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Gusdurian Islamic Social Movement: Political Discourse, Resource Mobilization, and Framing

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Abstract

Gusdurian network of Islamic social movements covers political discourse, resource mobilization, and movement framing. This movement started from critical-transformative of Islamic thinking to encourage social change in post-reform Indonesia. With the social dynamics after 1998 reform, the social movement of Gusdurian strive to find new breakthroughs to strengthen democratization, pluralism, and religious freedom in Indonesia. The Gusdurian social movement in encouraging religious social change takes advantage of political dynamics, optimizes resources, and frames them in various forms. The findings in this study show that the Gusdurian as a medium for Islamic social movements is a unique phenomenon containing young activists who continue and fight for what Gus Dur has fought for as a religious and national figure.

Keywords: Gusdurian, Islamic Social Movements, Social Change

A. Introduction

Social movements inspired and influenced by Islamic values in Indonesia reform era was massive phenomenon. This social movement based on Islamic values and teachings further encourages a new direction and spirit in social change. Many national figures have played a major role in the founded and development of this social movement, including Abdurrohman Wahid, known as Gus Dur, who has been voicing it since the 1980s.

In line with the decision of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) back at the 1926 khittah, Abdurahaman Wahid's leadership since 1984 has opened a new page of NU history to focus on socio-religious aspects. Wahid gradually began to present NU with its new identity as an organization with transformative critical outlook, a perspective that still rare in Indonesia at that time. Wahid managed to adjust NU's position by withdrawing NU from formal political activities and leaving the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP). In addition, Gusdur also succeeded in adjusting his theology, jurisprudence, and Sufism in the *Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jamaah* which emphasized his *diniyah jami'ah* by taking steps to make his theological beliefs as the basis for the development of his society.[1]

Gus Dur's struggle inspired changes in religious discourse as well as practically causing social movements, particularly within NU internally. Gus Dur's appreciation for new thinking has encouraged several groups to engage in critical studies that have broken the established social norms. Gus Dur's leadership has brought NU's religious thought to a more dynamic, progressive, and transformative direction compared to other religious organizations.[2]

Gusdurian, is a term for students, admirers, and successors of Gus Dur's thoughts and struggles. The Gusdurians studied Gus Dur's thoughts, imitated his character and values, and tried to continue the struggle that had been initiated and developed by Gus Dur in accordance with the social context.[3] The Gusdurian network is a synergy arena for Gusdurians in practical cultural and non-political spaces. The Gusdurian network includes individuals, local communities/forums, and organizations who inspired by the example of Gus Dur's values, thoughts,

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[1] Abdullah Taufik, "Islam Dan Masyarakat: Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia," *Jakarta: LP3ES*, 1987.

[2] Rumadi Rumadi, "Islam Dan Otoritas Keagamaan," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 20, no. 1 (2012): 25–54.

[3] Rista Ayu Mawarti et al., "Strategy for Building Political Literacy Through Peace Education in Society," *KnE Social Sciences*, 2022, 603–14.

and struggles.[4] The Gusdurian network located in several cities in Indonesia and abroad focuses on practical non-political work synergies on the dimensions that Gus Dur has occupied, which includes 4 major dimensions, namely Islam and Faith, Culture, State, and Humanity.

As Gus Dur based his struggle on noble values, the Gusdurian network does not limit the issues as long as it is related to Gus Dur's 9 values, namely Unity, Humanity, Justice, Equality, Liberation, Brotherhood, and Simplicity, Knight Attitude, and Tradition Wisdom. Currently the Gusdurian network concentrates on issues of nationality, education, and the people's economy. The emergence of the Gusdurian community to the local or regional level was largely driven by the younger generation of Gusdurians (class of the 2000s), who were eager to gather to explore and take inspiration from Gus Dur's example. In carrying out the mandate of the network, Gusdurian focuses on programs for spreading ideas, facilitating network consolidation, providing support for local efforts (programs), regeneration programs, and increasing network capacity. In addition, Gusdurian is also a coordinator for joint programs across the Gusdurian community, as well as initiating special classes related to networking. Some of them are Gus Dur's thought class, study and discussion forum, Anti-Corruption Campaign, entrepreneurship training, cultural forum, and workshop on social media to Gusdurian Network Cooperatives.[5]

Gusdurian became the intellectual social base among young people (NU), in addition to Islamic boarding schools and NGOs such as LkiS. The Islamic intellectual tradition grew with the Gusdurian community and at the same time became a new intellectual social base for young people. Gusdurian is one of the new forums or homes for young people to develop critical Islamic ideas in the socio-religious field. Its existence has a significant influence in the intellectual formation of young people not only in NU. Gusdurian became a forum for social movements and became a motor that moved the dynamics of the socio-religious thinking of the community in the reform era. Coinciding with the reformation momentum in 1998, Gusdurian became one of the links in the renewal chain of Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia, especially in NU. Through the spirit

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4 Sukirman Sukirman and Muhammad Abdullah, "Gusdurians' Environmental Advocacy, Cultural Politics and Humanity in the Pandemic Era," in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 317 (EDP Sciences, 2021), 1047.

5 Mawarti et al., "Strategy for Building Political Literacy Through Peace Education in Society."

of understanding, studying and imitating Gus Dur, the Gusdurian community carried out a movement to reform Islamic thought in the changing world. Its presence has great significance for the process of social and religious change in Indonesia.

