Java, by prominent religious leaders *(Kiai)* such as K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah and K.H. Hasyim Asyari. It grew out of the pesantren culture, where traditional Islam has been rooted and preserved (Ismail, 2011). Nahdlatul Ulama declared its religious philosophy *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* in this context. This religious ideology has become one of Nahdlatul Ulama's distinguishing characteristics from Muslim modernist organizations (Bush, 2009; Fealy & Bush, 2014). In its early movements, the Nahdlatul Ulama played a crucial role by, for instance, prohibiting Muslim adolescents from joining the Dutch military, prohibiting Muslims from supporting the Dutch army, and rejecting Dutch aid offered to the Nahdlatul Ulama's madrassas. In addition, the Nahdlatul Ulama, along with other nationalist movements, actively participated in the process of establishing the Indonesian State and in the war to defend Indonesian independence against the Dutch, who attempted to reestablish their colonial rule in Indonesia. These facts demonstrate that Nahdlatul Ulama made a significant contribution to the nation and state of Indonesia.

Nahdlatul Ulama is widely recognized as a moderate Islamic organization in Indonesia. NU has played a significant role in shaping religious moderation in the digital

space. With millions of members, it is the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia and substantially influences Indonesian society (Mashuri et al., 2023). NU promotes a moderate and inclusive form of Islam, emphasizing tolerance, pluralism, and social harmony (Jubba et al., 2021). It adheres to the principles of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah*, which represent the mainstream Sunni Islamic tradition. NU's moderate stance is rooted in its historical context and the teachings of its founder, Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari. Thus, Nahdlatul Ulama has been instrumental in promoting interfaith dialogue, cooperation, and religious tolerance in Indonesia. It actively promotes peaceful coexistence among different religious communities and advocates for religious freedom and equality.

Fourteen years long before NU was founded, Muhammadiyah was first founded by Ahmad Dahlan. Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization founded in 1912 by a group of Muslim scholars led by Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The organization was founded in response to the increasing influence of Western concepts and the declining adherence of the Indonesian Muslim community to Islamic teachings (Ali, 2015). By stressing the value of the Quran and the Hadith, Ahmad Dahlan and his followers hoped to reform Islamic education and revitalize the Islamic faith in Indonesia (Hasbullah, 2014). In addition to fighting poverty and illiteracy, they advocated for social justice, community service, and personal responsibility (Njoto-Feillard, 2014). Muhammadiyah, led by Dahlan, spread over the country to set up Islamic institutions, including schools, hospitals, and homes for orphans.

Moreover, many organization members were instrumental in the fight for Indonesian independence from Dutch colonial rule. With millions of members and a broad scope of social, educational, and religious initiatives, Muhammadiyah has become one of Indonesia's most outstanding Islamic organizations. The group has been essential in advancing religious moderation in Indonesia and fostering interfaith dialogue and collaboration.

NU and Muhammadiyah, as bastions of religious moderation in Indonesia, should play a bigger role. Both must maximize digital work as part of efforts to internalize religious moderation. This was done because NU and Muhammadiyah were seen as authoritative organizations. A religious point of view, attitude, and practice in daily life embodying religion's essence is what we mean about religious moderation. Recently, in the digital age, where information and ideas can spread rapidly, NU and Muhammadiyah can maximize their digital presence to disseminate religious moderation and inclusivity

messages. They can reach a wider audience and engage with individuals from diverse backgrounds by utilizing websites, social media platforms, mobile apps, and online communities.

In the context of the digital space, Heidi Campbell (2010b) describes the effects of the digital age on people's religious practices, the most prominent of which are the decline in affiliation with religious organizations, the shift in religious authority, the strengthening of individualism, and the transition from pluralism to tribalism. The term social media space can shape social construction, including being able to construct moderate Islamic ideals (Wibisono & Darmalaksana, 2022). Digital media has evolved into a platform where anyone can improvise with religious narratives. Therefore, consuming inappropriate religious content will eventually lead to several religious disorders. NU and Muhammadiyah, spreading moderate Islam in digital space, must adhere to three basic principles: moderation of thought, movement, and actions. First, moderation in religious thought is recognized by the ability to synthesize between text and context; for example, reading the holy book's texts is understood through the outward state of the text and then negates the context element behind it. Moderation in religious thought is to dynamically combine the two to get a complex understanding, resulting in moderate Muslims who are both textual and contextual.

