

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION IN FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS AFTER THE ZIONIST BOYCOTT MOVEMENT (A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF FAST FOOD RESTAURANT CONSUMPTION IN BANDA ACEH)



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Article History :

Submission: 6 January 2026

Revised: 16 September 2026

Accepted: 16 September 2026

Published: 17 September 2026

Keyword :

Boycott Movement, Social
Reality , Externalization,
Objectivation, Internalization

Kata Kunci :

Gerakan
Pemboikotan, Realitas
Sosial, Eksternalisasi,
Objektivasi, Internalisasi

Abstract

Israeli's aggression against Palestine has brought the boycott movement of various products that are allegedly affiliated with Zionist Israel back to strength and created a wave of tension for related companies, one of which is a fast food restaurant franchise from the United States. The boycott that is intensively carried out by social groups globally is slowly reaching the people of Banda Aceh. KFC, Pizza Hut, and McDonald's are the targets of the boycott movement. These problems reap an individual social reality that can be studied by the Social Construction Theory of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann through the Phenomenological Method presented qualitatively. The results showed that the social reality of individuals in the Banda Aceh community is divided into two perspective viz. the choice of new habits which means being part of the boycott actors and/or stand with the food preferences of fast food restaurants that are considered affiliated with Zionist Israel. The externalization, objectivation, and internalization connects the implementation of individual knowledge and social reality with different institutions in considering their alignment.

Abstrak

Agresi Israel terhadap Palestina membawa gerakan pemboikotan berbagai produk yang disinyalir terafiliasi Zionis Israel kembali menguat dan menciptakan gelombang ketegangan bagi perusahaan terkait, salah satunya pada waralaba restoran cepat saji yang berasal dari Amerika Serikat. Pemboikotan yang gencar dilakukan oleh kelompok sosial secara global, perlahan meraba pada masyarakat Banda Aceh. Dimana KFC, Pizza Hut, dan McDonald's menjadi target gerakan boikot. Permasalahan tersebut menuai suatu realitas sosial individu yang dapat dikaji oleh Teori Konstruksi Sosial Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckmann melalui Metode Fenomenologi yang disajikan secara kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan realitas sosial individu pada masyarakat Banda Aceh terbagi dalam dua internalisasi diri yaitu pilihan untuk menjalankan kebiasaan baru, yakni menjadi bagian dari aktor pemboikotan dan/atau bertahan pada preferensi makanan restoran cepat saji yang dianggap terafiliasi Zionis Israel. Proses dialektis (eksternalisasi, objektivasi dan internalisasi) menghubungkan implementasi dari pengetahuan individu dan realitas sosial dengan institusi yang berbeda dalam mempertimbangkan keberpihakannya.



INTRODUCTION

Globalization is one of the drivers of the shift in dietary patterns among Asian societies, from staple foods toward a convergence of Westernization in food consumption patterns. The growth of supermarkets and fast – food restaurants is also helping to spread global consumption patterns¹. A survey conducted by the British International Internet – based Market Research and Data Analytics firm YouGov, as cited in Pusparisa (2021), showed that Western franchises like Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) were the most popular, followed by McDonald's, Pizza Hut, J.Co, and BreadTalk².

The increasing interaction with online platforms and social media, significantly shaped by globalization, demonstrates the widening disparity in dietary consumption trends observed over the past two decades³. However, this Westernized consumption behavior has begun to exhibit signs of decline, especially following the renewed escalation of the Palestine – Israel conflict on October 7, 2023. In addition to global attention, international social groups have also contributed to the discussion about the conflict through various media⁴.

Reflect on the years since *Israel's* declaration have been tense due to conflicts based on claims that Palestinian territory has been diverted for Jewish settlements. This situation has pushed Palestinians to try to survive for their land. However, Israel continues to accelerate immigration into Palestinian territory. *Israeli's* ongoing aggression is no longer viewed as a war, but rather as a genocide against the land's owners, the Palestinians. The movement leading to the Zionist Israeli genocide demonstrates specific gross human rights violations, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and ethnic cleansing⁵. Besides that, among the actions taken by global social groups to stop the Zionist Israeli aggression is the boycott of Zionist products.

The boycott movement against products linked to Zionism is growing in Indonesia, especially since the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI) released Fatwa No. 83 of 2023, which said that supporting Palestine is legal. It is haram for Muslims to support *Israel's* attacks on Palestine, so they should avoid buying things that are made in Israel as much as possible. The campaign promoting the Zionist Israel boycott movement is also supported by the website bdnaash.com, which provides information on products affiliated with Israel. Several fast – food chains suspected of such affiliations, including KFC, McDonald's, and Pizza Hut, originating from the United States, are marked with the label "This brand supports the Israeli occupation".

