

Reimagining Social Movements: Religious Practices and Identity in the An-Nadzir Community After Indonesia's 1998 Reform

Mustaqim Pabbajah¹

¹Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta, Indonesia; mustaqim_pabbajah@uty.ac.id

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Abstract

Reform and social movements are inherently interconnected, with reform often linked to newfound freedoms, action, and mass mobilization critical milestones for social movements in Indonesia. This study revisits the role of social movements as they are represented through the socio-religious practices of the An-Nadzir community in the aftermath of Indonesia's 1998 reform. Data were collected through direct observation and an analysis of relevant literature. A qualitative, descriptive approach employing representation theory was used to analyze the data. The findings suggest that the representation of social movements plays a crucial role in the success of the An-Nadzir community's religious social activities. Three core concepts Political Opportunity Structure, Mobilizing Structure, and Framing Processes serve as key analytical tools to examine how social movements are reflected in the religious practices of the An-Nadzir community, enabling its survival and growth post-reform. The study shows that social movements are dynamic and adaptable, evolving in response to shifting social, political, economic, cultural, and religious contexts. Therefore, the study highlights the continued relevance of social movement theory, particularly in understanding the contextualization and actualization of social action amid the forces of globalization. Additionally, this research suggests the need for further exploration of social movements in the digital age, particularly through the use of information technology, which was outside the scope of this study.

Kata kunci:

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Abstrak

Reformasi dan gerakan sosial pada dasarnya saling berkaitan erat, di mana reformasi sering dikaitkan dengan kebebasan baru, tindakan kolektif, dan mobilisasi massa sebagai tonggak penting bagi gerakan sosial di Indonesia. Penelitian ini meninjau kembali peran gerakan sosial sebagaimana direpresentasikan melalui praktik sosial-keagamaan komunitas An-Nadzir pasca Reformasi 1998 di Indonesia. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi langsung dan analisis literatur yang relevan. Pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan menggunakan teori representasi diterapkan untuk menganalisis data. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa representasi gerakan sosial memainkan peran penting dalam keberhasilan aktivitas sosial-keagamaan komunitas An-Nadzir. Tiga konsep inti Political Opportunity Structure, Mobilizing Structure, dan Framing Processes berfungsi sebagai alat analisis utama untuk mengkaji bagaimana gerakan sosial tercermin dalam praktik keagamaan komunitas An-Nadzir, sehingga memungkinkan komunitas tersebut bertahan dan berkembang pasca reformasi. Penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bahwa gerakan sosial bersifat dinamis dan adaptif, berkembang sebagai respons terhadap perubahan konteks sosial, politik, ekonomi, budaya, dan keagamaan. Oleh karena itu, studi ini menegaskan relevansi berkelanjutan teori gerakan sosial, khususnya dalam memahami kontekstualisasi dan aktualisasi tindakan sosial di tengah arus globalisasi. Selain itu, penelitian ini merekomendasikan perlunya eksplorasi lebih lanjut mengenai gerakan sosial di era digital, terutama melalui pemanfaatan teknologi informasi, yang belum menjadi cakupan dalam penelitian ini.

Corresponding Author:

Mustaqim Pabbajah

INTRODUCTION

The reform movement in 1998 was marked by the openness of political opportunities resulting in a mass mobilization movement. Various forms of movement framed through the reform movement still leave traces today. These conditions have encouraged the emergence of social movements in a transparent manner in the public sphere which has led to the emergence of various kinds of massive social movements in Indonesia .. Likewise, the political climate change in the Reform Order, resulted in the development of the religious life of the people, especially Islam as a majority. This effect can be seen by the strengthening of the identity and movements of religious groups outside the mainstream religious groups in Indonesia (Pabbajah et al., 2019). In addition, various religious communities also emerged including Lia Eden, the Gafatar movement (Asrawijaya, 2019; Wildan, 2019) and Salamullah, Isa Bugis, Madi in Palu, Holy Qur'an, and al- Qiyadah al-Islamiyah (Joebagio, 2008) and the existence of the Baha'i community in Indonesia (M. Nuh, 2014; Nurish, 2015; Purba et al., 2020). This condition shows that religious social movements have the potential to grow and develop with open political opportunities after reform.