Critical-transformative and partisan Islamic ideas as a social movement perspective as promoted by Gusdurian become important to be studied more analytically with certain approaches and theories. Disclosing their social movements and their relevance to social change is intended to see changes, shifts, and transformations of strategies and patterns of social movements that emerged during the reformation period. With the social context and political situation, a different model and approach in formulating a social movement model of the Gusdurian network are needed. It becomes interesting when their model of social movement is faced with the proliferation of NGOs, *tarekat,* and other Islamic social movement in formulating a change agenda. It cannot be separated from the fact that the reform era has become a bridge for the birth of Islamic social movements in various forms or models according to their schools of thought ranging from critical but inclusive to exclusive-intolerant or from liberal to radical.

Thus, it is important to discuss Gusdurian's social movement and its relevance to socio-religious transformation in Indonesia, where the spirit of the movement is to empower the community based on Islamic and Indonesian values as Gus Dur has championed. Universal human values, democracy, strengthening the rights of minorities, justice, equality, and human peace are main socio-religious discourses of the Gusdurian Islamic social movement.

B. Theoretical Studies
1. Definition of Social Movements

Understanding the emergence of the phenomenon of social movements of Islamic society which is actualized in various movements based on Islamic organizations, conclusions can be drawn on theories about social movements. Although the relationship between values, doctrines and social activities and actions of Islamic society as in social theories shows the existence of religious values as a driver of social action, this perspective has not been able to explain the dynamics of the movement. It is because the emergence of organizations

such as in the Gusdurian community makes their activities not individual but collective. For this reason, theories about social movements are also needed which emphasizes their studies on movements carried out by an organized group of people.

In general, social movements are conscious, collective, and organized efforts to encourage or resist changes in the social order. It implies that the main criteria of the sosial movement is to encourage fundamental change in society. Most of the behavior of an organized collective, whether the leader, the follower, or the process of the movement is carried out by a group of people who move to accept or reject values/norms in an organized way. According to Giddens, as mentioned in Situmorang, a social movement is a movement to achieve a common interest through collective action outside the scope of established institutions.[6]

Previously, we knew that there were two types of social movements, namely *the old social movement* and *the new social movement. Old social movement* is a movement that focuses on issues related to the material side and is usually related.[7] to economic and or class inequality in a group, such as farmers or labor groups. *The old social movement* is more concerned with labor issues, membership of the masses that have classes and anticolonialism. In this perspective, the movement was based on the support of those who are isolated in society and a reflection of the class struggle around the production process. Thus, it is often related to the cases that afflict the workers.

On the other hand, *a new social movement* is a type of social movement that has a new or unique character which is more centered on non-material goals. This movement emphasizes changes in lifestyle or culture rather than encouraging specific changes in public policy or economic change. In this study, the concept of *a New Social Movement* will be used to see the phenomena in the Gusdurian movement, both from the formation process and the strategies used in achieving goals.

Meanwhile, Islamic social movements in this case are movements that place Islamic teachings/values in the notion of social reality construction to lead critical awareness of social reality as a form of religious dialectic with a

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[6] Mangadar Situmorang, "Regionalism In Asia-Pacific," n.d.
[7] Perkumpulan Prakarsa and Darmawan Triwibowo, *Gerakan Sosial: Wahana Civil Society Bagi Demokratisasi* (Perkumpulan Prakarsa, 2006).

culture that encourages social change. Such an understanding is of course not only limited to seeing the normative-dogmatic side, but the *tarekat* becomes the moral energy for social change. To realize the transformation of religion in life, it is necessary to transform social institutions. Gusdurian is a religion-based community as a form of practice for religious movements.[8]

In the past decade or so, the perspective of social movements has been dominated by *a political approach*.[9] This approach looks at social movements within the framework of *state-centerdness*, making the state the target of social movements, because the state is the only authority.[10] Experts understand that social movements are such a complex symptom. This understanding leads to the importance of a comprehensive and integral discussion between *political opportunity structures* (SKP), *resources mobilization theory*, and *collective action frames*. These three things are factors in the emergence and development of a social movement.[11]

2. *Political Opportunity Structure*

Political Opportunity Structure is a concept which states that the condition of the political structure in certain respects has a significant influence on the development of a social movement. Hence, a social movement depends on the circumstances of the Political Opportunity Structure (SKP) itself. In this case, SKP becomes a multidimensional space where social movements and their actions can be facilitated or blocked, so that they cannot develop (repressed) (Oliver, 1998). The concept of the political opportunity structure also explains that the emergence of social movements is often triggered by changes in the political structure, thus the movement is also usually associated with shifts within it. SKP is a concept that reveals that organic mass behavior in certain respects has a significant influence on the development of a social movement. From this conception, society can organically produce institutional infrastructure that

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[8] Elizabeth A Armstrong and Mary Bernstein, "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements," *Sociological Theory* 26, no. 1 (2008): 74–99.

[9] Roel Meijer, "Taking the Islamist Movement Seriously: Social Movement Theory and the Islamist Movement," *International Review of Social History* 50, no. 2 (2005): 279–91.

[10] Dady Hidayat, "Gerakan Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia Pada Era Reformasi," *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 2014, 115–33.

[11] Doug McAdam, John D McCarthy, and Mayer N Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 1996).

regulates the balance between inputs and outputs in the political system.[12] Doug McAdam explained that the theory of political opportunity structure can be used as the main variable related to the two principles of the dependent variable; the momentum of collective action and the results of the activities of a movement.[13]

The political opportunity structure tries to explain the emergence and development of social movements due to changes in the political structure which are interpreted as opportunities. In general, political barriers or opportunities for social movements are divided into two categories, namely, patterns of closed relationships and patterns of open relationships. Closed patterns present barriers to social movements. Meanwhile, the open pattern opens opportunities for a social movement as part of competitive political relations for the elite. The more open political opportunities, the more the development of social movements is formed. Vice versa, the more closed political opportunities, the narrower the emergence of the development of a social movement.