Banda Aceh, as a region governed by Islamic Sharia law, has a greater moral obligation than other areas in Indonesia regarding the consumption of products affiliated

¹ Prabhu Pingali, "Westernization of Asian Diets and the Transformation of Food Systems: Implications for Research and Policy," *Food Policy* 32 (2006): 281–98, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2006.08.001>.

² Yosepha Pusparisa, "Inilah Merek Cepat Saji Terbaik Di Indonesia Pada 2021, Mana Kesukaanmu?," *Katadata Media Network (databoks) by YouGov*, <<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2021/07/23/inilah-merek-cepat-saji-terbaik-di-indonesia-pada-2021-mana-kesukaanmu>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

³ Dodik Briawan et al., "Edukasi Gizi Remaja Saat Terjadi Pergeseran Konsumsi Makanan Tradisional Dan Fast Food Di Indonesia," *Policy Brief Pertanian, Kelautan Dan Biosains Tropika*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.29244/agro-maritim.v4.i2.1>.

⁴ Samsuri, "Yahudi Dalam Zionisme Dan Israel", *Millah*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (2004).

⁵ Tamara Wita Batubara et al., "Refleksi Mendalam Tentang Eksistensi Manusia Dalam Dunia," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Dan Teologi*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (2024): 234–39, <https://doi.org/10.59581/jpat.widyakarya.v2i1.2318>.

with Zionist Israeli entities. The boycott movement against these kinds of goods is likely to happen in all segments of society. After the public called for a boycott, fast – food restaurants like KFC, Pizza Hut, and McDonald's saw a big drop in customers. The boycott campaign subsequently influenced consumer behavior in determining food preferences. As one employee said, "Usually before the boycott we were always busy, especially on holidays" ⁶. Nevertheless, some people remain indifferent, continuing to consume fast food suspected of being affiliated with Zionist Israeli entities, either openly or secretly.

In line with data from the National Socio – Economic Survey (SUSENAS) regarding per capita expenditure according to the Food and Beverage Group in Banda Aceh over the last three years, there has been a tendency for fluctuation, specifically in 2020 with 92,857, in 2021 with 104,906, and in 2022 with 80,178⁷. Through an online media post, @aceh24jam (2024) also presented the percentage increase in turnover of one fast – food restaurant (KFC) which had previously experienced a decline of up to 75% in November 2023. Based on field observations, the researcher discovered that, despite the ongoing boycott movement, some Banda Aceh society still frequent fast – food restaurants⁸.

The revenues of KFC, McDonald's, and even Starbucks have reportedly diminished considerably. In May, Starbucks shares declined by 17%, while Yum Brands (the parent company of Pizza Hut and KFC) reported a 3% revenue loss, totaling to US\$1.60 billion⁹. Similarly, KFC's annual report for the June 2024 period showed a decline in revenue compared to 2023, totaling to around IDR 639 million, with a complete loss of about Rp326 million during that time¹⁰. In November 2023, KFC's losses increased significantly to Rp17.16 billion compared to the previous year.

From a sociological perspective, Peter Ludwig Berger and Thomas Luckmann examine the phenomenon of life's reality through both objective and subjective dimensions within the context of Social Construction Theory. The relevance of this theory can be observed in the post – Zionist Israel boycott context, where the boycott represents an objective reality, while the food preferences of some members of society toward fast – food restaurants represent the subjective reality shaped by individual interpretation and social interaction.

The issue of public interest in fast – food restaurant consumption after the Zionist Israel boycott movement remains unexplored in existing research. The literature is limited to literature studies on consumer behavior in the issue of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict

⁶ A.N Syaiful, "Pizza Hut Di Aceh Masih Sepi Pengunjung, Dampak Dari Seruan Boikot Produk Israel," *Habanusantara*, <<https://habanusantara.net/2024/01/pizza-hut-di-aceh-masih-sepi-pengunjung-dampak-dari-seruan-boikot-produk-israel.html>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

⁷ Tim Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), "Rata-Rata Pengeluaran Perkapita Seminggu Menurut Kelompok Makanan Minuman Jadi Per Kabupaten/Kota (Rupiah/Kapita/Minggu), 2022," *Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS)*, <<https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/5/2123/1/rata-rata-pengeluaran-perkapita-seminggu-menurut-kelompok-makanan-minuman-jadi-per-kabupaten-kota.html>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