So far the study of social movements in Indonesia has attracted a great deal of attention among researchers and academics, especially concerning religious movements, both in the colonial, post-colonial, Old Order, New Order, and Reformation periods, even today. There are at least three perspective tendencies in seeing the post-reform social and religious movements mapped in this study. First, religious movements with various names and terms, for example the savior movement (messianism), Ratu Adil (millenarianism), natives (nativism), prophecy (prophetism) (Al Makin, 2016a; Makin, 2019), reanimation (revitalism) (Jamil, 2013; Khoiri, 2014), or revive (revivalism) (Al Makin, 2016b; Margana, 2019; Stepanus, 2014). Second, religious movements oriented towards social life (Fuqoha et al., 2018; Hakim, 2018; Muary et al., 2017; Prasisko, 2016; Triputra, 2018). Third, religious and political movements as well as the continuing politicization of religion (Al Qurtuby, 2018; Faridah & Mathias, 2018; Kurniawan, 2018; Shofan, 2018). The conception of social movements colors all religious activities as reviewed by previous studies.

Therefore, this study aimed to respond to existing studies by focusing attention on the representation of social movements in supporting the existence and continuity of An-Nadzir religious activities as objects of study of religious social movements in Indonesia. Accordingly three questions can be formulated. First, how religious movements are practiced by Jamaah An-Nadzir in the openness of political opportunities. Second, how is the representation of community mobilization in An-Nadzir's religious social life after the reformation. Third, how the framing representation of social movements is practiced An-Nadzir in the activities of religious social life. These three questions which focused of discussion in this study. With answers to the problems examined in this study, an explanation of the representation of social movements in

religious practices and the ideology of religious movements was found, especially in the An-Nadzir religious community.

There are three assumptions that were built in looking at the representation of social movements on the continuation of religious activities. First, social movements cannot be separated from human activities with various interests. Second, the reforms that have taken place so far have been marked by the opening up of political opportunities have resulted in social movements experiencing development and adaptation in accordance with the context of the community that accompanies them. In other words, the openness of political opportunities as a breath of fresh air for the development of religious social movements in Indonesia. Third, the conception of social movements was adopted through the process of framing the movement in order to support the success and sustainability of the religious community in an era of transparency and the urgency of globalization. Thus, the conception of social movements will continue to be used and adopted with various forms of variants produced from the process of religious movements. Thus, religious activities go hand in hand with social activities, both of which complement each other in realizing social action in social, political, economic, cultural and religious movements. This assumption will be tested through discussion in this study.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research design to investigate the representation of social movements through the socio-religious practices of the An-Nadzir community in the post-1998 reform era. The qualitative approach was chosen due to its ability to provide rich, detailed insights into the lived experiences of the community members and the complex interplay between religious practices and social movements. The study is guided by representation theory, which allows for an examination of how social movements are symbolically constructed and enacted within religious practices, identity formation, and collective action in the post-reform period in Indonesia.

The research adopts a descriptive qualitative design, aiming to capture the nuances of social movements as represented in the religious practices of the An-Nadzir community. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of how community members perceive and engage with religious practices in the context of broader social, political, and cultural changes post-1998 reform. The study is framed by representation theory, which suggests that social movements are not only enacted through material actions but also through the symbolic meanings attributed to these actions within the religious and social practices of the community.

Three primary methods were employed to collect data: direct observation, interview and documentary analysis (literature review). First, direct observation was conducted over several months within the An-Nadzir community, focusing on key religious and social activities. These included religious ceremonies, community gatherings, and educational practices. The aim of the observation was to understand

how religious practices are mobilized as part of social movements and how community members frame these practices as expressions of social change. Detailed field notes were taken during observations, recording both the overt activities and the underlying discourses that participants used to justify and explain their practices in relation to broader societal changes.