In general, political barriers or opportunities for a social movement can be divided into two categories: patterns of closed relationships and patterns of open relationships. The closed pattern creates obstacles for social movements, while the open pattern opens opportunities for the emergence of movements resulting from a more competitive politics between elites, between political parties, and interest groups. The more open the political climate, the more it provides an opportunity for the emergence and development of social movements; and conversely, the more closed the political climate, the more closed the opportunity arises and the development of a social movement.[14]

As mentioned above, the SKP tries to explain the emergence and development of a social movement that occurs due to changes in the political structure which are interpreted as opportunities. In general, political obstacles or opportunities for social movements can be divided into two categories, namely, patterns of closed relationships and patterns of open relationships. Closed patterns create barriers to social movements. Meanwhile, the open pattern opens opportunities and the emergence of developments for a social movement as part of competitive

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[12] Quintan Wiktorowicz, "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research," *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (2002): 187–211.

[13] Doug McAdam, "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, et Al," *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Cam-Bridge: Cambridge University Press*, 1996, 23–40.

[14] Muhtadi Muhtadi, "Penerapan Teori Hans Kelsen Dalam Tertib Hukum Indonesia," *Fiat Justisia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 5, no. 3 (2011).

political relations for the elite, between political parties, and between interest groups.

The relationship between the structure of political opportunity and the emergence of social movements is not linear but curved. A social movement is very likely to emerge in a political system that marks a mixture of openness and opportunity of the SKP. That's why it is not easy to give a limit to the degree of openness in the SKP that gives rise to a social movement.[15]

3. *Research Mobilization*

Although the structure of political opportunity largely determines the emergence of social movements, SKP alone is not enough to encourage collective action because it must be supported by a mobilization structure that is usually rooted in previously established social networks. It was through that network that masses and sympathizers were recruited and mobilized. Recruitment is indeed decisive in the process of individual involvement because mobilization does not take place in a vacuum.

Smelser as quoted in Sanderson, also explains the variety of action in social movements occurs due to the existence of mobilization on the basis of a belief system that undergoes a process of generalization consisting of things of a hysteria nature, desires, norms and values.[16] The perspective of mobilization resources shows the diverse actions of participants in social movements. Mobilization resources as way in which social movement groups fuse into collective action include movement tactics and organizational forms of social movements.[17]

Furthermore, Tilly quoted by Muhtadi said that one of the most important resources is informal and formal networks that connect individuals with social movement organizations.[18] The network described by Klandermans, as quoted again by Muhtadi as a social structure, is a series of social relationships that encourage and inhibit the behavior, attitudes, and possibilities of participants to

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[15] Peter K Eisinger, "The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities," *American Political Science Review* 67, no. 1 (1973): 11–28.

[16] Stephen K Sanderson, *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change* (Rowman Altamira, 1995).

[17] McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings.*

[18] Muhtadi, "Penerapan Teori Hans Kelsen Dalam Tertib Hukum Indonesia."

be involved in a social movement. Klandermans, then explains the importance of leadership in setting resources for the participants of a social movement. While Maguire, divides resources into two categories; tangible which includes money, space, equipment and so on, and intangibles include leadership, managerial and organizational experience, ideological justification, tactics and the like.[19]

McCarthy quoted from Abdul Wahib Situmorang revealed that the mobilization structure is several ways in which social movement groups merge into collective action including movement tactics and forms of social movement organization. The mobilization structure also includes a series of social positions in everyday life in the structure of micro-mobilization. The goal is to find locations within the community to be mobilized. In this context, family units, networks of friends, associations of voluntary labor, units of work and elements of the State itself become social sites for micro mobilization structures.[20]

In line with Adam, Mc Carty explained the existence of two categories in building mobilization structures, namely formal structures and informal structures. Informal mobilization structures which are associated with local movements, kinship networks, and fraternities form the basis for movement recruitment.[21] The concept of informal mobilization structures is increasingly developing into a wide range when it relates to movement mobilization. Situmorang cites Woliver who emphasizes the importance of community memory while Gamson and Schmeidler identify several factors of informal structure networks such as, differences in subcultures and protest infrastructure. Mc Adam explained that formal and informal relationships between communities can be a source of solidarity and facilitate communication structures.[22]

Social movements in McCarty's view, using the informal structure as a basis for analysis, have not been able to map the informal structure in depth. The structure of mobilization resources is a series of social positions and a location in society to be mobilized in a social movement. Formal groups or organizations play an important role in shaping the mobilization structure which is then referred to as a social movement.

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[19] Muhtadi.

[20] Situmorang, "Regionalism In Asia-Pacific."

[21] McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings.*

[22] Situmorang, "Regionalism In Asia-Pacific."

The concept of the structure of informal mobilization is increasingly broad when it is associated with movement mobilization. Wolfier, for example, emphasizes the importance of community memory factors while Gamson and Schmeidler identify several factors of informal structure networks such as differences in subcultures and protest infrastructure.

McCarthy noted that change agents and social movement academics who use informal structures as analytical tools have not been able to map informal structures in depth. In other words, formal organizational groups also play an important role in shaping the structure of mobilization. Academics categorize them as social movement organizations. However, like informal structures, formal structures also have various institutional forms.

