# Islamic Mass Organizations: Ideological Networks and Political Movements

Syahrir Karim[1], Ahmad Abdi Amsir[2], Firgansyah Firgansyah[2]

[1]Political Science Study Program, Ushuluddin and Philosophy, State Islamic University Alauddin, Makassar, Indonesia
syahrir.karim@uin-alauddin.ac.id
[2]International Relation Study Program, Ushuluddin and Philosophy, State Islamic University Alauddin, Makassar, Indonesia

**Abstract.** From one perspective, Islam is considered a civil society; that is, it is not seen only as a religion that deals with matters of a spiritual nature. So, in this context, Islam can be said to encompass human civilization as a whole, Islam and the state, and other assumptions about Islam. The point is that Islam cannot only be understood as a system of rituals or ideology. Furthermore, Islam does not recognize a dividing wall between the spiritual and the temporal. Religion is considered the main instrument in terms of how to know the world completely. This view is in line with the presence of Islam, which always provides correct moral guidance for human actions, including how Islamic movements have responded to people's problems, including in the dynamics of the state. With various movements in the form of groups such as community organizations and the ideology accompanying them, it also adds a variant to the pattern of Islamic activism, especially in Makassar City, Indonesia. With a networking pattern between Islamic mass organizations in Makassar City, Islamic activism has formed its Islamic political force in responding to political and public issues.

**Keywords:** Political movement, Islamic Mass Organization, Ideology, Islamic Activism.

## 1    Introduction

Islamic mass organizations during this reform era can also be seen in several large cities in Indonesia. Religious identity is not only enough to ascribe something to political Islam. A second and equally important element is activism [1]. This means that even if there is a group of individuals who are Muslim, symptoms of political Islam will not occur until they activate themselves to carry out specific movements, namely movements and activities with political nuances that have a broad spectrum, especially those related to the system of power. In fact, this phenomenon is also present in South Sulawesi, especially in Makassar City. Islamic mass organizations in Makassar City are socio-politically present in different activism contexts. Their activism is so complex that it has had a significant influence on Muslims. Certain socio-political conditions influence and contribute to the emergence of movements of Islamic mass organizations that formally promote Islam in the state in formal, legal, dogmatic, and even militant

forms. For example, the presence of ideological movements in Indonesia, such as the Heretic Hunters, *Wahdah Islamiyah, Jemaah Tabligh*, former FPI, and KPPSI, as well as several groups pushing for the formalization of other Islamic sharia in South Sulawesi, certainly raises significant questions for the community regarding the underlying basis for the emergence of their movements [2]. Apart from that, there are also parent organizations in the form of alliances or combinations of several mass organizations, such as the United Islamic Ummah Forum (FUIB).

This wave of democratization has also allowed the emergence of new political forces among the Muslim community, for example, the many religious organizations in civil society and other forms, which clearly have a mass and modernization pattern. Movement patterns are becoming more diverse in line with the demands of the times by building networks with fellow mass organizations. Like the emergence of the Islamic mass organization movement, which formed a coalition in the United Islamic Ummah Forum, commonly abbreviated as (FUIB) South Sulawesi, they had carried out many movements. They held significant actions in the city of Makassar and have many Islamic mass organization networks with other Islamic mass organizations. The Islamic Ummah forum often unites in response by taking action, calling it "peaceful action to defend the Prophet Muhammad," and involving many mass organizations in the city of Makassar.

In the context of Makassar, for example, the emergence of an Islamic mass organization movement that formed a coalition in the United Islamic Ummah Forum, commonly abbreviated as (FUIB) South Sulawesi, previously had carried out many movements and held large rallies in the city of Makassar, they had many networks of Islamic mass organizations with other Islamic organizations, leaving From national and international print and electronic media coverage to sentiment statements from the French president, the United Islamic Ummah Forum responded by taking action and calling it "peaceful action to defend the Prophet Muhammad" and involving many mass organizations in the city of Makassar. To promote and boycott French products in Indonesia, especially in Makassar. Several mass organization figures who are members of FUIB asked that the French Ambassador be expelled from Indonesia and that the embassy be closed immediately. FUIB, in responding to various issues and expressing them in their actions socially and politically, has a significant influence [3].

