

MUI FATWA AUTHORITY: SOCIAL MOVEMENT TO BOYCOTT ISRAELI PRODUCTS THROUGH INSTAGRAM SOCIAL MEDIA



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Abstract

This study analyses the response of Indonesians to MUI fatwa No. 83 of 2023 on the law of supporting the Palestinian cause, specifically the boycott of Israeli products through Instagram. Using a qualitative case study approach with data collection techniques through systematic observation and documentation, this research analyses 20 posts with the highest engagement and around 2,500 comments in November 2023. The theoretical framework integrates Resource Mobilisation Theory, Collective Action Theory, and Digital Activism Theory. The results showed that public responses fell into three categories: pro-fatwa groups that emphasized humanitarian and religious solidarity, contra-fatwa groups that were concerned about economic impacts such as layoffs and losses of small traders, and neutral groups that questioned the clarity of the fatwa. Instagram serves as a discursive space for the dissemination of information on Israel-related products, the articulation of collective Muslim identity in solidarity with Palestine, and the coordination of boycott actions. The ambiguity of MUI's fatwa in mentioning specific brands led to various interpretations and public debates. This research expands the understanding of the transformation of religious authority in the digital era, showing how fatwas are negotiated through digital spaces. This phenomenon reinforces the theory of 'connective action' where social media is a channel for collective message dissemination and enables the personalization of resistance narratives and the formation of transnational solidarity.

Keywords: MUI Fatwa, Boycott Of Israeli Products, Digital Activism, Instagram Social Media, Transnational Solidarity

INTRODUCTION

Fatwa, as a product of Islamic law, has important implications for Muslim communities in Indonesia. Etymologically, fatwa comes from the Arabic terminology *al-Ifta*, *al-Fatwa*, which means making a decision. Fatwa is a response or answer from religious experts to solve problems in Islamic law, which is structured with a clear construction of religious knowledge (Sidqi dan Witro 2020). As a religious organization, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) formed a fatwa commission that serves as a forum for reviewing and formulating fatwas related to religious issues in society, making MUI fatwas an alternative law for the community or government (Wahyudi dan Fajar 2018).

Many studies on fatwas in Indonesia have been conducted, such as Kaptein's research (2004) which analyses three fatwas in Indonesia with a critical approach, and research by Fatihunnada et al. (2022) which explains that the authority of MUI's fatwa has not been fully accepted by the public as a binding legal product. Similarly, studies on the boycott movement through social media have been conducted by Hitchcock (2016) who examines the use of social media in the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement in the United States, and Echine (2019) who examines the effectiveness of social mobility through social media in Morocco. However, there is a research gap in analyzing the interaction between fatwa authority and social movement mobilization in the digital era, especially in the context of the boycott movement of Israeli products in Indonesia.

In the event of the Israel-Hamas conflict that occurred in October 2023, international solidarity sprung up in various countries including South Korea, Brazil, Malaysia, and the UK (Rahmani 2023). In Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, MUI issued Fatwa No. 83 of 2023 on the Law of Support for the Palestinian Struggle which encourages people not to support Israeli aggression either directly or indirectly, including boycotting products that support colonialism and Zionism (Komisi Fatwa 2023). Based on empirical data, the boycott movement of Israeli products has caused 80 factories to close with a minimum loss of US\$30 million per year in various countries (Ghazi 2014), showing the significant impact of the boycott movement on the economy.

The mobilization of the boycott movement of Israeli products in Indonesia through Instagram social media is shown by the hashtags *#boikot* and *#boikotprodukisrael*, which reached 47,200 and 43,700 posts in early February 2025, respectively. This data reflects the high digital participation of the community in

supporting the Palestinian solidarity movement. Social media has transformed contemporary social movements by providing a communications infrastructure that enables rapid and massive mobilization, changing power dynamics in networked societies (Ang dan Mansell 2015).

This study aims to analyze the response of the Indonesian people to MUI's fatwa No. 83 of 2023 on boycotting Israeli products through Instagram social media. By integrating Resource Mobilization Theory (McCarthy dan Zald 1977), this research explores how social media serves as a strategic resource that facilitates the mobilization of the boycott movement. In addition, the perspective of Collective Action Theory (Olson 2009) is utilized to understand how collective consciousness in digital spaces transforms into concrete actions in the form of consumer boycotts. Digital Activism Theory (Earl dan Kimport 2011) is also applied to analyze how communication technology changes the forms and strategies of contemporary social movements.