Furthermore, every social movement certainly needs resources to be able to carry out its collective activities. In this case, social movements have several important tasks such as mobilizing supporters, organizing resources, in a further level will have an impact on the emergence of sympathy among elites and society in general towards the ideals of the movement. This concept is called a resource mobilization. This concept is basically trying to find out how a group seeks the resources to make social change and achieve group goals.[23]

This concept seeks to see the encouragement of efforts, both collectively and individually, that arise as part of achieving the goals of social movements. Resources themselves have a very broad meaning. Resources can consist of

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[23] Lori Peek et al., "Becoming Muslim" The Development of a Religious Identity," *Sociology of Religion* 663 (2005): 215–42, https://doi.org/10.2307/4153097.focus groups, and individual interviews with Muslim university students in New York and Colorado, three stages of religious iden-tity development are presented: religion as ascribed identity ; reli#on as chosen identity; and reli#on as declared identity. This research illustrates how reli#ous identity emerges in social and historical con-text and demonstrates that its development is variable rather than static. Additionally, I discuss the impacts of September 11 and show how a crisis event can impel a particular identity- -in this case, reliuous--to become even more central to an individual's concept of self. Through asserting the pri-macy of their religious identity over other forms of social identity, religion became a powerfut base of personal identification and collective association for these young Muslims. The religious landscape of the United States has changed markedly over the past four decades, largely due to the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, which repealed country-of-origin quotas established in the 1920s that predominantly favored Western European, mostly Judeo-Christian, imrnigrants. This change in federal immigration policy led to an unprecedented diversification of the American population over the subsequent years, as millions of immigrants arrived from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Eastem Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. The post-1965 \"new\" immigrants are racially, ethnically, lin-guistically, and religiously more heterogeneous than the immigrants of a century ago (Wamer 1993:1061

financial strength, access to media, support of investigators, group loyalty. It is interpreted in a broader sense, namely something that has utility value. Not all things that have useful value can be called resources. These can only be called resources when individuals or collective actors can control them and use them to achieve the goals of the movement.

4. Collective Action Framing

Furthermore, to mobilize the masses, the next important thing is the actors of social movement to frame the actions they plan with slogans and language that is easy to understand and able to move their sentiments. Hence, collective action framing is important as the art of communicating messages to move the audience and encourage support and participation. Ideology as a system of beliefs, ideas, values, and meanings, usually works to support the effectiveness of this framing. Conducive structural conditions are not sufficient for the development of a social movement. Social movements also need ideological packaging to be accepted by various parties. These are called collective action frames which are part of a framing process in social movements. A kind of interpretation scheme which is a set of beliefs and meanings and is action-oriented that inspires and legitimizes the activities of a social movement organization. In this case, the framework is built to give meaning and interpret certain events or conditions, which are intended to mobilize potential followers, as well as to gain support from various parties.[24]

This theory of social movements introduces the perspective of framing collective action to carry out the transformation of social mobilization into actual mobilization to convince religious and broad target groups, so that they are encouraged to carry out change activities. Klandermans in Muhtadi, explains the mobilization actions related to classical social psychology issues regarding the relationship between attitudes and behavior.[25] The perspective of framing collective action can be explained as a cultural construct and a system of collective consciousness contains meanings as the power of legitimacy and motivation for the birth of collective actions.

Moreover, *frames* are schemas that provide a language and cognitive

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[24] Robert D Benford and David A Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2000, 611–39.

[25] Muhtadi, "Penerapan Teori Hans Kelsen Dalam Tertib Hukum Indonesia."

means for understanding experiences and events in the "outside world". For social movements, they are important to generate and cause interpretations of movements and are designed to mobilize participants and support. As meaning-giving agents involved in the social construction, movements must articulate and disseminate frameworks of understanding that influence potential participants and the wider public to stimulate collective action. Although existing ideas or ideologies may underlie hostile acts, they are socially structured and processed through grammatical constructions and interpretive lenses that generate meaning between subjects and facilitate movement goals. While the term "framing" is used to describe the process of forming this meaning.[26]

The main function of framing for social movements according to Snow and Banford is identified into three. *First,* social movements build frames that diagnose the condition of a problem that needs to be addressed. This includes the attachment of responsibility and targets for error. *Second,* the movement provides solutions to the problem, including certain tactics and strategies intended to serve as remedy for injustice. *Third,* the movement provides basic reasons to motivate the growth of collective support and action. Although potential participants may share common understanding of causes and solutions to a particular problem, motivational frameworks are needed to convince potential participants to become fully involved in activism, and thus to turn the surrounding public into participants in the movement.[27]

Snow and other social movement academics add that the framing process enables people to formulate a concept by providing schematic interpretations of problems in the world. This scheme can be through blaming or suggesting a line of action. Furthermore, movements on a large scale can create a single framing in a broad manner, which can be articulated by subsequent social movements.

. McCarthy and Zald say that the media is the main target for framing in social movements. Direct efforts to influence government, elections and the public agenda are also a major part of social movements. Social movements engage in direct or indirect tactics, targeting the perceptions and behaviors of target groups by communicating movement framing.[28]

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[26] Wiktorowicz, "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory: A New Direction for Research."
[27] Wiktorowicz.
[28] Situmorang, "Regionalism In Asia-Pacific."

An important component of much of the diagnostic frame of the Islamic movement is blaming the spread of Western values and practices which caused variety of social problems, including rising unemployment, stagnation of economic development, inflated debt, housing shortages, lack of social spending and lack of public welfare. As long as Muslims follow the straight path, they will be rewarded for their loyalty. However, these attacks on Western cultural codes erode the sanctity of Muslim customs and diminish the value of institutions.