Looking at the movement phenomenon of Islamic mass organizations, which vary greatly from conservative, moderate, and even radical, each Islamic mass organization has a movement character as well as different goals, visions, and missions when expressing their actions socially and politically. Therefore, the research seeks to answer the patterns of ideological transmission in building ideological networks between mass organizations in Makassar City, as well as the political implications of these networks between mass organizations in the formation of Islamic political movements so far. Therefore, this study tries to look at and explore the phenomenon of Islamic movements, especially the patterns of networking and ideological transmission between these mass organizations in Indonesia, which appear to have not yet reached comprehensive results. Therefore, this research attempts to fill the existing void by constructing modern political theories and concepts, such as social movements and Islamism.

## 2      Research Methods

This research was conducted using qualitative methods. This method is used because the phenomenon studied is a dynamic social phenomenon. This research focuses on several Islamic mass organizations in Makassar City. The object of this research is the United Islamic Community Forum (FUIB). The data sources in this research are primary data and secondary data. Primary data comes from in-depth interviews with members of the United Muslim Forum and Islamic organizations that are members of the forum.

Meanwhile, secondary data comes from literature reviews related to the theme of this research, such as journals, books, etc. This data collection begins with observation, interviews, and documentation. The data that has been collected is then processed by collecting it according to the main areas to be discussed. The data analysis process begins by compiling or grouping the data obtained, which will later be used to discuss the results and to be studied sequentially by reducing the data, presenting the data, and then drawing conclusions. This research also uses the theory of social movements and Islamism. Therefore, this study examines Islam empirically and contextually according to modern political theory approaches, such as democracy with a cultural approach, and specifically how their movement patterns intersect with the construction of social movements and patterns of Islamism among Muslims today.

## 3      Results

Ideological Islamic movements metamorphose into many forms, such as the birth of Islamic political parties, *da'wah* movements that tend to raise political issues, etc. This is the starting point for the awareness of Muslims to participate in this era of democratization. In this era of democracy, Islamic movements have also aroused enthusiasm with various forms of activism. Some have even openly raised the issue of the caliphate, the Jakarta charter, starting to disturb the existence of Pancasila, the implementation of sharia-related policies. In the end, it increasingly emphasizes the terms radicalism and fundamentalism among Islamic communities. The existence or tendency of radical and fundamentalist activism will at least influence the democratization process, including in Indonesia. As is known, in the era of Islamic revival at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the ideology of Islam seemed to be in the same breath as the Pan-Islam movement (Pan-Islamism) as advocated by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, which then echoed throughout the Islamic world, including Indonesia [4].

The pattern of activism involves building networks between mass organizations and often makes it difficult for the government and society to distinguish the identity of certain mass organizations. This provides an opportunity for Islamic political identity, and the forms of political movement carried out by these Islamic mass organizations to be so massive. In general, their activism is seen by the public as a form of activism, even though, in practice, it comes in various variants. Variants of this social and political movement can be manifested in conservative, moderate forms and may even

give rise to new, more dynamic variants. There are two forms of Islamic social movements in Indonesia. First, it is a moderate movement in that, politically, it does not offer a radical alternative to the ongoing socio-political reality. Second, those who radically offer alternative foundations and ongoing social and political realities [5].

Among the movement constructions that can be seen is building a joint movement (collective action) with a solid combination of mass organizations. They support each other even though their mass organization identities are different. The various issues raised were diverse, both religious and political, both local, national, and international. Often, they respond to government policies, including national leadership. Even global issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Uighur Muslims, and Muslim phenomena in other parts of the world. Their unity in responding to certain issues indicates that they have the same ideological ties or similarities. This becomes increasingly visible when the role of this mass organization in society is readily accepted.

The above phenomenon further emphasizes how Islamic mass organizations consider religion comprehensive and general in dealing with many things. The point is that Islam must be manifested in daily life. This can be seen from the members' backgrounds, including the agendas and programs they have pursued and worked on. This phenomenon shows that the agenda of religious and social movements and da'wah is massive and structured. For example, how the dynamics of ummah and nationality, which have so far been the main issues, have targeted the pattern of political forces in a network node between mass organizations, as well as how these patterns of ideological transmission respond to issues of the benefit of the ummah which theoretically cannot be separated from political interests. Political interests can be in the form of responding to national issues, leadership, the benefit of the people, and how they construct an issue with the perspective and ideology they believe in. This political interest is substantial because mass organizations are networked with political parties.

Based on social movement theory, we can comprehensively explain how emotions, ideas, and activities intertwine, giving rise to a movement involving various layers of actors and constituents, all very different in character and function. From this theory, it is essential to pay attention to what led those from diverse strata and backgrounds to become part of a significant movement in which they shared similar rhetoric and religious language, diverse codes of behavior, and similar desires. In this context, Asef Bayat, for example, offers the concept of "imagined solidarity explicitly," borrowing Ben Anderson's very famous "imagined community" to see how people with diverse social backgrounds and thoughts come together into a movement shouting out the same concerns and holding collective actions. According to Bayat, imagined solidarity is formed spontaneously among movement actors who agree on a common consensus by subjectively imagining shared interests and values [1].