The contribution of this research to the study of the sociology of social movements and digital media includes three aspects. *First*, it expands the understanding of the transformation of religious authority in digital societies by showing how fatwas as products of Islamic law are negotiated, interpreted, and implemented through digital spaces. *Second*, it provides a new perspective on how digital activism in Indonesia forms a transnational solidarity ecosystem, connecting local issues with global movements. *Third*, this research offers an analytical framework to understand the economic and social impact of digital technology-mediated boycott movements in contemporary Muslim societies's context.

Through a qualitative approach with observation and documentation techniques of posts and comments on the Instagram platform in November 2023, this study reveals the complex dynamics of community responses to the MUI fatwa which are divided into three groups: pro, contra, and neutral. In contrast to previous studies that focus more on the boycott movement in general (Septiazi dan Yuliana 2023) or the economic impact of the boycott movement (Budiman dan Mulawarman 2021), this study explicitly emphasizes the dynamic interaction between religious authority, digital activism, and social solidarity in the context of global conflict.

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through systematic digital observation and documentation on the Instagram platform during

November 2023, coinciding with the issuance of MUI fatwa Number 83 of 2023 regarding the law of support for the Palestinian cause. The selection of Instagram as a data source was based on its significant role in shaping the digital public space of Indonesian society, especially as a medium for da'wah and socio-religious discussions (Baulch dan Pramiyanti 2018)

Data collection was conducted through three systematic stages. In the first stage, the most popular hashtags related to the boycott of Israeli products on Instagram were mapped by identifying two main hashtags: #boikot and #boikotprodukisrael. The second stage involved a purposive sampling of five Instagram accounts that represented different perspectives of the discussion: @detikcom (mainstream news media), @officialnewstv (television media), @waspadaonline (regional media), @semangatpengusaha (business community), and @kedirimeneh (local account). Account selection criteria were based on (1) the number of followers (at least 10,000), (2) the intensity of discussion on the issue of boycotting Israeli products (at least 3 posts), (3) high user engagement (seen from the number of comments and likes), and (4) the diversity of perspectives represented.

The third stage involved an in-depth analysis of the content of the posts and comments. For each selected account, we documented 3-5 posts with the highest engagement (20 posts in total) and analyzed the top 100-150 comments for each post ($\pm 2,500$ comments in total). The selection of comments was based on the criteria of: (1) relevance to the theme of boycotting Israeli products, (2) depth of argumentation, (3) representation of diverse views (pro, con, and neutral), and (4) level of interaction generated (replies and likes).

Data analysis adopted a qualitative content analysis approach with thematic coding to identify patterns of public response. The coding process was conducted iteratively through three stages: open coding (identification of initial themes), axial coding (development of categories and sub-categories), and selective coding (integration of categories to build an analytical narrative).

To ensure the validity and reliability of the research, several triangulation techniques were applied: (1) triangulation of data sources by comparing information from various Instagram accounts with different characteristics, (2) triangulation of methods by combining visual analysis of posts and textual analysis of comments, and (3) member checking by confirming interpretations with several active Instagram users involved in the boycott discussion. The researcher also used an audit trail by systematically

documenting the methodological decision-making process and peer debriefing with fellow researchers to minimize analytical bias.

This approach enabled the researcher to gain a comprehensive understanding of how the Instagram platform became a discursive arena in the socialization of MUI's fatwa and the boycott movement of Israeli products, while identifying the spectrum of public responses and the factors that influenced them.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Muslim Solidarity with the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The boycott of Israeli products is a collective effort by the Muslim community legitimized by religious authorities in response to injustice against Muslims. From a theoretical perspective, this phenomenon can be understood through the lens of Resource Mobilization Theory (McCarthy dan Zald 1977) which emphasizes how social networks become an important resource in mobilizing social movements. Muslim solidarity with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is manifested through various forms of action, where boycotting Israeli products is one of the significant economic resistance strategies. In this case, there is a connection between Muslims buying Israeli products and the suffering of Muslims in other countries that are currently experiencing imperialism. Among the problems experienced by Islamic countries, today is the incident of attacking Muslim countries by seizing the holy land of Muslims, expelling its inhabitants, draining blood, depriving them of honor, destroying their homes, and burning their agricultural land, as well as making damage to the earth carried out by the Israeli Zionists by arbitrarily intimidating Muslims in Palestine (Laili, Fasa, dan Ja'far 2021).