As for the *framing* process, Benford and Snow mentioned three main concerns, called *core framing tasks*. *First*, *diacnostic framing*, which is the instruction of a social movement to provide an understanding of situations and conditions that are problematic in nature. The condition of what or who is to blame, thus requires a change.[29] At this level, social movement actors define what are the main issues that make them want change. *Second*, *prognostic framing*, which is the articulation of the solutions offered to previously identified problems. In this *prognostic framing* activity, social movements also denied or guarantee the efficacy of the solutions. The last is *motivational framing*, which is the elaboration of a call to move or the basis for involvement to improve the situation through collective action.[30]

C. Analysis And Discussion

1. Non-Political Socio-Cultural Movements

Even though he has died, it is undeniable that Gusdur is still influential and a role model for some Indonesian people, especially the *Nahdliyyin* community. This confirms that Gusdur's ideas have existed continuously throughout the ages. For some people, his spirit, ideas, democratic political policies, and pro-diversity are not easy to forget.

The idea of the four pillars of nationality created by the nation's founding fathers seems to have started to fade seen from the intensity of community activities which are increasingly showing their intolerance. The increasing number of incidents of violence and intolerance in society in recent years and accompanied by weak law enforcement, makes civil society need to fight alone to suppress the continuation of this disturbing phenomenon.

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[29] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment."
[30] Benford and Snow.

The birth of a community in the Gusdurian network is a testament to the longing for the figure of the father of the nation. Longing that not only longing Gus Dur himself, but more importantly longs for pro and anti-violence thoughts and ideas. According to Yuska Harimurti, one of the Gerdu Kampung Coordinators and currently active in the Public Relations of the BEC (Buddhist Education Centre) said that the birth of Gurdurian was not merely a love for Gur Dur, but also determined to preserve his teachings. The Gusdurian is very important to express his views and take actions regarding cases of violence against freedom of religion and belief.

As stated in the Gusdurian network pocketbook, in its code of ethics it is stated that what is meant by the Gusdurian community is a cultural, open, non-political practical network consisting of individuals and/or communities who support ideas, imitate character, values, and principles who are trying to continue the struggle of Gus Dur under Bani Abdurrahman Wahid Foundation coordination.[31]

Gusdurian is a term for students, admirers, and successors of Gus Dur's thoughts and struggles. The Gusdurians studied Gus Dur's thoughts, imitated his character and values, and tried to continue the struggle that had been initiated and developed by Gus Dur. Gusdurian spread around the world. As of August 2011, independent Gusdurian communities have emerged in more than 30 cities in Indonesia. The Gusdurian Network is a synergy of the work of the successors of Gus Dur's thoughts/struggles for Indonesia based on the principles of nationality, justice, equality, and brotherhood. In the Gusdurian network, individuals and communities are are devoted to the mission of preserving Gus Dur's legacy through various work strategies.

The Gusdurian movement began to emerge and develop since 2010, some time after Gus Dur's death. In its development, the Gusdurian movement became more solid thanks to the strength of the network and remained consistent in maintaining its characteristics as a movement that prioritized voluntarism, trying to maintain an apolitical attitude from practical political actions and maintaining informality in its organization. The Gusdurian network is a synergy for the Gusdurians in the cultural and non-political spheres of practice. The

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[31] Riska Farida, "Strategi Eksistensi Komunitas Jaringan Gusdurian Jombang" (UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA, 2016).

Gusdurian network includes individuals, local communities/forums, and organizations who feel inspired by Gus Dur's example, values, thoughts, and struggles. Since, it is a network, there is no need for formal membership.

The Gusdurian Network focuses on non-political practice on the dimensions that Gus Dur has studied, covering four major dimensions, namely: Islam and being Islam, Culture, State, and Humanity. The Gusdurian network is also not bound by place, because the Gusdurian or Gus Dur's ideological students are spread in various parts of Indonesia and abroad. In various places, local communities are formed, but most of them are connected through forums and dialogues.

Gusdurian social movements are organized. Most of the collective behavior is organized, whether the leader, the follower, or the process of the movement is carried out by a group of people who move to accept or reject values in an organized way. This implies that the main criterion of a social movement is to encourage fundamental changes in society. This is in line with Giddens, as stated in Situmorang that a social movement is to achieve common interest through collective action outside the established institutions. Furthermore, the movement also has several characteristics as new social movements with attention to: *first*, social movements are carried out by the community, and not the state; *second*, social movements are carried out intentionally and collectively; *third*, social movements are to influence changes in existing social structures; *fourth*, social movements are generally motivated by dissatisfaction of the social structure, and want to replace it with a new system that is considered better; and *fifth*, social movements can be change-oriented and also anti-change-oriented.[32]

Islamic social movement is a social movement that places religion (Islam) in the construction of social reality which can lead to critical awareness of social reality as a form of religious dialectic with a culture that encourages social transformation. Understanding religion is thus not only normative-dogmatic, but religion (Islam) becomes moral energy for social change. To realize the transformation of religion in life, it is necessary to transform social institutions. The Gusdurian Community is a religion-based movements. All the activities of the Gusdurian network are attempt to ground religious values and messages in an empirical and real way in the community.

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[32] Situmorang, "Regionalism In Asia-Pacific."

Meanwhile, the emergence of the local Gusdurian community was driven by the first generation of Gusdurians, who were eager to explore and take inspiration from Gus Dur's example. To establish cooperation in Gusdurian Network, the National Secretariat of the Gusdurian Network was formed. The mandate is to be a liaison and support for the work of Gusdurians in various directions.

In carrying out the network mandate, the Nasional Secretariat (SEKNAS) of Gusdurian Network focuses on programs for spreading ideas, facilitating network consolidation, providing support to local efforts or programs, regeneration programs, and network capacity building. In addition, the Seknas also became a coordinator for joint programs across the Gusdurian community, as well as initiated special networking-related classes, including: (1) Gus Dur's thinking class; (2) Study and Discussion forum; (3) Anti-corruption campaigns; (4) Entrepreneurship Training; (5) Cultural forums; (6) Social Media Workshop; (7) In stubs: Gusdurian Cooperative.