The second principle is moderation in the movement, namely the activity of spreading *(da'wa)* religion to invite goodness and avoid evil. Instead, Muslims must be friendly and polite without intending to hurt and judge others. The third principle is moderation in actions (religious practice) through strengthening the relationship between religion and culture (tradition).

Religious Authority: From Traditional to Digital Space

Religious authority, for scholars, has a different meaning. Arendt explains that religious authority does not rest on general reason or the power of those who govern but on recognizing a hierarchy that all parties consider valid and legitimate. So, it is not surprising that for the Indonesian Muslim community, Kiai and Habib become the holders of religious authority because of their relationship with the Prophet Muhammad regarding lineage and the scientific chain. Paul Gifford at least connects religious authority with three things: scripture, tradition, and charism (Gifford, 2005). Mastery of scriptures and traditions from generation to generation makes a person seen as an authoritative individual. Meanwhile, when we look at Weberian (Weber, 1968) charisma is a strong factor for religious authorities. Therefore,

religious authority has a multidimensional nature depending on which point of view it is seen.

Furthermore, in traditional Islam, religious authority was established through institutionalized religions and their representatives, such as Kiai, Ustadz, Habib, Gus, and other religious leaders. However, with the advent of the digital age, religious authority has taken on a new form, moving from the traditional space to the digital space. The advent of technology has altered how religious authority is exercised, perceived, and contested. Internet and social media platforms have become emerging spaces where individuals can communicate with religious communities, learn about religious practices, and engage in religious activities. This has led to a new religious authority based on online engagement and interaction.

In the digital space, religious authorities have different tendencies. O'Neil said that interaction in the digital space is very important to build religious authority. The activity is related to the frequency, consistency, and amount of social media content users create. Therefore, the most active users can generate and disseminate high volumes of information through their network. Campbell added that digital authority is closely related to creativity which he calls, "Digital Creatives." (H. A. Campbell, 2020). The contestation of religious authority in the digital space is ultimately related to the creators' power, interaction, creativity, and consistency.

Religious Moderation in the Digital Space; Who Has the Power?

The digital space has become the new public sphere and a new arena in religious contestation. The penetration of internet users in Indonesia is a significant factor in transforming religious space from traditional to digital. A survey by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) noted that internet penetration in Indonesia had reached 78.19% in 2023 or penetrated 215,626,156 people out of a total population of 275,773,901 people (*Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia*, n.d.). Northern Europe has the most extensive internet adoption compared to other regions at 98%. Meanwhile, Southeast Asia has an internet adoption of 72%. Figure. 1 stated that Indonesia is one of the 10 Asian Countries with the Largest Number of Internet Users (*Indonesia Masuk Daftar 10 Negara Pengguna Internet Terbesar Di Asia | Databoks*, n.d.).
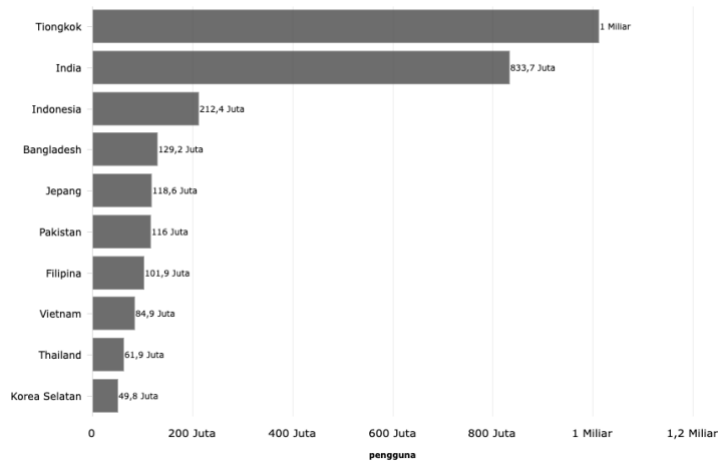
Figure 1. The 10 Biggest countries with Internet Users in South East Asia.
Source: databoks.katadata.co,id