Israel's occupation of Palestine, which began with the establishment of the World Zionist Organisation in 1897, has led to the emergence of transnational resistance movements (Muchsin 2015). Many nations have condemned Israel's activities in this conflict, arguing that they are vital to the fight. Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's explicit declaration that Israel will not remove soldiers, cease its attacks on Palestine, and disregard the UN General Assembly Resolution serves as evidence of this (CNBC Indonesia 2023). The conflict between Israel and Palestinian Hamas has sparked international solidarity initiatives in several nations, including South Korea, Brazil, Malaysia, and the United Kingdom, particularly in London, where prayers are held in congregations. The demonstration was attended by hundreds of thousands of civilians for

the humanitarian action of the Israel-Hamas war (Rahmani 2023).

Indonesia, which is the most populous Muslim country in the world, is part of the condemnation of Israel's actions. The Indonesian people held demonstrations at Monas and the US Embassy, asking Joe Biden, President of the United States, to stop war crimes in Palestine (Mahendra 2025).). In addition, the people of Indonesia also took action to boycott Israeli products, as has been done by many European, African, and Asian countries who invited them to stop using Israeli products. The movement to boycott Israeli products has caused 80 factories to close with a minimum loss of US\$30 million per year in various countries (Ghazi 2014). AOL Time Warner, Apax Patner & Co. Ltd., Danone, Delta Gall Industries Ltd., Walt Disney, Estee Lauder, IBM, Johnson & Jonshon, Kimberly-Clark, Levis Trus Group Ltd., L'Oreal, Marks & Spancer, and Nestle are among the companies boycotted by Palestinian solidarity (Idris Siregar, Dinar Maliki, dan Fakhurrozi Nasution 2024).

Compared to previous research conducted by Hitchcock (2016) on the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement in the United States, this study finds that the Indonesian context has unique characteristics. Solidarity with Palestine is not only driven by grassroots activism but also supported by official religious authorities. This suggests a stronger integration between religious values and political action in Indonesia, which aligns with the concept of the “Islamic public sphere” developed by Bunt (2018).

Fatwa of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) on supporting Palestine

On 8 November 2023, the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) issued Fatwa No. 83 of 2023 on the Law of Supporting the Palestinian Struggle. This law declares that it is forbidden to directly or indirectly support Israeli aggression and urges people to refrain from doing business with Israel and to boycott goods that promote colonization and Zionism (Komisi Fatwa 2023). This fatwa became controversial among the Indonesian people. The debate on this fatwa can be seen in several ways (see Table 1).

Response Categories	Percentage	Main characteristics
Pro-fatwa	47%	Full support for the fatwa; digital activism; humanitarian solidarity
Contra-fatwa	35%	Economic concerns; impact on local labor; product ambiguity
Neutral	18%	Questioning the clarity of the fatwa; seeking

additional information; analyzing impact

Table 1. Sentiment Analysis of Public Responses to MUI Fatwa No. 83/2023 on Instagram

The controversy surrounding this fatwa aligns with previous MUI statements that have led to public discourse, such as MUI's fatwa on Golongan Putih (Golput), which means not voting in general elections (Hadi 2019; Septiano 2019). In actuality, this fatwa states that "it is mandatory to select leaders who are pious and faithful, honest (*siddiq*), trustworthy (*amanah*), active and aspirational (*tabligh*), is capable (*fathonah*), and defend the interests of Muslims" (MUI 2009). However, this was then captured by the public as a fatwa on the haram law of Golput because of the language of the news media.

The public response to MUI's fatwa on the haramnya golput can be used as an illustration of MUI's fatwa authority in the community. However, in this case, there was a strong controversy in the real world and social media. Pros and cons colored the debate. This illustrates the considerable flow of rejection and acceptance among the community. This debate can illustrate that the authority of the MUI fatwa has not been fully accepted by the community as a binding fatwa and must be implemented (Fatihunnada dkk. 2022).

However, unlike the golput fatwa case which is more political-domestic in nature, the boycott Israel fatwa has a transnational dimension involving stronger religious sentiments and humanitarian solidarity, in accordance with the concept of 'networked society' proposed by Ang and Mansell (2015). This phenomenon can be analyzed using the Collective Action Theory framework (2009), which explains how individuals can overcome collective dilemmas and participate in collective action despite facing potential individual costs. In this case, despite economic concerns, many Indonesians continue to support the boycott movement due to humanitarian solidarity and strong religious identity.

Regarding the Law of Support for the Palestinian Struggle, MUI Fatwa Number 83 of 2023 does not mention the specific products that are boycotted. The upload of the @detikcom Instagram account on November 15, 2023, which received 53.887 likes and 5.760 comments (Zafna 2023), supports this. Miftahul Huda, the secretary of the MUI Fatwa Commission, claimed that MUI had made clear that it had never published a list of Israeli goods and its affiliates that were to be boycotted, even though that it was widely shared online. Furthermore, MUI has never banned Israeli goods or its affiliates. Additionally, MUI has no authority to withdraw halal-certified products. Additionally, he stated that MUI has no idea whether the products that are being sold online are indeed

made in Israel or by its affiliates (Zafna 2023).