There are nine basic values of Gusdurian in acting and behaving, known as the *"Sembilan Nilai Budi Utama"* (Nine Main Values of Budi). The nine values are described as follows:

1. Obedience

    The struggle of obedience to the One God (Tauhid) became the axis of ideal values that Gus Dur fought for beyond religious institutions and bureaucracies. Divine obedience is manifested in social, political, economic, and cultural behavior in upholding human values.

2. Humanity

    Humanity stems from the monotheistic view that humans are the most noble creatures of God who are trusted to manage and prosper the earth. Humanity reflects the attributes of divinity. The human dignity requires an attitude of mutual respect. Honoring humans means glorifying their Creator, as well as humiliating humans means degrading and insulting God the Creator. With this view, Gus Dur defended humanity unconditionally.

3. Justice

    Justice is not necessarily present in the reality of humanity and therefore must be fought for. Protection and defense of community who are treated unfairly is a moral responsibility of humanity.

Throughout his life, Gus Dur was willing and took the responsibility, he thought and struggled to create justice in society.

4. Equality

Equality requires fair treatment, equal relations, the absence of discrimination and subordination, and marginalization in society. This value of equality was exampled by Gus Dur's when defending the oppressed and weakened, including the minority and marginalized groups.

5. Liberation

The spirit of liberation is only possessed by a soul that is free, free from fear, and authentic. With this value of liberation, Gus Dur always encouraged and facilitated the growth of free souls who were able to free themselves and other humans.

6. Simplicity

Simplicity became a culture of resistance to excessive, materialistic, and corruptive attitudes. Gus Dur's simplicity in all aspects of his life became a learning and exemplary one.

7. Brotherhood

Brotherhood became the basis for advancing civilization. Throughout his life, Gus Dur set an example and emphasized the importance of upholding brotherhood in society, even towards different beliefs and thoughts.

8. Chivalry

The process of struggle is carried out by reflecting personal integrity: full of responsibility for the process that must be followed, and the consequences faced, high commitment and *istiqomah*. Gus Dur's chivalry puts forward patience and sincerity in undergoing the process, no matter how hard it is, and in responding to the results he achieves.

9. Local Wisdom

Gus Dur mobilized local wisdom and made it a source of socio-cultural-political ideas and basics in grounding justice, equality, and humanity, without losing an open and progressive attitude towards the development of civilization.

2. Gusdurian Movement: Answering Post-Reform Political Opportunities

The 1998 reform period was a momentum for the growth of the Gusdurian network of Islamic social movements. This momentum opened an opportunity for socio-religious issues. This opportunity is used by the NU's younger generation to strengthen civil society with various approaches including Gusdurian.

Refers to social theory which explains that social movements occur because of changes in the political structure which seen as an opportunity. Political opportunities are always related to external resources. These resources are used by change agents through the opening of political access to institutional networks, and divisions within the political elite.[33] The relationship between political opportunity and social movements is not linear, but curvilinear. According to Peter Eisinger, social movements emerge in a political system marks a mixture of openness and closedness of political opportunities. Thus, it is very difficult to limit the openness in political opportunities that causing social movements.

Hence, the birth of the Gusdurian network social movement is inseparable from the political setting of the reform era that provides opportunities for the growth of the movement. The reforms launched since 1998 brought about changes in many aspects including political and democratic order. However, it must be admitted that in general, there are three main problems in political and democracy in Indonesia: frozen democracy, political involution, and political distrust. Those problems also inspired the emergence of the Gusdurian network movement.

Related to democracy, post-reform political developments indicate that the ongoing democratic change does not lead to *the ideal of total reform* as expected in the beginning, but towards the *trap of frozen democracy*. It was characterized by changes in state governance from an authoritarian system to a democratic order with many changes to the structure of political institutions, but not followed by changes in the essence of democracy. The domination of the state over society has weakened, however, dissertation on strengthening civility was poor. On the other hand, many political parties do not articulate the public interest, many NGOs have sprung up but do not provide reforms for the people. Besides that,

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[33] David S Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, "A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century," *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*, 1998, 1–28.

society is more open but followed by many acts of violence, crime, and other intolerance.

The political, social, and religious realities above encourage the birth of a network based Gusdurian social movement with all its elements internally and externally. The Gusdurian social movement grew into a social (Islamic) movement involving young people who had an interest in the political, democratic, social, and religious realities in Indonesia. The Gusdurian network is increasingly finding its relevance as a civil society movement that focus on the advocacy, research, and service to problems in society. The Gusdurian network social movement seeks to encourage the realization of democratic state governance, encourage the spirit of religious pluralism, and empower civil society in Indonesia as a form of civil society. The Gusdurian social movement thus becomes an antithesis for the state and religious groups that carry an intolerant ideology.

3. Gusdurian Network and Resource Mobilization

The Gusdurian movement is now expanding its wings with the number of communities spread throughout Indonesia up to 100 (one hundred) and have penetrated abroad. In its development, the movement that initially arose for emotional reasons eventually developed into a new social movement that placed internal and inter-community networks as its main capital of the movement. This movement is also very interesting because it produces many actions and movements, consisting of various actors including communities, individuals, and institutions, which based and bound by the spirit of Gus Dur.