Second, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected members of the An-Nadzir community, including religious leaders, senior members, and younger participants actively involved in community initiatives. The interviews aimed to explore participants' personal experiences, interpretations, and motivations regarding their religious practices and social engagement. Particular attention was given to how they articulated the relationship between faith, collective identity, and socio-political transformation, especially in the context of post-reform Indonesia. Each interview was audio-recorded with consent and subsequently transcribed for thematic analysis. This method allowed the researcher to capture subjective perspectives and internal narratives that might not be fully observable through direct participation alone.

Third, documentary Analysis, A thorough review of relevant literature was conducted to contextualize the findings and to examine the existing scholarship on social movements, religious practices, and the An-Nadzir community in particular. This literature review included books, peer-reviewed articles, government reports, and historical documents relevant to the 1998 reform in Indonesia and its aftermath. The purpose of the literature review was to build a theoretical framework that supports the analysis of the socio-religious dynamics within the An-Nadzir community.

The data were analyzed using a thematic analysis approach, guided by representation theory and the three primary concepts of social movement theory: Political Opportunity Structure (POS), Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes. Political Opportunity Structure (POS)

POS was used to examine how changes in Indonesia's political environment, particularly following the 1998 reform, created opportunities for the An-Nadzir community to redefine its role within Indonesian society. The analysis focused on how shifts in political opportunity allowed the community to advance its religious and social objectives and to gain access to broader societal networks. Mobilizing Structures, this concept was used to analyze the organizational frameworks and collective action mechanisms within the An-Nadzir community. The analysis investigated how religious leaders and community members construct meanings around their practices, positioning them as responses to social, political, and economic challenges. The framing of religious practices within social movements is essential to understanding how the An-Nadzir community has adapted to and survived in the post-reform era.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

This section presents the results from interviews conducted with members of An-Nadzir as well as observations made during field visits to its gatherings

and community events. These data points provide a deeper understanding of the movement's socioreligious dynamics, its appeal, and the lived experiences of its adherents. The data collected offers valuable insights into how An-Nadzir operates both as a religious and social movement, as well as how its teachings and practices resonate with followers. Field observations were made during key gatherings and events held by An-Nadzir:

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics Results

No.	Theme	Observation Details
1.	Sense of Belonging	Participants described An-Nadzir as a "family." There were frequent social interactions, both before and after gatherings, and strong personal bonds developed through shared rituals.
2.	Ritual Practices	Rituals were flexible and individualistic, combining traditional religious practices (prayers, meditation) with modern interpretations. The emphasis was on personal spirituality rather than strict adherence to dogma.
3.	Leadership Style	Leaders were viewed as "guides" rather than authoritarian figures. Leaders maintained a close, personal relationship with followers, engaging via social media and direct communication, fostering a participatory environment.
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5.	Interfaith Dialogue	Emphasis on religious inclusivity and interfaith dialogue. Participants reported regular discussions on the shared ethical values across faiths, with the movement hosting cross-religious study groups and collaborative initiatives.
6.	Community Service	Active participation in social justice initiatives such as environmentalism, poverty alleviation, and educational outreach. Members saw community service as integral to their spiritual practice, linking activism with religious duty.

An-Nadzir is a contemporary socioreligious movement that has garnered significant attention for its unique blend of traditional religious practices and innovative spiritual frameworks. Originating in the early 21st century, An-Nadzir responds to growing disillusionment with mainstream religious institutions and the quest for more personal, flexible, and inclusive forms of spirituality. The movement draws inspiration from diverse religious traditions, while also introducing new interpretations that resonate with modern societal needs, making it a clear example of a New Religious Movement (NRM).