Likewise, @waspadaonline, uploaded on November 16, 2023, favored by 207 accounts with 45 comments, contains the response of Anwar Abbas, Deputy Chairman of MUI, regarding the MUI never releasing a list of products from companies affiliated with or supporting Israel. He says that the MUI should clarify that it has never released a list of products from businesses that support or are associated with supporting Israel, despite the numerous names of pro-Israel products or brands that are in circulation (@waspadaonline 2023).

However, the public is familiar with the products of Israel, so many refuse or boycott these products. On the other hand, Indonesia's economy still depends on the products of Israel and its allies. This is evidenced by the number of foreign companies that invest in Indonesia. For example, PT Unilever, Coca-cola Company, Procter & Gamble, Jhonson, and so on (Khotimatul Husna, Anwar Hafidzi, dan Hanafiah 2023). Various public responses are clearly visible when seen from various uploads and public comments on various social media platforms regarding the socialization of the boycott of Israeli products in the MUI Fatwa.

Discussion

Transformation of Religious Authority through Digital Media: Instagram's Role in Fatwa Socialization

The success of the boycott movement demonstrates the critical role that social media plays in influencing public opinion and spreading information, as it serves as the primary medium for promoting the boycott call, sharing information about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and garnering widespread support for the cause (Septiazi dan Yuliana 2023). Given the potential of social media as a weapon for social change, this section will examine in detail how social media has influenced the growth of the boycott movement of Israeli goods in Indonesia.

The socialization of the Boycott of Israeli Products in Indonesia through social media has become one of the most prominent phenomena on various platforms, showing real solidarity and support from the community for the victims of the Gaza crisis in Palestine (Nurfaedah, Mustikasari, dan Sehabudin 2025). Although the movement managed to steal the spotlight, the debate has moved toward its implications for the Indonesian economy, as many Indonesian workers or factory laborers work in product companies affiliated with Israel. As of February 4, 2025, both the support and rejection

of the boycott are contained in the Instagram hashtags *#boikot* and *#boikotprodukisrael* (see Table 2). This action, however, will not have a significant impact on the Indonesian economy (Budiman dan Mulawarman 2021).

No.	Hashtag Name	Number of Submissions Status	Level of Engagement
1.	<i>#boikot</i>	47.200	High
2.	<i>#boikotprodukisrael</i>	43.700	High

Table 2. Number of posts from the Instagram Hashtag

Source: Instagram Social Media

Instagram-based boycott campaigns demonstrate how digital platforms enable rapid mobilization across geographical boundaries with minimal organizational costs, creating what Bennett and Segerberg (2012) call “connective action” rather than traditional collective action.

In contrast to traditional boycott movements that rely on formal organization and physical presence, Instagram-based campaigns reflect what Castells (2015) describes as “networks of outrage and hope”, horizontally organised, leaderless movements that leverage digital communication. This transformation goes beyond information sharing; it represents a fundamental shift in the way social movements organize, mobilize resources, and exert pressure.

The Instagram boycott movement is also an example of what Bunt (Bunt 2018) calls “Hashtag Islam” which is the reconfiguration of religious authority and practice through digital spaces. Using hashtags such as *#boikotprodukisrael*, users participate in what Lim (2020) calls “algorithmic enclaves”, digital spaces where shared values and beliefs are reinforced through technology-mediated interactions.

Compared to previous research by Septiazi and Yuliana (2023) that only analyzed the influence of social media in general on the boycott movement, this study explores how specific platforms such as Instagram shape public discourse and mobilize collective action. Through content analysis of 2,500 comments, it was found that Instagram serves as a space for public deliberation that facilitates three main functions: the dissemination of information about products affiliated with Israel, the articulation of a collective identity as Muslims in solidarity with Palestine, and the coordination of collective action to boycott these products.

Several factors influence the behavior of social movements carried out by the

community through Instagram social media, such as product information, humanitarian narratives, religious content, and economic discussions (see Table 3).