Through a movement construction approach by a network of mass organizations that are members of the United Islamic Ummah Forum (FUIB), this will make it easier for researchers to look further into the ideological networks in these communities. How can the construction of thoughts and ideas reflected in mass organizations' activism be framed so that they can become a means of communication to spread their ideology? Including ideas related to the ins and outs of regulating the affairs of the people and the State with all forms of laws, regulations, and policies made by power holders, which align with the basic teachings and spirit of the Shari'a to realize the benefit of the people.

In building the movement, FUIB so far looks very massive and structured. One of the factors is that there are so many networks in the forum that the coordination and consolidation process is excellent. The mass organization networks in the forum include:

**Tabel. 1.** Islamic Mass Organization Network United Islamic Ummah Forum

| No. | Organization Name |
|---|---|
| 1. | Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (KPPSI) |
| 2. | Aliansi Nasional Anti Syah Indonesia (ANNAS) |
| 3. | Fokus Islam BTP |
| 4. | Sabak Hidayatullah |
| 5. | Anak NKRI |
| 6. | Alumni 212 |
| 7. | BKPRMI |
| 8. | Laskar Pemburuh Aliran Sesat (LPAS) |
| 9. | Brigade Muslim Indonesia (BMI) |
| 10. | Lingkar Dakwah Mahasiswa Indonesia (LIDMI) |
| 11. | Garuda Mas |
| 12. | Saljali Wal Ikram |
| 13. | LMP Merah PUTIH |
| 14. | MISI Kemanusian DJW |
| 15. | Sahabat Muslim |
| 16. | Relawan Jurnal Kemanusian |
| 17. | AL-Quds Volunteers Indonesia |
| 18. | Hidayatullah |
| 19. | Pilar Indonesia |
| 20. | Da'i FUIB |
| 21. | Yayasan Kapala |
| 22. | Front Persaudaraan Islam (FPI) |

The data above shows that the network of mass organizations in FUIB is very diverse, making it easy for them to build movement consolidation. Social movement process with the construction of the identity of movement participants from Islamic mass organizations. Which is action-oriented and includes the opportunities and constraints where the action occurs. This is an essential element of the activities carried out by FUIB and other Islamic mass organizations, so it is necessary to see the extent of social movements in framing social movements. In this case, of course, FUIB has had a positive impact on every social activity carried out so far, as stated by Ustad Abdul Salam, deputy chairman of the Front of Islamic Brotherhood (FPI), stating that:

"Well, the role of FUIB when carrying out social activities, of course, first coordinates and invites several Islamic mass organizations who want to be involved in holding social activities and invites them to contribute and make contributions in social matters, the closest thing that can be seen from FUIB It can be seen very clearly on several social media, such as actions and things that counteract radicalism when he assists with social activities during natural disasters, for example in South Sulawesi. Of course, FUIB is also quick to respond by providing humanitarian aid, going directly to help victims of natural disasters, and usually also becoming a volunteer. FUIB also takes part, for example, in Ramadan activities and social services. Even FUIB also participates in helping fellow Muslims in Palestine as the form of providing moral support."[1]

Some of FUIB's framing of social movements significantly impact the community, especially the social activities carried out with other mass organizations. Meanwhile, FUIB's social activities, such as action and countering radical ideas, frame many social movement patterns.

A series of several portraits and track records of FUIB's actions, which have had a lot of social impact on society, first starting from the super peaceful action 212 since the video of Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahja Purnama alias Ahok making fun of Surah Al-Maidah circulating on social media can be punished according to his actions. Committing blasphemy against religion and insulting ulama so that the United Islamic Community Forum took action by demonstrating, the second is a portrait of the action of FUIB finally carrying out a demonstration in response to remarks from French President Emmanuel Macron regarding the caricatures of the prophet Muhammad SAW. The action, which Ustaz Abdurrahman commanded, took place at the South Sulawesi Governor's Office. Thirdly, FUIB also held an action related to Ferdinand Hutahean's tweet and reported his tweet so that he could be punished accordingly.