⁸ aceh24jam, "Omzet KFC Banda Aceh Capai 75 Persen, Aksi Boikot Mulai Redup?," *Instagram @aceh24jam*, <<https://www.instagram.com/aceh24jam/p/C6T1hwpYhb8/>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

⁹ Tim CNN Indonesia, "Penjualan Starbucks, KFC, Dan McDonald's Kompak Jeblok," *CNN Indonesia*, <<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20240502152603-92-1093114/penjualan-starbucks-kfc-dan-mcdonalds-kompak-jeblok>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

¹⁰ Tim KFC, "Laporan Finansial," *KFC Indonesia*, <<https://kfcku.com/financial-report>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

as reported by Trisnawati¹¹ (2024), the influence of religiosity on boycotts reported by Fakriza and Nurdin (2019)¹² and consumption behavior towards boycotting pro – Israeli products by Samsu Karim Sormin and Farra Diba Maulida Malik (2024)¹³. Therefore, this study aims to determine the social construction of fast food restaurants after the Zionist – Israeli boycott movement towards the community in Banda Aceh which is reviewed through the Social Construction Theory of Peter Ludwig Berger and Thomas Luckmann.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research was carried out in the Banda Aceh area. The selection of this location is relevant to the study for multiple reasons: (1) alignment with the research objectives; (2) Banda Aceh has not previously been used as a study site for similar research topics; and (3) as an area governed by Islamic Sharia law, it has uniqueness. The research activities took place from November 2023 to May 2024. This research focused on four designated sites to guarantee that the data collected would be ideally representative in exploring the reality of fast – food restaurants in Banda Aceh following the Zionist Israel boycott movement. The research locations comprised Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), Pizza Hut, and McDonald's.

In this study, the researcher utilized a qualitative approach using the phenomenological method. The research design is the overall strategy aims to find a sufficient and comprehensive theoretical framework, logically integrating various research components while ensuring effectiveness in addressing the research problem ¹⁴. The use of the phenomenological method in this study has the main objective of reducing the *informant's* experience of the social reality phenomenon of fast food restaurant consumers after the Zionist boycott movement into a description related to the essence of "what" was experienced and "how" the informant experienced it¹⁵.

The data collection methods utilized in this research encompassed observation, interviews, document analysis, and audiovisual information, rather than depending on a single data source¹⁶. The research employed purposive sampling with specific criteria for informants, namely: members of the general public within the productive age range who are aware of the list of fast – food restaurants suspected of being affiliated with Zionist Israel entities, having a source of income, and have either made purchases or entirely discontinued purchasing food products from one or more fast – food restaurants (McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut) in Banda Aceh within the past seven months.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

¹¹ Riski Trisnawati, "Boikot Dan Aktivisme: Perilaku Konsumen Dalam Isu Konflik Israel-Palestina," *Jebesh: Journal of Economics Business Ethic and Science of History* Vol. 2, no. 3 (2024): 20–25.

¹² Rouza Fakriza et al., "Pengaruh Religiusitas Terhadap Boikot Dengan Loyalitas Merek Sebagai Variabel Moderasi Pada Kfc Banda Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Ekonomi Manajemen* Vol. 4, no. 1 (2019): 206–16.

¹³ Samsu Karim Sormin and Farra Diba Maulida Malik, "Perilaku Konsumsi Terhadap Boikot Produk Pro Israel," *Karimah Tauhid* Vol. 3, no. 3 (2024): 3114–3120.

¹⁴ Nursapia Harahap, *Penelitian Kualitatif*, ed. Hasan Sazali (Medan: Wal ashri Publishing, 2020).

¹⁵ John W Creswell, *Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Riset (Memilih Di Antara Lima Pendekatan)*, ed. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, 3rd ed. (Yogyakarta: PUSTAKA PELAJAR, 2015).

¹⁶ John W Creswell, *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, ed. Vicki Knight et al., 4th ed. (California, London, New Delhi, Singapore: SAGE Publications, 2014).

Based on the research conducted, the researcher found two realities in Banda Aceh society following the boycott movement against Zionist Israeli products. *Berger and Luckmann's* Social Construction Theory elucidates the processes that shaped the social reality of fast – food restaurants suspected of Israeli affiliation. Adaptation examines the processes of habitualization, institutions, and legitimacy. Three concepts (externalization, objectivation, and internalization) form the dialectic of non – boycotting and boycotting.