Content Categories	Content Example
Product information	List of boycotted products; company logos; local product alternatives
Humanitarian narratives	Photos/videos of the Gaza conflict; victims' stories; solidarity testimonials
Religious content	Citation of verses/hadith; explanation of fatwa; appeal of scholars
Economic discussions	Boycott impact analysis; effectiveness debate

Table 3. Categories of Instagram Content Related to the Boycott of Israeli Products

Social media platforms are not just a medium of information but a space for negotiating meaning where individuals and communities can express human solidarity beyond geographical boundaries and primordial identities. The hashtags *#boikot* and *#boikotprodukisrael* become symbolic instruments that transform public awareness, turning consumers' perspectives into agents of social change. Through digital interaction, people are able to build global solidarity networks, create pressure points against unethical political-economic structures, and divert international attention to humanitarian conflicts.

The complexity of this movement goes beyond mere product rejection. Soft diplomacy is a practice that dismantles unjust economic relations, translates digital empathy into concrete action, and positions consumers as key actors in driving social change. Thus, boycotting Israeli products through social media is a response to conflict and a deep and strategic expression of solidarity.

This finding aligns with the concept of “connective action”, where social media is not only a channel of information but also changes the fundamental structure of contemporary social movements. Instagram facilitates the formation of more fluid solidarity networks and enables more inclusive political participation than traditional social movements.

Economic and Social Impacts of Digital Boycotts: Analyzing Public Response to MUI's Fatwa

The analysis of public responses on Instagram to MUI fatwa No. 83/2023 shows a more complex spectrum than previous studies that focus more on the socialization aspect of the fatwa (Misbah 2019), this study identifies the dynamics of discourse formed through digital interactions.

It was found that Instagram posts with the hashtag #boikotprodukisrael had varying interaction patterns based on the framing done by the uploading account. As shown in Figures 1-4, posts that socialize the MUI fatwa receive different responses depending on how the content creator frames the issue.



Figure 1. Figure screenshot from @kedirimeneh account

In the upload uploaded on November 11, 2023, which was liked by 1.043 accounts and commented on 121 times (@kedirimeneh 2023), most of them received rejection from netizens, such as comments from the @agustin_setyaxxx account,

“What about the indigenous people who work in the food factory? What is the fate of traders who have already sold the goods? Okay, if big wholesalers can be returned, if small traders want to return, where are you? Who wants to compensate who? Please stop,, if you don't like Israel, it's okay to want to provide assistance, let's give aid to Palestine, but don't kill other economies, others need to eat, sir,,”

Likewise, with the comments made by @intan_failaxx,

“Nek diharamkan kabeh trs pie karyawan sing do kerjo ning pabrik sing diboikot? More unemployment (If everything is forbidden, what about those working in the boycotted factories? There will be more unemployment”.

This comment shows that the Indonesian economy is still very dependent on Israeli products circulating in Indonesia (see Figure 2). Moreover, people who are already employed in factories produce the boycotted products.



Figure 2. Figure screenshot from @kedirimeneh account

However, it is also not uncommon for people to switch to using domestic products rather than relying on products affiliated with Israel. This is shown in the video upload of the @officialnewstv account using the hashtag #boikot (see Figure 3). The upload mentions several minimarkets in Semarang, Central Java that boycott products related to Israel with product signs labeled “this item is not sold according to MUI fatwa”. The post, uploaded on November 18, 2023, was liked by 1.008 accounts and commented on by 148 accounts (@officialnewstv 2023).



Figure 3. Figure screenshot from @officialnewstv account

The uploaded video received much support from various circles of society, especially people who strongly support UMKM and local products, which should be before the MUI fatwa, Indonesian people are aware of the importance of buying local products compared to foreign products (see Figure 4). As @dewiratnxxx commented,

“If we switch to local brands and umkm products, it's actually good, even without boycotts, we should have done this a long time ago.”

In addition, the account @stihawanglxxx also stated,

“The wise thing to do is to return to each person so as not to cause conflict.”

From these comments, we can be sure that people are actually aware of the benefits of boycotting Israel-related products, especially the benefits of switching from using foreign brands to local brands.



Figure 4. Figure screenshot from @officialnewstv account

Based on an analysis of the 20 posts with the highest engagement, it was found that there is a correlation between content framing and public response sentiment. Posts that use economic framing (such as the impact on local workers) tend to receive skeptical or hostile responses, while posts with humanitarian and religious framing receive higher support. This is consistent with Lim's (2017) research showing that the framing of socio-political issues in the Indonesian social media context strongly influences the mobilisation of public opinion. To strengthen the analysis, see table 4.