It means that political opportunities alone are not enough to create social movements. It requires the mobilization of resources. In this case, based on the theory, social movements are seen as rational and organized manifestations of collective action. Islamic social movements can develop as long as they maximize the resources they have such as material, mass media, legitimacy, identity, and institutions.[34] In social movements, there are three areas of the structure of resource mobilization. *First*, formal political mobilization structures, such as political parties; *second*, the legal environment of civil society, such as NGOs, charismatic communities, schools, and professional organizations; and *third*, the informal sector of social networks and personal ties.

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[34] Meyer and Tarrow.

For this reason, the Gusdurian movement seeks to manage relations between various autonomous actors to manage common interests. In this case, it requires the application of management concepts to answer challenges related to the complexity and horizontals relations in this network-based movement. The use of the term *network* here is not only a way of understanding contemporary phenomena in the Gusdurian movement, but as a new strategy in managing the complexity of relations between actors that can be developed. The concept of the network is based on the assumption that the relations of these actors are interdependent, where the actors cannot achieve their goals without using the resources of other actors. This mechanism of interdependence runs through the existence of an exchange of resources between actors. These rules and distribution patterns can only be changed and confirmed through various interactions and negotiations between actors in the network. The operation of the network does not exist in a vacuum, but there are structures with certain norms that limit their freedom of action. With various constitutive interactions, the network mechanism has the opportunity to manage joint actions in managing resources, as well as changing and directing various patterns in the network structure.

Since the structure in the network is built through the voluntary interaction of autonomous actors, the structure is *an open-ended process* and is often volatile. Whether or not a structure is stable in a network is determined by its interdependence, through a relatively fixed resource exchange mechanism and is irreplaceable by other mechanisms in the network structure. Consequently, the relationships are constitutive. The behavior and strategic choices taken by the actors can also be shaped by the continuous negotiation between actors in the network. Therefore, the author uses Giddens' structuration theory and is armed with 4 (four) networked patterns according to Diani (2003) to see and observe phenomena in Gusdurian movements

4. Framing Gus Dur's Ideas as a Movement Spirit

Various actions taken by social movements occur because of the mobilization based on a belief system that undergoes a generalization process consisting of hysteria, norms, and values. The perspective of resource mobilization as carried out in the Gusdurian network shows that the various actions of participants in social movements become effective by involving social movement actors.

However, the resource mobilization cannot be optimal to establish a social movement. Therefore, framing is needed. The next important thing is to emphasize the utilization of available material and non-material resources to mobilize social movement organizations. The success and failure of social movements depend on the availability of resources in shaping the discourse that allows someone to join an organization.

Related to this, to find out the framing of actions and patterns of communication between Gusdurian communities, the framing of collective action is undoubtedly the case in the movement. It is used to explain patterns of transformation and potential mobilization into actual mobilization to convince diverse target groups so that they are encouraged to urge change. The process of framing collective action is a conscious strategic effort by a group or individual to form a common understanding of the world and themselves, which encourages tcollective action.

Thus, the framing of collective action is related to the goal of the struggle for meaning in society. Therefore, to achieve the goals of movement, actors require tools in carrying out the framing of collective action, namely the media which can include print, electronic and other socialization spaces that can make people involved in the movement.

A well-known intellectual, Soedjatmoko, mentions that ".. *every idea has to have a leg..*". This certainly shows the meaning that no matter how great a person's ideas are, it will not be of much benefit if it is not supported by supporting tools, such as work organizations, reliable human resources, capital, and even technology. The "foot of every idea" is nothing but the presence of the main devices that carry out the realization of the idea. Ideas cannot be seen concretely, but they can be a great *resource* and are so influential in the socio-political realm of the nation.

Similarly, the emergence of a movement in society that tries to realize the idea of Abdurrahman Wahid (hereinafter written Gus Dur), is the Gusdurian movement. The Gusdurian movement is nothing but a form of foot that tries to support the spirit, thought and great ideas of the father of the nation. The Gusdurian movement as mentioned by its founders as a cultural movement, is a form of social movement that seeks to transmit resources, Gus Dur's ideas through various movement activities, either through actions, print media, electronic media, seminars, discussions and other public meetings, and develops

to become a social movement that has a strong and solid network. Therefore, the strength of the Gusdurian movement lies in how Gus Dur's ideas are framed in such a way to attract the Gusdurians.

In its development, the Gusdurian movement has remained consistent in maintaining its characteristics as a movement that prioritizes voluntarism and always tries to maintain an apolitical attitude from practical political actions and informality in its organization. Nowadays, political figures are the central figures in socio-political issues in Indonesia. The idea, spirit, and ideology of those political figure becomes the basis for someone to act.[35]

Gus Dur himself is one of the figures who is widely known to the public for his thought and great ideas. It can be seen during legislative and presidential elections, for example, the idea of Gus Dur's is still "sold" for the political interests of the legislative and presidential candidates who are fighting in the five-year political battle. It is undeniable that the figure of Gus Dur is still influential and a role model for some Indonesian people, especially the Nahdlatul Ulama. Thus, it seems that Gus Dur's ideas exist continuously and are timeless. Although Gus Dur has died, his spirit, great ideas, and political policies, which are known to be democratic and pro to the nation diversity, are still admired by many. The idea of the four pillars of nationality created by the nation's founding fathers also seems to have started to fade seen from the intensity of community activities which are increasingly showing their intolerant and out of the track. The increasing number of incidents of violence and intolerance in society in the last 10 (ten) years and accompanied by weak law enforcement, makes civil society need to fight alone to suppress the continuation of this disturbing phenomenon. As time went on, Gus Dur's ideas were increasingly missed and became urgent to be fought for again.