Social Reality of Non-boycotting Society

In the social reality of non – boycotting, three informants, DR, VM, and CM, shared their perspectives on the choice not to boycott KFC, a fast – food restaurant suspected of being affiliated with Zionist Israel. The heavily publicized boycott actually only initiated the non – boycotting *actors'* own perspectives. For example, the threat of layoffs and reduced revenues of multinational companies (fast – food restaurants).



Figure 1. Threat of layoffs due to the Zionist Israel Boycott

Source: *bbc.com*

One interview with DR's informant stated,

"...because like this, KFC has employees, and the employees are Indonesian. If we boycott, it will be the Indonesian who will be weakened, not necessarily those outside..." (DR, interview, June 9, 2024).

On the other hand, donation activities are believed to be characterized as non – boycott. The externalization process that has the potential to give rise to a new objective reality construction has given birth to a non – boycott society of fast food restaurants suspected of being Zionist Israeli in Banda Aceh¹⁷. Non – boycotters classify their actions as alternative actions that are more reasonable than boycotting. These alternative actions

¹⁷ Zakaria Siregar, "Social Construction Of Mass Media (Konstruksi Sosial Media Massa)," *Wahana Inovasi* Vol. 7 no. 1, (June 2018): 93–99.

could include fundraising (donations), praying, and so on. Non-boycott actions are externalized in continuous activities that stabilize behavior amidst conditions of environmental instability¹⁸ boycott.

The externalization of news reporting that emphasizes the impact of the boycott is followed by a process of objectification of non-boycotting individuals. The legitimacy referred to as the second objectification of institutionalization actually produces meaning within each institution. Here, the legitimacy of the boycott by the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI), which clearly issued a fatwa prohibiting support for Israel (as outlined in Fatwa No. 83 concerning the Law on Support for the Palestinian Struggle), was less than unanimous among informants, DR, who stated that individuals are free to follow or not follow MUI Fatwa No. 83 for their own reasons (DR, interview, June 9, 2024).

Legitimacy, which explains how institutional structures function, sees the cognitive validity of the objectification of meaning. Individuals not only know the reasons for the action but also why the action was carried out¹⁹. The legitimacy of the counter-boycott is reflected in media reports reporting job losses, pressure on the economic sector, and questionable Israeli funding. This legitimacy further fosters the perception that the boycott has little impact on Israel as the invader. The cognitive validity formed among the actors deems the boycott unreasonable and inconsistent with the moral beliefs of the boycotting actors, despite the clear increase in military operations. The overlapping differences in legitimacy between non-boycotting and boycotting communities lead to an internalization process for each individual, including stages of habitualization that tend to be similar (the perception of Israel-affiliated products as food preferences).

Subjective reality through the internalization stage is simplified as the interpretation of the direct actor on objective events instead of describing the meaning²⁰. Kustanto (2018) added that through the process of internalization, objective social reality or institutions (knowledge and experience) become objective parts of the self or consciousness²¹. The legitimacy of the boycott was not fully believed by informants on the pretext of not knowing the details of the conflict, such as CM:

"The call to fellow Muslims, yes, researcher. I feel called because, how is that possible, innocent people, what are you (Israel) looking for there, what are you trying to do, want to expel? What do you want? Well, that's more like what's on my mind and my heart. I feel that, the children there, but I don't really understand the details of the conflict." (CM, interview, May 17, 2024)

Apart from that, CM and DR also articulated their views regarding *Israel's* violence against the Palestinian people (CM and DR, interview, May and June, 2024). It's not that they lack empathy or sympathy, rather the three informants expressed doubts about the boycott. These informants, who additionally noted that they still relied on Israeli-

¹⁸ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (England: Penguin Group, 1991).

¹⁹ Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1991).

²⁰ I. R. Syafitri, "Konstruksi Sosial Anak Jalanan Terhadap Rumah Singgah (Studi Konstruksi Sosial Di UPTD Kampung Anak Negeri, Surabaya)," {Published Theses, Airlangga University, 2017}.

²¹ Munari Kustanto, "Konstruksi Sosial Tentang Perencanaan Pembangunan Pada Kalangan Aparatur Sipil Negara Di Lingkungan Pemerintah Kabupaten Sidoarjo," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* Vol. 7 no. 2 (2018): 126-35.

affiliated products, believed that the internalization of non – boycotting was a contributing factor. Although, VM had reduced the frequency of consuming fast – food product such as KFC (VM, interview, June 10, 2024), the overall pattern remained consistent.