Response Category	Characteristic
Pro Fatwa	Religious obligation, Palestinian solidarity, Encouraging the use of local products
Contra Fatwa	Economic impact, layoffs, small trader losses
Neutral	The vagueness of fatwa, Need for official guidance

Table 4. Categorization of Community Responses to MUI Fatwa No. 83 of 2023 on Instagram

The analyzed comments show that economic concerns are the main factor influencing resistance to the boycott movement, as shown by comments from accounts @agustin_setyaxxx and @intan_failaxx that question the fate of workers in boycotted factories. This finding reinforces Budiman and Mulawarman's (2021) argument that economic impact is a crucial consideration in the transnational boycott movement. Moreover, in-depth analyses show that the boycott movement cannot be separated from complex socio-economic considerations. The risk of unemployment and economic losses for small businesses are significant arguments against the effectiveness of a total boycott. People questioned policies that could potentially harm domestic economic interests while still emphasizing humanitarian solidarity with the Palestinian conflict.

In contrast to previous studies, this research shows that social media is an arena for expressing support or rejection and a space for negotiating meanings where religious values, economic interests, and humanitarian solidarity interact. This aligns with the 'networked public sphere' theory developed by Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018), which emphasizes how the digital public sphere becomes an arena for the contestation of identity and values.

Digital Activism and Transnational Solidarity: The Formation of a Global Boycott Movement on Instagram

Public reactions to MUI's fatwa No. 83 of 2023 reflect the complex dynamics of interactions between religious authorities and public opinion in the digital age. Social media has become a significant public space for expressing various perspectives, criticisms, and support for the fatwa. The public does not simply take religious legal products for granted but actively conducts interpretation, analysis, and critical dialog.

This phenomenon shows a higher level of public awareness in addressing religious issues. Through social media platforms, citizens can quickly share opinions, ask questions, and build arguments based on their understanding. This process promotes transparency, encourages open dialog, and supports the principles of democratic discourse in understanding the complexity of religious issues.

An in-depth examination of community responses is important because it can identify multiple perspectives, understand the diversity of interpretations, and analyze the social, cultural, and intellectual factors that influence acceptance or rejection of fatwas. Thus, social media is not just a medium of expression but also a space for evaluation and critical reflection on religious authority.

Dialogue with netizen comments through Instagram's social media platform is divided into 3 groups. *First*, the pro-MUI fatwa group. This group strongly supports the boycott by obeying not to use products related to Israel, such as comments from the account @yulianaaxxx who tries as much as possible not to use products related to Israel and gets support from various parties, as seen in a short dialog (Zafna 2023),

- @yulianaaxxx : *I try as much as possible to reduce the use or even not use of pro-Israel products. I really needs it, and there is no substitute, okay! We use the product. However, if there is a substitute, use one that clearly does not support Israel!! Even though the item is not haram*
- @vanillalaxxxxxx : @yulianaaxxx like the idea
- @maulanaxxxxxx : @vanillalaxxxxxx 👍
- @dwiherxxxx : @yulianaaxxx *That's right, there's only one product that I can't replace because it is related to my daughter's skin health, for the others, God willing, there are already replacements.*
- @nurhaenxxxx : @yulianaaxxx but ig youtube works right sis
- @sabansulxxxx : @yulianaaxxx agree...smart..may Allah reward you with goodness

As reflected in the comments of @yulianaaxxx and her followers, the pro-fatwa

group constructs a narrative of religious and humanitarian solidarity that emphasizes the importance of collective action in support of the Palestinian cause. Content analysis of this group shows the dominant use of religious and humanitarian rhetoric, consistent with Bunt's (2018) research on the role of moral emotions in digital social movements.

Second, the group against MUI's fatwa. This group strongly disagrees with the boycott that was issued by MUI, because many people lost their jobs, even though the majority of the people are Muslim, due to this boycott. An example is the comment from @ulygaixxx, who commented on the video uploaded by @semangatpengusaha account which was liked by 6.892 accounts and commented by 1,376 accounts (see Figure 5). According to @ulygaixxx, the boycott is the cause of 95% of McDonald's employees losing their jobs, as found in the following dialog (@semangatpengusaha 2023),

- @ulygaixxx : *Don't you think that 95% of your employees are Muslim, because of Israel, you are affected and slandered by those who don't know anything,!???? And why does it have to be McDonald's that is shown??*
- @abumuhxx : *@ulygaixxx let it be,,, those who pretend to be heroes, want to be called the most jihadist but their brains don't think, let them be told to bear the burden of people who are unemployed because their outlets are quiet,,, that's how people are whose brains are in their butts,,, don't think that the majority of those who work there are Muslims,,,*