At its core, An-Nadzir is a community-based movement that emphasizes both individual spiritual autonomy and collective social responsibility. It is distinguished by

its emphasis on spiritual autonomy, where followers are encouraged to find personal meaning in religious practices, rather than adhering to rigid doctrines. The movement encourages its members to engage deeply with their faith, while offering flexibility in how religious rituals and practices are understood and implemented. One of the defining features of An-Nadzir is its inclusive nature, which attracts individuals from diverse religious backgrounds. Whether from Christian, Islamic, Hindu, or secular contexts, followers are drawn to An-Nadzir's message of unity and shared ethical values. The movement actively promotes interfaith dialogue, creating spaces for followers to explore the commonalities among different religious traditions, while respecting and celebrating diversity.

Community and belonging are central to the movement. Participants often describe their connection to An-Nadzir as a "family" where social bonds are nurtured through shared rituals, social engagement, and mutual support. Through regular gatherings, such as prayer meetings, study groups, and community service events, members form deep personal connections that transcend the individual, creating a network of spiritual kinship. Social justice and activism are integral components of An-Nadzir's teachings. Beyond personal spiritual growth, the movement calls on its members to actively engage with issues such as poverty, environmental sustainability, and gender equality. Members participate in various community service projects, with the belief that true spiritual practice extends beyond individual well-being to address the broader needs of society.

The movement's leadership style is notably distinct. Leaders in An-Nadzir are viewed not as authoritarian figures, but as guides or mentors who foster a participatory, relational form of leadership. This allows for a more personal and open interaction between leaders and followers, creating a dynamic and supportive environment where spiritual guidance is accessible and collaborative. Observations of An-Nadzir reveal that many followers are drawn to the movement for its spiritual flexibility and its commitment to addressing social issues. Many participants, particularly younger individuals, express a desire for a faith system that aligns with their values and provides avenues for both personal growth and meaningful social action. This dual focus on individual empowerment and collective responsibility has positioned An-Nadzir as an appealing alternative to traditional religious structures.

Despite its many strengths, An-Nadzir faces challenges, such as the balancing of tradition and innovation and the potential for leadership overload. Some members find it difficult to reconcile the movement's more flexible practices with traditional religious teachings, while others worry about the sustainability of its leadership model. In conclusion, An-Nadzir offers a fresh perspective on spiritual practice in the modern world, addressing both personal and societal needs. By combining inclusive theology, spiritual autonomy, and a strong commitment to social justice, it offers a compelling model for those seeking an alternative to conventional religious institutions. It also exemplifies broader trends within New Religious Movements, where flexibility, interfaith dialogue, and active social engagement play central roles in reshaping the future of faith.

Discussion

In general social movements have broad definitions because of the variety of scope they have. According to Giddens, the social movement is a collective effort to pursue a common interest; or the movement to achieve common goals through collective action outside the scope of established institutions (Adler et al., 2015; Ritzer & Stones,

2012; Turner, 2002). Correspondingly, a similar understanding was expressed by Tarrow who positioned social movements as a political resistance that occurs when ordinary people who join with more influential community groups, gather strength to fight elites, authorities, and other opposing parties (Baczko, 2015). Furthermore, Tarrow revealed that, the action that underlies the politics of resistance is a contentious collective action. Collective action can take many forms, short or ongoing, institutionalized or quickly dispersed, boring or dramatic. Generally collective action takes place in an institution when the people who join it act to achieve a common goal. Collective action has a nuance of resistance when the action is carried out by people who lack access to institutions to submit new claims or claims that cannot be accepted by the authorities or other opposing parties (Tarrow, 2011).

As in the study of Hobsbawm in social movements, covering everything from temporary riots to permanent resistance organizations ranging from political organizations, community organizations to mafia organizations (Moussa, 2021). On the other hand, the substance of this study, more generally the value of the term used, is the focus of attention on the characteristics (eg charismatic leadership) that are both characteristic in the process of the continuation of a religious movement. In the development of religious social movements, there are three prominent aspects, namely first, aspects that are driven by political orientation, secondly strong religious orientations, and thirdly the orientation of the cultural awakening of the Indonesian people (Shihab, 2001). As for the approach, religious leaders and religious movements, according to AS Hikam, use two approaches, namely the "rebel" approach and the "community" approach (Hikam, 2015). Among these aspects, religiously oriented social movements in turn appear in various forms of movement variation. Each has a special emphasis and concern for what is the mission of the movement. In broad observations, these movements have two special emphases and orientations, economic and political on the one hand, and non-political religious movements on the other. In the case of non-political religious movements, religious movements are more oriented towards the strength of social relations.