The increasing emotional longing for Gus Dur made many elements in society feel the need to "revive" Gus Dur's spirit and ideas in social life. Starting from this longing, various communities emerged which began with a sense of longing, *fanning,* admiration and love for the figure and thoughts of Gus Dur. Communities that initially only existed in various regions have now begun to make movements even though they still have difficulty in determining the direction and the movements are still *euphoria.* In the end, at the initiative of

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[35] J Haryatmoko et al., "Masih Perlukah Demokrasi Pancasila Di Indonesia," *Surabaya: Diterbitkan, Fakultas Filsafat Universitas Katolik Widya Mandala Surabaya,* 2014.

Gus Dur's students, the communities in various areas were collected together through Gus Dur's spirit and emerged as a movement that tried to "revive" Gus Dur's figure in the world. The movement calls itself the Gusdurian movement, a movement that seeks to revive the figure of Gus Dur in the world through efforts to maintain the values, thoughts and continue Gus Dur struggle in the contemporary era.

D. Conclusion

From the discussion of the Gusdurian network as a social movement, it can be concluded that: *First*, individual, groups, and institutions in the Gusdurian community are well-organized civil society which have clear direction and purpose in social change after the 1998 reform. They are united to carry out movement actions through mass and electronic media and real actions to respond to the social problems. This movement is based on Gus Dur's spirit by imitating and continuing what Gus Dur has fought for which is then summarized in the 9 basic values of Gus Dur's struggle. This movement grew into a new social movement.

Second, the Gusdurian network has carried out a series of strategic efforts in optimizing its potential internally and externally. Externally, the Gusdurian movement was able to raise the post-reform political dynamics as an opportunity. Meanwhile, internally, the Gusdurian movement can mobilize its resources materially and non-materially through strengthening the network from the center to the regions.
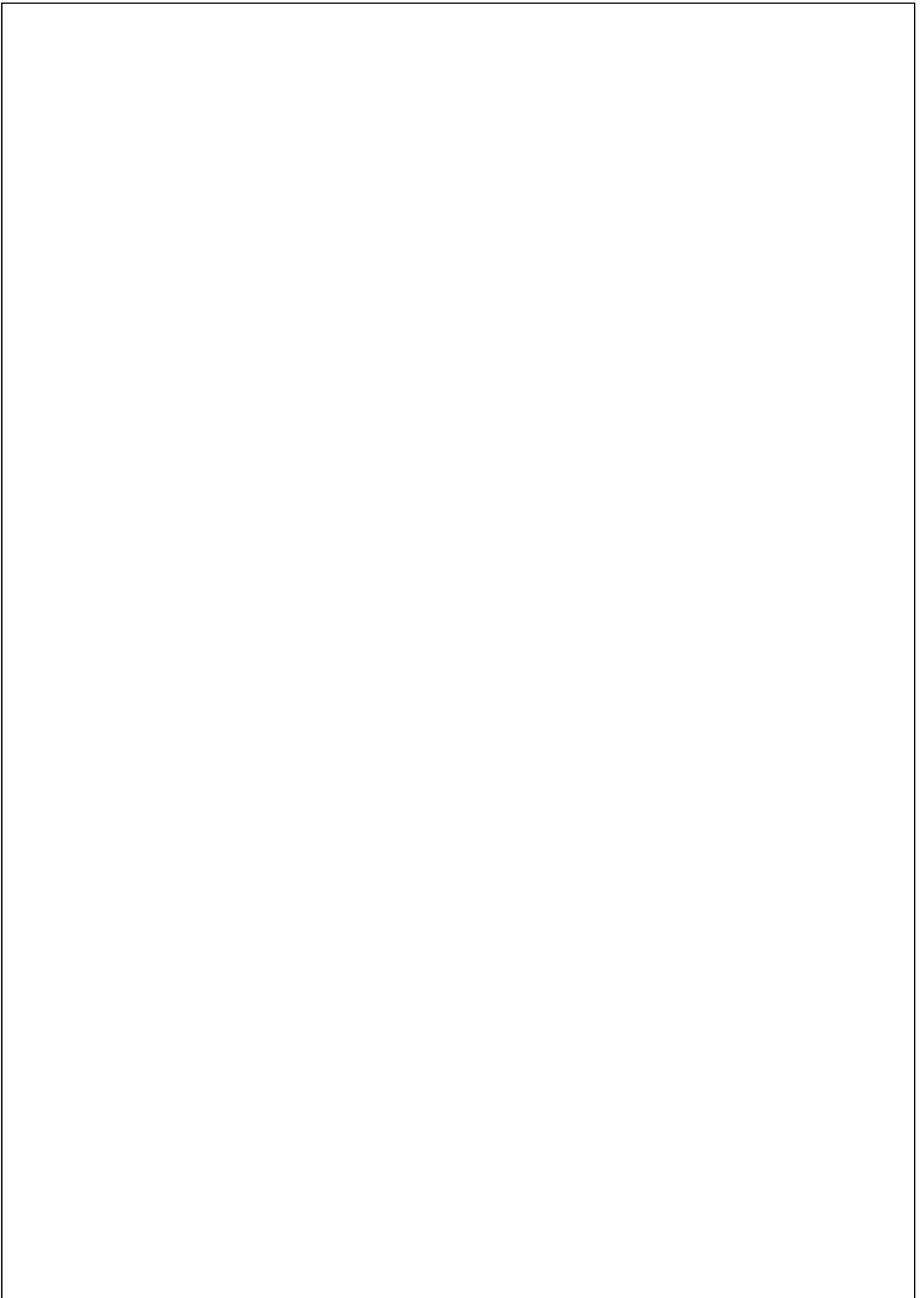
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