Figure 5. Figure screenshot from @semangatpengusaha account

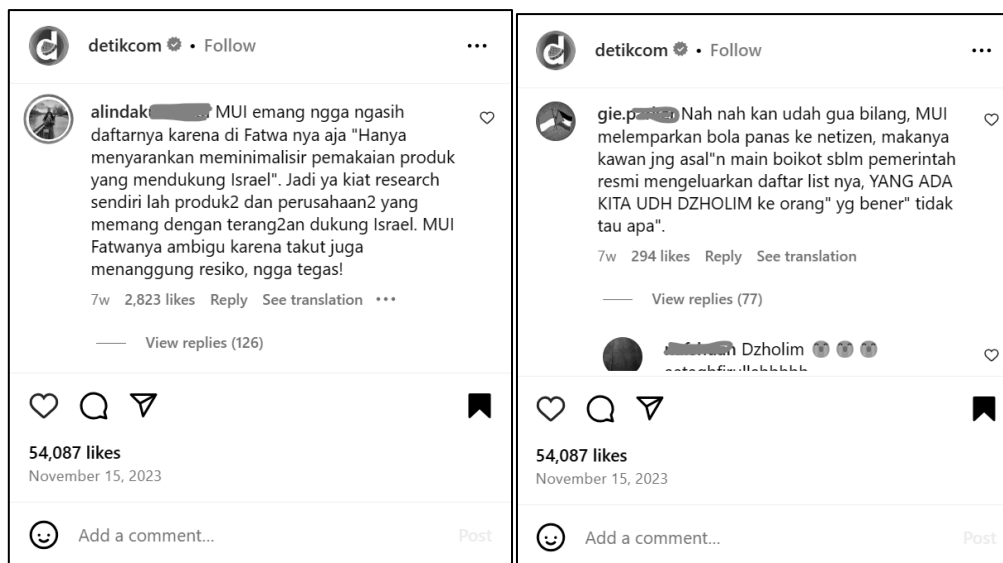
The counter-fatwa group, as in the comments of @ulygaixxx and @abumuhxx, emphasized the economic and social impacts of the boycott movement. The narrative constructed by this group emphasizes the moral dilemma between humanitarian solidarity and the economic impact on local workers. This finding enriches the study of Khotimatul Husna et al. (2023) on the economic impact of boycotting pro-Israel products by adding

the dimensions of public discourse and negotiation of meaning.

Third, the neutral group, where this group does not take sides with the pro group of MUI fatwa Number 83 of 2023 or with the group that is against the fatwa. This is because MUI itself does not mention the brand names of the boycotted products so it feels that the MUI fatwa is still ambiguous, as conveyed by the accounts @gie.parxxx and @alindakusxxx in the comments of the @detikcom account upload (see Figures 6 and 7). They still seem relaxed in responding to this phenomenon because there is no explanation from the MUI fatwa regarding what products are affiliated with Israel (@detikcom 2023),

@gie.parxxx : *Well, well, I already said, MUI threw a hot potato to netizens, so friends, don't just boycott before the government officially releases its list, WE HAVE BEEN WRONG with people who really don't know anything.*

@alindakusxxx : *MUI doesn't provide a list because in its Fatwa, it only says "It only recommends minimizing the use of products that support Israel". So, do your own research on products and companies that openly support Israel. MUI's Fatwa is ambiguous because it is afraid of taking risks, it is not firm!*



Figures 6 and 7. Figure screenshot from @detikcom account

The neutral group, as in the comments of @gie.parxxx and @alindakusxxx, criticized the ambiguity of the MUI fatwa and encouraged a more analytical and critical approach. This dynamic reflects the self-reflection mechanism that emerges in the digital public sphere, in accordance with the concept of the 'digital public sphere' developed by Lim (2017). MUI itself gave its fatwa, which, according to the public, is still ambiguous because it has not mentioned the name of the product brand affiliated with Israel. The public is still dependent on this MUI fatwa by researching products that are directly

related to Israeli aggression, as mentioned by @alindakssxxxx, who stated we have to research products or companies that support Israel. It seems that this debate will continue with many other phenomena related to the social conditions that occur in society.

Compared to the phenomenon in Indonesia, the boycott movement in Oman shows different characteristics, but still reflects similar dynamics of digital activism. In Oman, the boycott movement against Israeli products has gained strong momentum since the war in Gaza on 7 October 2023. In contrast to Indonesia, which showed a mixed response, Omani society showed a more homogeneous solidarity in supporting the boycott movement. In stores or supermarkets, iconic US brands such as Coca-Cola and Pepsi are no longer available, replaced by non-Western drinks and snacks (Kisihandi 2024).