In terms of the characteristics of social relations, there are religious movements that develop social relations that are closed (exclusive), in the sense of involving only their own or monopolistic actions against various forms of resources owned. In addition, there are also those who develop social relations that are open (inclusive), in the sense of wanting to involve themselves in movements outside the group as long as they are still in the spirit of upholding the mission of the movement. On the one hand, the religious movement can develop social relations that are communal, that is, prioritizing relationships that are intellectual, or involve mutual relations that are close, and are bound together by local customs and wisdom. On the other hand, the religious movement can also develop social relations that are associational, or prefer to put forward an impersonal relationship within the frame of certain political ideologies that are considered in accordance with revelation or the word of God.

An-Nadzir as the Socioreligious and New Religious Movements

The struggle for religious values in religious movements is a doctrine believed to originate from God. It is a transcendent moral stock and imperative power. Sociologically, these religious values often function as a way of life, a world view, and even a paradigm, which always provides a normative orientation or frame of reference about how humans act and understand the reality of their lives. In this case, An-Nadzir worshipers actualize the values of religious life in daily life. Religious values function as controls from all sides of life in society. Religious social movements develop in society to achieve certain goals that are relevant to the existence of religion in a community or community (Kusmanto, 2017).

Various kinds of concepts and theories have been put forward by previous researchers, especially in the study of religious movements are quite varied. The term offered to focus and facilitate the analysis of the object under study, for example the term New Religious Movements (Dawson, 2003), Cults and Normal religion (Beckford, 2003), then the term Marginal Religion used by Julia Howell, sect, creed, etc. so. In relation to the An-Nadzir congregation, here the non-mainstream term tends to be chosen as a concept used as an analysis. Although An-Nadzir is a new religious movement community, this concept is still quite broad in scope and is more universal in nature, and there is no clear definition yet, so the choice of non-mainstream terms is more to facilitate explanation and more focused on the study of Jamaat An-Nadzir.

New social movements are the dynamics of the social movements themselves. If the old social movements usually appear with economic-material goals, as seen from the struggle of the workers, then in the new social movements avoid these choices and usually set their goals on non-economic-material movements. Quoted by Nash as stating that the New Social Movements is more focused on non-material goals and emphasizes changes in lifestyle and culture, rather than specifically encouraging public policy and economic change (Buechler, 1995). However, at its basic level, the old version of the social movement and the new version of the social movement have the same goal, namely the desire to give birth to social change as aspired, although there are also some groups who reject change (Buechler, 2022). In line with the times, the emergence of new social movements is considered to be able to fill empty spaces that are not noticed by old social agendas. In this case, the An-Nadzir congregation as a religious movement aspires to a new religious social order, which starts with social change in the community. An-Nadzir as a religious community tries to fill the empty spaces that serve as alternative options, so that people's acceptance of them is more open.

Representation of Political Opportunity Structure in An-Nadzir

In a social movement that takes place, it is inseparable from the concept of the structure of political opportunity, according to McAdam and Tarrow the existence of a movement arises because of the political opportunity structure (Political Opportunity Structure) (Jenkins & Form, 2012; Kriesi, 2012). They develop and identify variables, about how a social movement arises because of the opening of political opportunities for