The presence of various religious platforms is a double-edged sword. On the other hand, it can make it easier for religious surfers to seek religious knowledge, but it can also lead to confusion regarding religious authority (Midden & Ponzanesi, 2013). Alexa.com released the 20 best Islamic sites in Indonesia. The data taken as of July 2021 showed various Islamic sites that dominated the digital space, starting from *nu.or.id*, *Laduni.id, Bincangsyariah.com*, and *Iqra.id, Islami.co, Poral-Islam.id, Tafsirweb.com, Rumahsyo.com, Islampos.com, Muslim.or.id, Muhamaidyah.or.id, Eramuslim.com, Tafsirq.com, Almanhaj.com, Litequran.net, Suaramuhammadiyah.id, Umma.id, Konsultasisyariah.com, Hidayatullah.com* and *Alif.id*.

Figure 2. Top 20 Most Popular Islamic Websites in Indonesia

The author then analyzes the two major corpora of Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely NU and Muhammadiyah. Based on a website analysis conducted, as of December 2022, NU's website still dominates religious authorities in the digital space compared to Muhammadiyah. Based on global rank, *nu.or.id* is ranked 18,914, and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* is ranked 140,435. In the country rank *nu.or.id* is ranked 437, and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* is ranked 4,170. It was proof that NU media still dominated.

Global rank ⓘ		Country rank ⓘ		Industry rank ⓘ	
Oct 2022 - Dec 2022 🌐 Worldwide		Oct 2022 - Dec 2022 🏳 Indonesia		In 👥 Community and Society/Faith and Beliefs	
Domain	Rank	Domain	Rank	Domain	Rank
◎ nu.or.id	#18,914	◎ nu.or.id	#437	◎ nu.or.id	#91
⬛ muhammadiyah.or.id	#140,435	⬛ muhammadiyah.or.id	#4,170	⬛ muhammadiyah.or.id	#1,385

Figure 3. Global website ranking comparison between nu.or.id and muhammadiyah.or.id
Source: similar web.com

Based on traffic engagement, NU Online's total in the last three months (Oktober, November, and December 2022) was 15.48 million visitors, and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* recorded only 1,390 million visitors. Based on data analysis, it was found that access to the website was dominated by mobile phones. From this data, it could also be seen that *nu.or.id* had a high level of unique visitors. It showed that NU website is more potential than the Muhammadiyah website to disseminate religious moderation. However, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* is better than *nu.or.id* from the visit duration, pages per visit, and bounce rate.
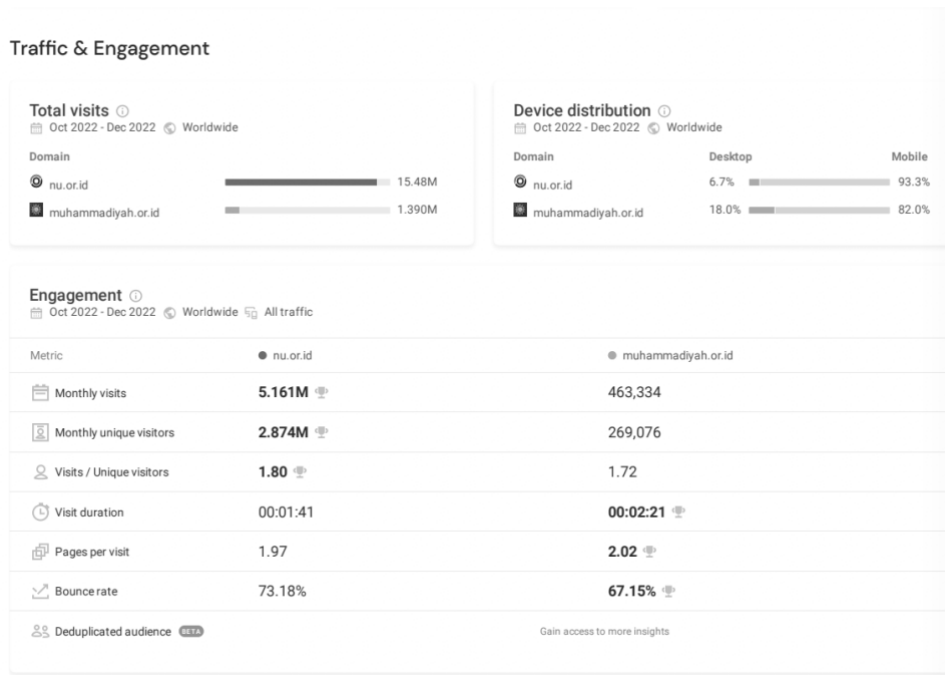
Figure 4. Comparison of Traffic Engagement between nu.or.id and Muhammadiyah.or.id
Source: similar web.com