A unique characteristic of the boycott movement in Oman is the strong integration of digital activism with on-the-ground action. Government employees, students, and ordinary citizens enthusiastically joined the movement to boycott the use of Israeli products. Digital campaigns do not stop at hashtags and online rhetoric but translate into real changes in consumption behavior. Nashirul Haq (2024) found that sales of products identified as pro-Israel decreased significantly by 62% between November 2023 and January 2024, and many stores and supermarkets, such as Carrefour, closed.

What is interesting about the Omani case is how religious and government authorities are moving more in line with the grassroots movement. The Grand Mufti of Oman, Sheikh Ahmed bin Hamad al-Khalili, issued an official statement categorising economic support for Israel as contrary to religious and humanitarian principles. This statement was followed by practical guidance on alternative local and international products that could be used in place of the boycotted products (Tsani 2023). The digital communication strategy used in the boycott movement in Oman also shows a more structured approach. The campaign focused on religious and humanitarian narratives and actively integrated a political economy approach by highlighting how consumer influence can be an instrument of change in global politics.

Compared to boycott movements in other Muslim-majority countries such as Malaysia, Turkey, and Oman, Instagram-based movements in Indonesia show a greater emphasis on economic considerations and less concerted implementation. This difference may be due to Indonesia's more diverse economy and multinational companies with alleged ties to Israel in the domestic market.

The patterns of social interaction that occur in the boycott movement of Israeli

products in digital media can be analyzed more comprehensively by integrating several theoretical frameworks. McCarthy and Zald's (1977) Resource Mobilisation Theory emphasizes how social movements rely on the ability to mobilize resources such as knowledge, networks, and legitimacy. In the context of the digital boycott movement, Instagram and other social media platforms serve as "resource multipliers" that enable information exchange, action coordination, and solidarity building at a much lower cost than traditional mobilization.

However, the Digital Collective Action Theorem developed by Bennett and Segerberg (2012) provides a more sophisticated perspective by emphasizing the transformation from "collective action" to "connective action." In this context, social media is a channel for disseminating uniform collective messages and enables the personalization of resistance narratives. This explains why in the case of Indonesia, pro, con, and neutral groups emerged with different narratives but remained connected in the same discourse.

CONCLUSION

The movement to boycott Israeli products through Instagram in Indonesia is a complex phenomenon that reflects the dynamics of social, political, and religious interactions. Social media has become an adequate digital public space to form collective opinions, express solidarity, and mobilize mass action in support of the humanitarian struggle in Palestine. MUI's Fatwa No. 83 of 2023 became a pivotal point in driving this boycott movement, but it also created a complexity of public responses. The religious authority represented by MUI was not immediately accepted but produced a diverse spectrum of responses. Economic, social, and political dimensions are fundamental to understanding the boycott phenomenon. Economic concerns are a significant factor influencing resistance to the boycott movement, as shown by comments questioning the fate of workers in boycotted factories.

MUI's ambiguity in naming specific brands related to Israel further complicates the situation, encouraging diverse interpretations and fuelling intense public debate in social media spaces. Instagram has not only become a medium of information but has also transformed into a discourse battleground where constructions of meanings and attitudes are dynamically produced, deconstructed, and communicated.

This research's contribution includes three aspects. *First*, it expands the understanding of the transformation of religious authority in a digital society by showing how fatwas are negotiated through digital spaces. *Second*, it provides a new perspective on how digital activism in Indonesia forms a transnational solidarity ecosystem, connecting local issues with global movements. *Third*, it provides an analytical framework to understand the digitally mediated boycott movement's economic and social impact in contemporary Muslim societies.

This research has several limitations, including its focus on the Instagram platform and a specific period (November 2023), which may not fully capture the dynamics of the boycott movement on other platforms or its long-term evolution. Limited access to demographic data on Instagram users also makes it challenging to analyze the influence of socio-economic factors, education, and geographical location on people's attitudes. In addition, the research has not quantitatively measured the actual economic impact of the boycott movement on the national economy and local workers.

For future research, some directions that could be considered include a comparative analysis of the Israel boycott movement in different Muslim countries to identify patterns, similarities, and differences in different socio-political contexts; a longitudinal study of the evolution of the boycott movement and its impact on consumer behavior in the long term; quantitative research on the real economic impact of the boycott movement; an exploration of the adaptation of religious authorities in the digital age in disseminating fatwas; and an in-depth analysis of the role of UMKM in harnessing the momentum of the boycott movement for local product development. These studies will enrich the understanding of the intersection of religion, politics, economics, and digital media in the context of contemporary social movements.

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