The movements or actions carried out by the network of mass organizations that are members of FUIB are said to be very systematic and responsive regarding issues in the Islamic world. The theory of this social movement is very relevant to the concept of mobilizing structure, namely maximizing the resources available to achieve goals. There are three essential concepts of social movement theory: political opportunity structure, framing, and mobilizing structure. The political opportunity structure explains that the emergence of social movements is often triggered by significant changes that occur in the political structure. This kind of drastic change opens up many opportunities for social actors to initiate new phases of political resistance and encourage society to take advantage of opportunities. As a result of these significant changes, conflict often occurs within elite circles themselves, and this arena reduces the risks facing resource-poor societies seeking to undertake collective action. These developments also encouraged some elites to take on the role of protectors of society. Some elites need support from outside the political circle to maintain their position in competition with their political opponents. Because these political opportunities are external – formed from the actions of people who are not members of the movement –

---

[1] Ustadz Abdul salam, Vice Chairman FPI (Islamic Brotherhood Front) (interview, on 02-06-2022).

the sustainability of a social movement is largely determined by how long political opportunities are available [1].

Changes in political opportunities must be seen in line with more stable structural elements, such as the strengths and weaknesses of the state and the forms of repression it commonly fosters. External opportunities do not automatically produce sustainable social movements. This process requires opposition activists to use widely known repertoires of opposition, frame messages dynamically, and access or build integrated mobilization structures [1].

His phenomenon indicates that the Forum, which forms ties between mass organizations, has a clear direction in its movement. Political movements in the form of support and responding to national political issues are the part with the clearest political color. In this context, Islam appears to manifest itself in many forms, including the pattern of "political" movements carried out by Islamic mass organizations, especially those that network with other mass organizations by carrying out joint movements.

Looking at the actions or movements of the mass organization network in FUIB, it can be seen that they are using a social movement pattern called political opportunity. The concept of political opportunity, as explained by Tarrow, refers more to the dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action. This incentive is related to many people's estimates of the success or failure of what they will do. The concept of political opportunity emphasizes the mobilization of resources outside of a group. It contains elements that concern how a group of people involved and potentially seen in collective action perceive the structure of political opportunities [1]. This is done by considering all possibilities concerning structural changes, increased access, shifting maps of political alliances, facilitation, state power, repression, and threats that may be faced.

In general, this research still has limited data regarding the transnational ideological networks of each relevant mass organization. Furthermore, several previous research results have not provided results that explain how Islamic movements in Indonesia generally have global ideological links. So, this deficiency can be a recommendation for future researchers to explore these ideological networks between these mass organizations. This research, which focuses on South Sulawesi, especially Makassar City, could be initial data in looking at the Islamic movement in Indonesia in general.

## 4     Conclusions

Based on the results of the research and discussion explained above, as an Islamic mass organization, this forum association between Islamic mass organizations has a network pattern and ideology in framing Islamic mass organizations. This mass organization network can embrace and become a forum for Islamic mass organization groups and a place for 22 Islamic mass organizations to coordinate on every public issue and problem. Therefore, it can be said that this association between mass organizations is based on the ideology of Islamism. The primary reference to Islamism is that responding to a political phenomenon must be found in the Koran and Sunnah, where Islamic activism is also always linked to politics. This political activism is also reflected

in the pattern of activism for enforcing Amar *ma'ruf nahi mungkar* and establishing *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* among Islamic mass organizations that are members of this forum.

There are several ideological movements regarding political behavior, namely, the first is the da'wah movement in mass organizations that are members of this forum, which requires a da'wah method and must have a strategy in conveying their da'wah mission. Among the activities this forum carries are da'wah movements such as studies, tabligh akbar, and public discussions. Apart from that, a social movement was also formed, based on the construction of movements from Islamic mass organizations that were oriented towards action and opportunities. Things done in this movement were taking action and countering radicalism.

# References

1. N. Hasan, Islam Politik Di Dunia Kontemporer Konsep, Genealogi, Dan Teori. SUKA Press, 2012.
2. S. Karim, "Post-Islamisme: Memahami Aksi Politik Islam Kontemporer," J. Polit. Profetik, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 119, 2021, doi: 10.24252/profetik.v9i1a7.
3. Rio Anthoni, "Ormas Islam di Makassar akan Gelar Aksi Boikot Produk Prancis," 2020. https://www.tagar.id/ormas-islam-di-makassar-akan-gelar-aksi-boikot-produk-prancis
4. Peter R. Demant, Islam vs. Islamism: The Dilemma of the Muslim World. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2006.
5. Mursid Zuhri, "Radikalisme Politik Keagamaan di Jawa Tengah," J. Litang Provinsi Jawa Teng., vol. 15, no. Juni, pp. 1–12, 2017.