Based on audience demographic data, *nu.or,id* and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* recorded similar figures. Both are the most visited by male visitors, with 61.38% NUOnline and 61.07% Muhammadiyah.or.id. Meanwhile, female visitors to NUOnline recorded 38.63%, and *Muhammadiyah.or.id* It was still slightly ahead with a record of 38.83%. Looking at the data, most of NU Online's visitors come from circles with an average age of 25-24 years, while Muhammadiyah.or.id has the highest average age of visitors in the range of 18-24 years.
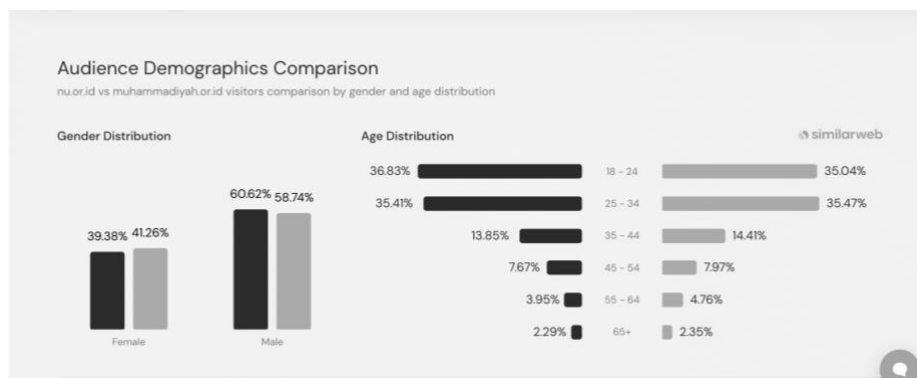

Figure 5. Comparison of Audience Demographics between nu.or.id and Muhammadiyah.or.id
Source: similar web.com

Based on the top countries' data, Indonesia is the top country with 95,13% traffic share. Followed by Malaysia (2,50%), the United States (1,10%), Singapore (0,32%), and Germany (0,16%).
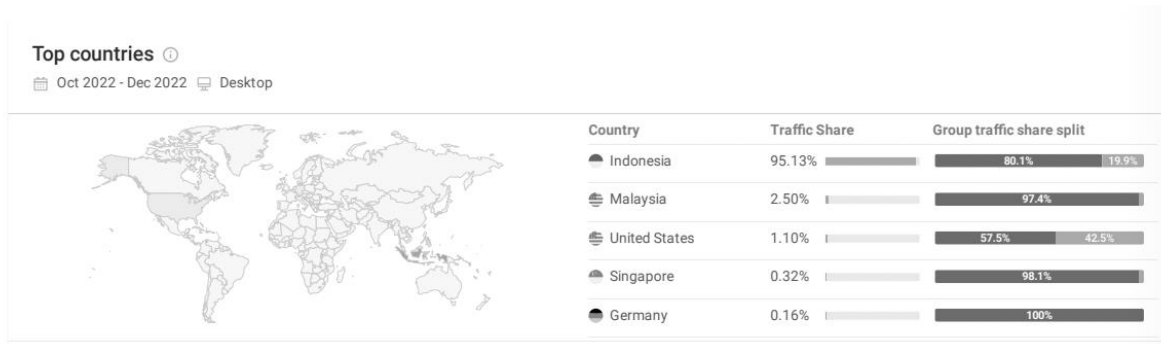