Unfortunately, the non – boycott perspective seems to separate the distinctiveness of Islamic Sharia law that has long been structured and constructed in Banda Aceh. The complex knowledge gained by counter – boycott institutions without an understanding of Islamic Sharia law only raises doubts among individuals, according to interviews conducted by three informants. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), information in the form of objectified knowledge is the truth that directs each reality for its institution²².

Differences in logical coherence arise when legitimacy is not accepted, and socialization may be difficult in institutional terms. Internalized self – identification, which resembles another individual, involves a dialectic between objectively determined and subjectively assumed identities. All three informants agreed that not boycotting doesn't necessarily mean siding with Israel or supporting Palestine.

The difference in legitimacy was internalized by informants, justifying their non – boycotting of fast food restaurants. Non – boycotting informants understood their actions as logical. Non – boycotting by informants could open up a pattern of externalization and objectification for other actors or institutions, repeating the dialectical cycle. This is why the proper and firm implementation of Islamic Sharia without ignoring important aspects such as the impact Economic and social conditions allow the city of Banda Aceh to become a concrete form of one of the realities of boycotting Zionist Israeli – affiliated fast food restaurants in Indonesia.

Social Reality of Boycotting Society

Unlike the three previous sources, MA, AS, and MF agreed to boycott fast food menus suspected of being affiliated with Israel. The *actors'* habitualization changed precisely after *Israel's* prolonged aggression against Palestine, which culminated on October 7, 2023, followed by a series of boycotts of products suspected of Zionist Israeli links. Social media is a key instrument in the boycott action externalized by the actors. As MF said:

"Just follow it, because this concerns humanity. After all, we live in this world, and we're all God's creations. I often follow news there on Social Media X." (MF, interview, 30 may, 2024)

According to *MF's* statement, that X is one of the social media platforms that frequently reviews developments in the boycott movement, encouraging people to continue boycotting despite the perception that the boycott has no effect on Israeli military operations. Informant MA also said that she had been following news about the boycott of Zionist – Israeli products on Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube for quite some time (MA, interview, May 16, 2024). Information about the boycott in the mass media and on social media becomes an externalization of ideas, opinions, and expressions that arise from self – awareness and are projected onto the outside world. Every individual encounter

²² Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1991).

and the presence of its *initiator's* meaning are connected by the boycott action in symbols²³.

The potential of actors to objectify themselves through externalization in mass media and social media is demonstrated by a series of fast – food business boycotts that changed Banda Aceh residents' dietary preferences. One component of a cohesive environment is the appearance of pre – formed activities, both for their producers and for others. Long – term objectification can facilitate comprehension of an object^(24;25).

Berger and Luckmann (1966) further explain that, alongside habitualization, objectivation becomes the foundation of institutionalization, beginning with collective knowledge that contains typifications of reciprocal behavior. However, the objectivity that characterizes the social world within human experience doesn't possess any ontological status apart from the human activities that produce it. Within objectification, there exists a second – order meaning referred to as legitimization. This newly formed meaning of legitimization serves to integrate the meanings embedded within the various institutional processes.

The wave of boycotts, understood as a morally appropriate action, aligns with the convictions of pro – boycott institutions and the social norms followed. Among the institutions and that approved the objectification of the boycott movement against Zionist – affiliated products, including fast – food restaurants, this is reflected in the issuance of Fatwa No. 83 regarding the Law on Supporting the Palestinian struggle by the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI). The Fatwa fully supports Palestinian independence from Israeli brutality, which deprives Palestinians of their rights and territory. Supporting Israeli aggression, whether openly or covertly, is forbidden by Law²⁶. This Fatwa was subsequently acknowledge by AS, one of the informants who supported the boycott, stating "*People may also be encouraged to boycott because of the MUI's stance*" (AS, interview, 30 may, 2024).

The objectification of the boycott of fast – food restaurants in Banda Aceh became obvious during the movement's early phases, especially as the number of customers decreased. This was evident in MA's statement "*...it used to be crowded, but now it's quiet, people feel embarrassed to come, and eventually they don't want to*" (MA, interview, May 16, 2024). The fact fast – food restaurants are much quieter now than they were before the boycott got stronger shows how strongly the boycott is supported. Implicitly, when individuals regard the boycott as legitimate, they're more likely to view participation as morally acceptable and beneficial, rather than question its legitimacy.

²³ Lisda Romdani, "Teori Konstruksi Sosial: Sebuah Teori Bagaimana Warga Negara Memaknai Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Di Masa Pandemic," *JISIP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* Vol. 10 no. 2 (2021): 116–123, www.publikasi.unitri.ac.id.