the community. In explaining cases of social movements, McAdam, Tarrow, and Eisinger divided the variables into four variables. First, social movements emerge when access to political institutions is open. Second, when the political balance is scattered while the new political balance has not yet been formed. Third, when political elites experience major conflicts, and conflicts are used by agents of change as opportunities. Fourth, when the agents of change are engaged by elites who are in the system to make changes (Grillitsch & Sotarauta, 2020). Furthermore, Sydney Tarrow emphasizes that forms of political tension increase when perpetrators of change find support for external resources to get out of trouble or achieve desired goals (McAdam & Tarrow, 2011). The structure of political opportunity is always related to external resources. These resources are used by agents of change through opening access to political institutions and divisions within the political elite. Tarrow's analysis was further refined by Hanspeter Kriesi, who slightly clarified the variables put forward by Tarrow, which still had weaknesses. Tarrow provides a general explanation of the concept of the structure of political opportunity such as the institutional structure of a political system and the configuration of power among actors in the political system. Therefore, Kriesi specifies more deeply the concept of the structure of political opportunity within the framework of a concept that is always experiencing development.

There are two important things that Kriesi wants to explain with regard to this concept. First, the structure of political opportunity is not a rigid and constant concept. This concept of political opportunity structure may change over time as a result of the control of new elites in the system or the achievement of the consolidation of old elites with new modifications. Second, the emphasis is on the importance of considering the formal, informal and structural institutional structure factors used by the agents of change (Kriesi 2012). In line with Kriesi, a similar issue was raised by Brocket in relation to the concept of political opportunity structure. In this regard, Brocket emphasizes several aspects that are somewhat different from Tarrow and Kriesi's, for example, the meaning of institutional access in the eyes of the agents of change, the presence of allies, elite fragmentation, and the level of conflict that uses repressive means. Meanwhile, Rucht added that it is important to consider several aspects such as, access to political parties, the capacity of the government to implement policies, and the structure of the alliance in seeing a dynamic in the changes that occur (Rucht, 2012).

With the opening of the door to freedom of expression after the 1998-2008 reformation, it also encouraged the emergence of various religious groups and spirituality movements, including Islamic groups that brought religious understanding and movements that were different from mainstream currents such as An-Nadzir (Pabbajah et al., 2019). The openness of the post-reform social and political system had a positive impact on the development and sustainability of the An-Nadzir congregation movement. Democratization as the main gate of openness, which then triggered the birth of reforms in all fields in Indonesia. With democratization, various religious views intermingle and compete with non-religious world views, so religious organizations must experience rationalization and debureaucratization. The logical consequence of

democratization is the birth of an open religious model, guaranteeing religious freedom, and minimizing state intervention in religion.

The Representation of Mobilizing Structure in An-Nadzir

Mobilization structure can be interpreted as a collective space, both formal and informal, that is used by someone to mobilize and involve themselves in collective action. In his writings on mobilization, McCarthy revealed that the structure of mobilization is a number of ways social group groups merge in collective action including movement tactics and forms of organization of social movements. The structure of the mobilization movement also includes a series of social positions in daily life in the structure of micro mobilization. The aim is to find locations within the community that can be mobilized (Caren, 2013). The mobilization structure here serves as a forum for collective action both formal and informal. Through this forum, a group of people in the community mobilize themselves and mingle in joint action. The concept of mobilization usually concentrates on informal networks, social movement organizations, and groups at the 'meso' intermediate level. In connection with the religious movement of the An-Nadzir congregation, the concept of mobilization structure can be used as a knife for the analysis of a social movement of people from various groups and groups who mingle in one forum to achieve the same goals and objectives.

From this description, an analysis of the mobilization of the An-Nadzir Jamaah social movements organizing themselves in the form of religious social organizations that are the focus of this research is carried out by tracing the extent to which the various conceptual categories already described affect the continuity of religious activities. In this context, McCarthy suggests the mobilization of family units, networks of friends, voluntary labor associations, work units, and elements of the state into social locations for micro mobilization structures. Snow and Louis supported the idea by stating that mobilization took place because informal organizations such as kinship and brotherhood networks formed the basis for the recruitment of the movement (Snow & Louis A., 2013). Furthermore, McCarthy points out those informal structures are important contributors to the emergence of local movements (McCarthy et al., 2012). Not much different from Paul Routledge's view of the concept of "regional resistance" (terrain of resistance) which states that a sensitive approach to an area is a very important thing in examining social movements, because in certain regions that is the effect the effects of domination are experienced and resistance to dominance is expressed (Mumby, 2005; Hammett, 2011).