Figure 6. Top Countries analysis between nu.or.id and Muhammadiyah.or.id
Source: similar web. com

Based on social network analysis, YouTube is still the favorite media. In this term, *nu.or.id* with NUOnline channel still dominated. However, on Twitter, *Muhammadiyah.or.id* is better.
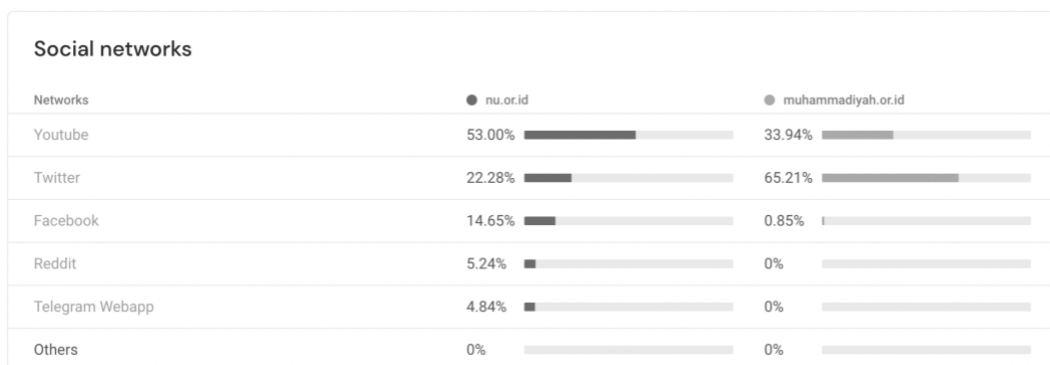

Figure 7. Social network analysis between nu.or.id and muhammadiyah.or.id
Source: similar web.com

Based on the data obtained, *nu.or.id* is still the most favored platform by the Indonesian Muslim compared to *Muhammadiyah.or.id*. The authors saw this as one of the reasons for the quantity factor of *Nahdliyyin* (NU citizens) residents, who are far more numerous than Muhammadiyah. Data from the Alvara Research Center revealed that NU still occupies the first position as Indonesia's most famous mass organization, following Muhammadiyah in second place. In addition, the authors also saw that NU has a particular strategy to increase its popularity in digital media by creating branch websites such as NU Online Jateng, NU Online Jatim, NU Online Jabar, and many more.

Regarding mainstreaming religious moderation, the NU platform is still superior to Muhammadiyah. However, this cannot indicate which is more moderate and which is not. NU and Muhammadiyah, as Islamic organizations, have an image as organizations that are highly committed to nationality, respect differences, are tolerant, and carry Islam *rahmatan Lil 'alamin.*

CONCLUSION

The digital space has become a new arena for media battles over religious authority. To mainstream religious moderation in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah must continue to develop their digital work. This is done because the current trend among Muslims is to seek the content of Islamic knowledge. In mainstreaming religious moderation in the media, NU media still dominates digital media. In the face of moderate and authoritative information in digital media, there will be clarity in religious knowledge if NU and Muhammadiyah are consistent in their digital activities. The article proposed that NU and Muhammadiyah constantly collaborate on establishing religious authority in the media, particularly in the mission to mainstream religious moderation. The concept of religious moderation will be transmitted more rapidly due to its substantial market share and the strength of digital media.

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