²⁴ Muhammad Nur Budi Prasajo, "Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat Alam Gunung Merapi: Studi Kualitatif Tentang Kearifan Lokal Yang Berkembang Di Desa Tlogolele Kecamatan Selo Kabupaten Boyolali," *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* Vol. 4 no. 2 (2015): 31.

²⁵ Iga Sakinah Mawarni and Andi Agustang, "Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat Terhadap Realitas Sosial Tradisi Si Semba' Di Era Globalisasi (Studi Penelitian Di Daerah Kandeapi Tikala, Toraja Utara)," *Pinisi Journal Of Sociology Education Review* Vol. 1 no. 2 (2021): 1–10.

²⁶ Junaidi, "Sudah Terlanjur Beli Produk pro Israel Bagaimana Hukumnya? Ini Penjelasan MUI," MUI digital, <<https://mui.or.id/baca/berita/sudah-terlanjur-beli-produk-pro-israel-bagaimana-hukumnya-ini-penjelasan-mui>> {accessed November 13, 2025}.

Based on the processes of externalization and objectivation, the acceptance or internalization of the fast-food boycott movement associated with Israel shapes the subjective reality of each actor. Information regarding Israel's brutality, which has taken approximately 36,000 lives in Palestine, most of whom are women and children, since 7 October 2023 has prompted the initiation of the boycott movement (BDS) and has also influenced the population of Banda Aceh. Humanitarian concerns, expressed through empathy and sympathy, support the momentum of the boycott in Banda Aceh, as the Israeli and Palestinian conflict is no longer viewed only through religious values but is increasingly understood as a humanitarian issue. One example is MA, who stated *"I have reached a point where I avoid nearly all affiliated products, and I'm now more careful in choosing daily items. I've been looking for alternatives to replace previously used Israeli-affiliated products"* (MA, interview, May 16, 2024).

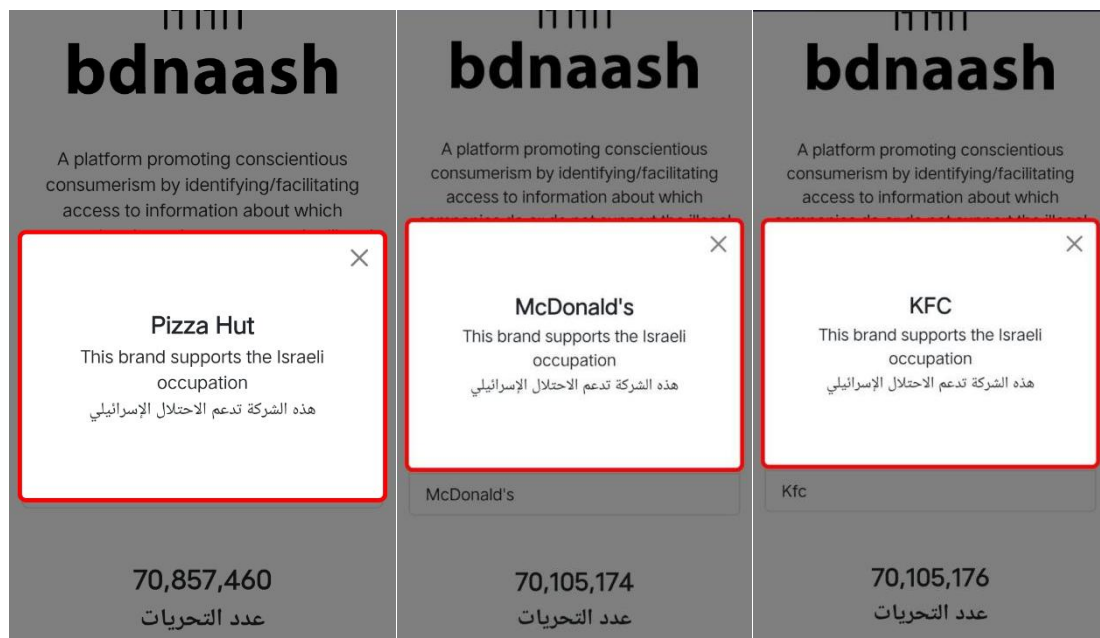


Figure 2. Fast Food Restaurants Suspected of Being Affiliated with Israel

Source: *bdnaash.com*

The internalization of the boycott is shaped not only by humanitarian concerns, the *MUI's* fatwa, and religious values but also by a sense of shared suffering. The hardships experienced by the Palestinian people, in which *Israel's* military operations are perceived as a form of invasion aimed at exercising authority over Palestinian territory, create experiences of distress, difficulty, fear, insecurity, discomfort, and a sense of restriction. The reality of the boycott expressed by the three informants ultimately illustrates that the values of Islamic Sharia in Banda Aceh can be well understood.