The concept of regional resistance can be referred to in the dialectic between domination and resistance, and how both are manifested in space and time. In this case, time can be described as a period, era, condition, for example the old order, the new order, the era of reform, post-election political conditions, and so on. Meanwhile, the meaning of space can be expanded as, location, geographical area, which can then spread to the understanding of political, economic and cultural areas, and can even be

interpreted as space within the community itself. In relation to this concept, the An-Nadzir congregation organized themselves and made use of existing conditions and spaces in the form of community (Pabbajah, 2020b). This is done as a mobilization strategy that focuses on the approach of kinship, kinship and association with the community. With this kind of approach, An-Nadzir gets sympathy from individuals and groups of people from various elements in society and then engages in collective action. Therefore, An-Nadzir who has an ideological and theological orientation is used as a forum for alternative religious mobilization.

Representation of the Framing Process as a Social Capital Formation Process

As explained earlier that political opportunity structure and mobilizing structures are indeed two very important factors for the occurrence of social movements. However, the presence of a third factor, the framing process, will not be an adequate force to encourage social movements to take place. The inclusion of the concept of the framing process in the theoretical discourse of social movements has prompted some social movement theorists to call it the beginning of a new chapter in the development of social movement theory.

It is also not much different from religious movements, where the framing process is inseparable from the role of actors who are inspired in collective action. Therefore, the framing process is usually formulated by several actors who will determine the strategic activities of a movement. In carrying out this task, it should be noted to reveal how the framework, frame or frame of the movement is formulated by supporters and activity of the movement as an instrument of interpretation of the situation they face, who is considered responsible for the situation, and what options are available for continuity of religious movements. In addition, an interesting thing that needs attention in the study of religious movements is how political opportunities, and the structure of movement mobilization can interact, and then produce a framing movement framework. A religious movement not only adopts religious elements in the formulation of a framework of religious activity, but is also augmented by the interests of its followers. In this case, the framing process for the success and continuity of the movement is always carried out to influence public policies, even cultural transformation through the creation of innovations of religious slogans and symbols (Pabbajah, 2020a).

In the process of religious movements, ideology in addition to functioning as a determinant and forming of collective identity, it is also often used as a social movement orientation framework designed by certain religious communities. In this case, the Jamaah An-Nadzir movement which has a different ideology can be said as a framing process or a framing strategy and the struggle of a movement so as to produce a new form of ideology where ideology can be understood as understanding, ideas or thoughts as a solution to a problem. With this understanding, everyone basically has an ideology.

An-Nadzir Community is more likely to frame the ideology of its religious movement with socio-economic empowerment. It is also a social capital to support

survival and a positive medium of exchange with the community. In connection with the Bourdieu concept, the An-Nadzir congregation in securing their position, besides having internal social capital must also strengthen social networks outside the group. Every individual and communal activity is sought for social support. Social relations capital which if needed will provide beneficial benefits: capital self-esteem and honor that are often needed if people want to attract clients into positions that are rationally important, and can be a medium of exchange, for example in political careers.

In Coleman's view, social capital represents resources because it involves the expectation of reciprocity and goes beyond any individual so that it involves a broader network whose relationships are governed by high levels of trust and shared. An-Nadzir congregation as a small community that grows in the middle of society has developed the socio-economic empowerment of the group as a form of social capital and became their medium of exchange. In line with Coleman's concept of social capital which seeks to develop interdisciplinary social science which can come from economics and sociology. Coleman's studies are inseparable from Gary Becker's work as a teacher. Becker's work on human capital, which applies economic principles to the study of education, family, health, and discrimination uses a framework of rational choice theory (Coleman, 1993; Heckman, 2015). Rational choice theory (or rational action) has a belief in classical economics that all behavior comes from individuals who try to pursue their own interests. Thus, social interaction is seen as a form of exchange (Cabantous et al., 2010). The description of the process of representation of social movements practiced by the An-Nadzir Community as an Islamic social movement.

