

## Political Opportunity Structure Shifting Movement of Young Muslims in Medan

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### ABSTRACT

The research is about hijrah (shifting) movement by Sahabat Hijrakuu community as a new social movement of young Muslims in Medan. The objective of the research was to find out dominant factors that support the process of the hijrah movement by using the theory of new social movements with one of the main factors on social movements, is political opportunity structure. The research used qualitative method, and the data were gathered by conducting observation, interviews, and library research. . The result of the research shows that the development of hijrah movement is the series and the collective awareness of young Muslims in Medan in the post-Islam Defense Action movement. Open political structure and opportunity in the reformation era has given more opportunity to young Muslims to spread their ideas, and ideology to the people.

**Keywords:** Political Opportunity Structure, Social Movement, Shifting, Young Muslims

### INTRODUCTION

Discussion about the piety and dynamics of religious young Muslims, especially those in millennial generation are interesting to study. Faisal (2017) in his research found a spirit of religion that is being strengthened in the phi generation since 2003. The Indonesian Muslim generation wants to be pious, get better, and have a religious understanding. According to him, for millennial generation, behavior becomes pious, diligent in worship, considered something that is anti-mainstream and something that is considered cool. Hijrah is a key word for understanding this phenomenon.

Hijrah is etymologically defined as the migration of a person from one place to another. In the historical landscape, hijrah is very identical to a process of leaving the life of jahiliyah become a better life in the prophetic era (Abidin, 2017). Hijrah has the meaning of ruhiyah, that is someone who abandons immoral acts and not turn to the things that cause Allah to be angry (Muhammad, 2014). So, hijrah becomes a specific word to be able to describe an activity with a fairly prophetic feel. Hijrah is interpreted as a process of getting closer to goodness.

If pulled back again, this movement actually also led to the development phase of Indonesian Islam in the 1980s (1980-1990). Ten years is a period that gave rise to various new developments on the dynamics of Islam in Indonesia (Azra, 1999). This development is related to the entry of various Islamic movements from the Middle East. They carry and carry ideas about the rise of Islam.

The development of Islamic social movements in Indonesia occurred rapidly, especially since the fall of Suharto's leadership. The growth of the hijrah movement marked a new trend in Islamic activism in Indonesia, despite showing a different identity and ambition that is, an establishment that devotes its utmost attention to purification of monotheism and several other issues related to the renewal of religious practices.

In the hijrah community that was formed, they are young Muslims always connected to each other in a similar consciousness towards what was agreed upon and they believe in the meaning of hijrah in a context of social civilization today, so there is a common thread in achieving collective

consciousness. The existence of social interaction that continues to potentially create collective awareness, like listening to sermons, tausiah, and discussions in every routine recitation that they do. The relationship between individual consciousness is what is called collective consciousness.

On the other hand, the symptoms of Islamophobia more or less have penetrated into the souls of Muslims, many of them are actually afraid of their own religious teachings. Islamophobia results in forms of prejudice and discrimination against Muslims and their teachings. The term islamophobia has actually been popular since 1980, however, it has been more popular since the attack on the United States WTC on 11 September 2001.

Islamophobia that occurs in America and Europe has now also spread to Indonesia. This is very surprising, because Indonesia is a country with the largest number of Muslims in the world. It is considered strange when in the Islamic community, there is a fear of Islam itself.

There are some previous studies that discuss the movement of hijrah carried out by young Muslims. First, research conducted by Lucky Tyaz Fadilah and O Hasbiansyah (2018) related to the da'wah activities of The Shift Hijrah Youth Movement in Bandung. This research was conducted with the aim to find out the motives for the establishment of the Shift Community of the Youth Hijrah Movement, know the community activities in preaching among youth in the city of Bandung, and know the meaning of the community for its members. This research uses the phenomenology theory and symbolic interactional theory. The results showed that the motive established by The Shift Hijrah Youth Movement was to embrace the people they categorized as ring 3 (neutral, does not support propaganda, but also does not interfere) and people who are in ring 4 (islamophobia) in order to want to learn the science of Islam. The missionary activities of the Shift community are mostly based on social media. While the meaning of the Shift community of the Youth Movement of Hijrah for its members is as a container for wasilah or a place to study and explore religious knowledge.