According to Mokobombang (2023)²⁷, the concept of boycott in Islam refers to the rejection of actions that conflict with Islamic Sharia law and principles. The

²⁷ M. Alfa Riski Mokobombang, Lestari Niu, and Jamaludin Hasan, "Perilaku Boikot Dalam Perspektif Islam Serta Implementasinya Di Era Kontemporer" *Maqrizi: Journal of Economics and Islamic Economics* Vol. 3 no. 1 (2023): 88-95, <http://ejournal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/maqrizii>.

implementation of boycotting products affiliated with Israel (including fast – food restaurants from United State) is linked Israel's aggression, which has claimed thousands of lives. Strong condemnation from various Islamic communities was expressed thru the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI), which issued a fatwa urging people to avoid products affiliated with Israel as much as possible. Agreeing with the boycott in line with Islamic Sharia, AS expressed its opinion:

"Sharia regulates, relates to rules, is binding, right? When we choose to follow those rules, it means we are aware of ourselves. There should be boundaries, boundaries in Islam. The boycott is related to that, if we discipline ourselves to Islamic Sharia Law, then we should refrain from consuming products affiliated with Israel." (AS, interview, 30 may, 2024)

Informant MA stated that support and Muslim identity are reflected through the act of boycotting (interview), which contrasts with the positions of the three non – boycotting informants. The dialectic framed by *Berger and Luckmann's* (1966) concepts ultimately categorizes actors who construct culture and the cultural products that develop within a social environment characterized by the boycott of Israel – affiliated fast – food restaurants. This institutional process also reflects the habitualization of avoiding Israel – affiliated fast – food products, even though these individuals initially enjoyed and preferred such establishment.

The Interpretation of the Boycott Movement Toward Fast-Food Restaurants Following the Anti-Zionist Boycott Movement

Based on the differing perspectives regarding the boycott of Israel – affiliated products, especially American fast – food chains, society is divided into two groups: those who support the boycott and those who do not. Upon more detailed inspection, a clear and distinctive pattern of interpretation becomes apparent. The non – boycotting group believes that boycotting has no direct effect on *Israel's* aggression against Palestine. Their view instead, emphasizes issues such as waves of layoffs and charitable activities, which are considered to have more tangible effects. Another belief among the non – boycotting actors is related to the notion of a disconnection in purchasing systems between multinational corporations and fast – food chains, especially regarding financial connections.