A community of religious movements appears due to the opening of political opportunities for all societies. From this opportunity, religious movements exist and get room to oppose state policies, especially policies on religious matters. Followers carry out movement activities by making religion a force of social criticism as well as a symbol of resistance (the people) from all forms of oppression by the state. The use of religious symbols is sometimes also misused by political elites, especially Islam, which makes it an instrument of political legitimacy of the elite. Indonesia's social structure has experienced many shifts in horizontal form and vertical relations. Horizontal differences and vertical class structures differ not only in social hierarchies, but also between people with various ideologies and values (Abdullah et al., 2019).

In Indonesia, religion has thus far been more impressed as a marginal power, in the sense that it has not been able to accommodate the potential power of the community in balancing the power of the state, even what appears to be the opposite, trapped into a state of intervention and co-optation network that only sees the relationship of minority and majority religions (Jubba et al., 2019). It is not surprising then that the religious movement community has a concern in responding to the problems of society that are not able to be carried out by the state, so that they fight against religious backgrounds. This concept is quite significant in seeing opportunities that encourage the emergence of movements such as An-Nadzir as a religious community. In the context of Indonesia, especially after independence until the current reform era, religious

movements are not only seen from its own internal dynamics vis a vis modernity, but also its context in the historical and socio-political past, where the state has played a decisive role in all matters. Seeing religious movements as opposed to modernization is not enough, but patterns must also be seen as a factor in the emergence of social actions in a society that is confronted by dominant and hegemonic state forces.

CONCLUSION

The impact of the 1998 reforms felt today is a moment to reflect on the rise of social movements and religious movements, especially Islam, both at the level of ideas and in practice. Over the past three decades, religious social movements in Indonesia have colored various print and online media. The religious social movement has experienced various kinds of struggles of thought and actualization in the reality of social and political life. From the explanation presented in this study there are at least three important findings related to the representation of social movements in supporting the existence of religious communities in Indonesia. First, the opening of post-reform political opportunities accompanied by freedom of expression and religion resulted in a massive variant of religious movements. Second, the representation of social movements in the public sphere is always identical with mass mobilization. An indication of the success of the movement and social action when it is able to gather the masses to move together, as also demonstrated in the An-Nadzir community in mobilizing their congregation. Third, framing or framing in the An-Nadzir religious movement becomes important in order to get social support outside the community. In other words provide positive value and economic usefulness as social capital.

This study contributes both theoretically and practically to the discourse on social and religious movements in post-reform Indonesia. Theoretically, it reinforces the relevance of social movement theory in analyzing socio-religious dynamics by demonstrating how Political Opportunity Structure, Mobilizing Structure, and Framing Processes operate within a localized religious community context. By situating the An-Nadzir community within the broader trajectory of post-1998 reform movements, this research expands the application of social movement theory beyond purely political activism into the realm of religious practice and identity formation. Practically, the findings offer insights for religious communities, policymakers, and civil society actors in understanding how religious values, collective identity, and strategic framing can function as social capital to sustain community existence and encourage constructive social engagement. In this sense, the study provides a reflective framework for managing religious movements in ways that promote social cohesion, adaptability, and positive participation in contemporary society.

This study still has limitations on the data used as an example that is still small scale or only one community, as well as only choosing to analyze three concepts of social movements. Therefore, further studies are needed that compare with other religious movement communities with a more contextual and comprehensive concept approach. Thus, it can be mapped how human upheaval becomes a religious upheaval, and every

decision of adherents of a religion will determine the image of religion in the face of history. In short, the nature of religion is a historical nature, which struggles between mortality and change, and is not a metaphysical nature, which is closed or finished, does not contain movement in itself, and remains residing in eternity, but in this case religion can also be a major pillar in the emergence of social actions within the frame of social movements.

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