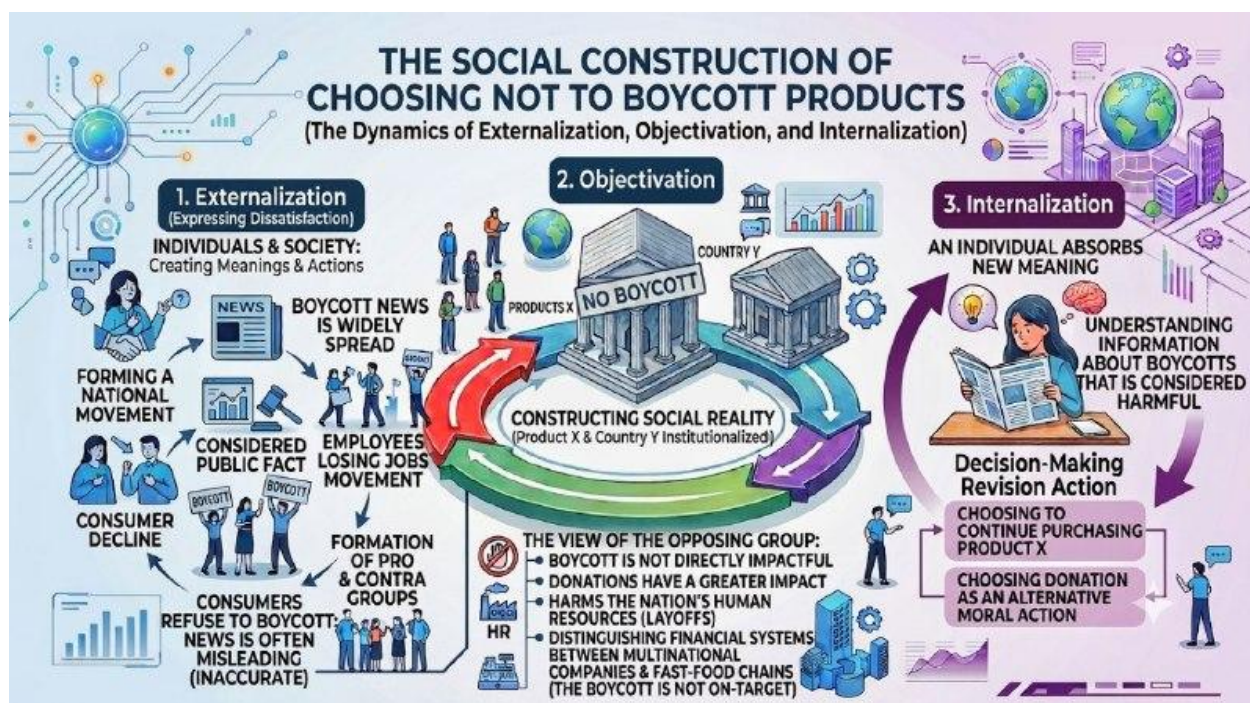


Figure 3. The Social Construction Of Choosing Not to Boycott Products

Meanwhile, for the boycotting community participating, the actors believe that taking part the boycott is the right action, as it strengthens their Islamic (Muslim) identity. Empathy and solidarity further strengthen the legitimacy of the boycott, without disregarding reports of layoffs in multinational corporations. In contrast to the non-boycotting group's perspective, the boycotting community believes that the boycott does not significantly affect Indonesia's economy; instead, it contributes to economic progress through the empowerment of micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs).



Figure 4. The Social Construction In Products Boycott

CONCLUSION

Based on the result and discussion above, the boycott phenomenon (on a massive scale: late 2023) has not yet been uniformly internalized by all segments of society due to fragmentation in the formation of intersubjective reality. Boycott participants have externalized humanitarian values and consumption ethics, which thereafter attained objectivation through public discourse reinforced by legitimating institutions. Consequently, the boycott narrative has been internalized as an accurate and morally binding social fact (internalization). Instead, the group opposed to the boycott constructs its reality through a different legitimating framework, one rooted in rational considerations of the domestic economy, particularly workforce stability and the movement's actual impact. This gap in value absorption and patterns of legitimation is primarily why the boycott has yet to reach a full public consensus.

Once legitimation is established and an intersubjective reality becomes mutually understood across society, the process of social construction proceeds to the sedimentation of action. At this stage, behaviour shifts away from conscious discursive deliberation and moral evaluation, gradually transforming into a recurring behavioral pattern. This transition from internalization to structured action marks the movement of the boycott phenomenon into the phase of habitualization. The social group supporting the boycott understands that the boycott of products suspected of affiliation is no longer debated as an episodic ethic, but rather has become an automatic and recurring consumption response in daily life. It can be concluded that the boycott movement has shaped a new form of habitualization for those who participate in it.

Informed ideas and self-expression provide people with information that helps them understand their actions and legitimize their existence. The boycott community reflects on the importance of the boycott as a means to express empathy and demonstrate sincere commitment to supporting Palestine and opposing *Israel's* aggression. This sense of solidarity consolidates their position as an expression of Islamic identity. Furthermore, they regard the positive influence of the boycott as a movement that enhances the competitiveness of domestic products, especially those produced by micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs).

However, for the non-boycotting community, ideas and self-expression shaped by media coverage produce an alternative form of knowledge used to legitimize their position and internalize non-boycotting behavior within the Indonesian context. News regarding prospective layoffs and the decline of fast-food corporations, which are regarded as entirely Indonesian enterprises, further solidifies their perspective. Furthermore, the perceived ineffectiveness of boycott actions in stopping or diminishing *Israel's* aggression remains as a justification for their not taking part.

The differences that observed between boycotting and non-boycotting informants illustrate that fast-food restaurants in Banda Aceh continue to be relatively popular for various reasons. Although Banda Aceh is known as a city governed by Islamic Sharia law, individuals hold their own personal beliefs when selecting their food preferences, indicating that the concept of internalization is of significant importance. The reality of fast-food restaurants in Banda Aceh following the anti-Zionist boycott movement reveals two distinct perspectives within their respective social institutions. The boycotting community shares a similar understanding, as do those who choose not to boycott fast-food restaurants.

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