Second, a study of the hijrah movement of young Muslim conducted by Ditha Prasanti and Sri Seti Indriani (2017) related to the social interaction of Let's Hijrah community members in the Line social media group. This research was conducted with the aim of: (1) Knowing the social interaction of Let's Hijrah Islamic community members in the social media group LINE. (2) Find out the topics discussed by members of the Islamic community Let's Hijrah in the social media group LINE. (3) Knowing the effect of social interaction of Let's Hijrah's Islamic community members on the social media group LINE, for each other's personal lives. The results of the study show that: (1) Social interactions that occur in Let's Hijrah community members in the social media group LINE often trigger debate that leads to negative perceptions for its members; (2) The topic discussed in social media LINE about anything related to Islamic jurisprudence there are differences in views of religion that appear in religious movements.

Both of these studies have not fully described how the development of the hijrah movement carried out by young Muslims in Indonesia. he study only portrays aspects of its identity and construction in the cultural authenticity of Muslim youths who hijrah. In their research, they have not provided an answer why the hijrah movement in Indonesia can develop in the reform era like now.

The phenomenon of hijrah and the pattern of social movements of young Indonesian Muslims who shifted spiritually became interesting topic to study in order to acquire a clear depiction especially with regard to the organizational aspects of the movement and the development factors of the movement. Therefore, this study takes a different position from the previous two studies, that is, focusing on the framework of social movements that try to see their development through political opportunity structures factors which is a supporting factor for the development of a social movement. Using this factor theory, this research tries to look at structural phenomena that give rise to and provide opportunities for the hijrah movement to develop in Indonesia.

According to the author, the hijrah movement that developed quite rapidly after the Islamic action movement was closely related to the reformation era in Indonesia. The collapse of Suharto's

authoritarian regime created democratic political conditions, thus opening up opportunities for social movements to emerge and surface. After the Islamic defense action, the development of the hijrah movement was very visible starting from the many study groups that were driven by young people. The reform era is a part of the political opportunity structure for the hijrah movement to emerge and develop.

## **METHODS**

This study uses a qualitative approach to the study of phenomenology. Analysis of the problem in this study uses the orientation of the sociologic phenomenologic approach. The phenomenon of shifting young Muslims in this context is used in interpreting a process of social movement that is comprehensive regarding physical, social, and cultural aspects. Thus, the main research techniques used are in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted with selected informants. The informants included the founder and active management of the hijrah community. The key informant in this study is the founder of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community, besides being the founder; he also acts as the community leader who is actively involved in every activity carried out by the community. The accompanying informants in this study were active members and management of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community, so that they were able to provide relevant information needed in the study. Other informants are academics and scholars who are considered capable of seeing the phenomenon of the hijrah movement.

Observation is used to see firsthand the various activities of the hijrah movement undertaken by the community. For example, researchers participate with young people in participating in study programs run at mosques and community secretariats. In mosques that are used as public spaces and the center of the movement's activities, researchers can see and observe directly what and how the community (informants) carries out their activities.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Political Opportunity Structure Shifting Movement**

The conceptualization of the hijrah movement refers to a new conception of social movements that distinguishes it from the old concept of social movements, where the old social movements tend to be political, involving mass action and class oriented. New social movements tend to be understood as movements that tend to be cultural, do not involve mass action, get closer to everyday issues (Porta and Diani 2006). The hijrah movement can be parsed through an approach political opportunity structure, resources mobilization theory, and collective action frames (McCarthy, 1977). This approach is discussed integrally and comprehensively to see the characteristics of social movements in general, such as collective action, organized, having continuity, and having goals (Snow, 2004).

The hijrah movement cannot be separated from the context of social, economic and political macro structures. The hijrah movement is one of the derivative impacts of government policies in the past. Heryanto (2015) stated that there had been a resurgence of Islamization towards the end of the New Order's rule. The Islamic group, which was previously considered an extreme right, was later embraced and made a new ally of the Suharto government to strengthen its political position which was currently weakening. That was the time when the use of the hijab was no longer banned, and Islamic groups began to express their political aspirations openly without fear of being oppressed by the ruling regime.

During the New Order, the Soeharto regime made policies that restricted the growth of the political Islam movement, starting with the rejection of the rehabilitation of the Masyumi Party and the culmination of single principle Pancasila implementation. Various policies of the New Order government that closed the faucets for the growth of political Islam aware that the political-structural

path does not allow to be forced as a means of travel to realize the various agendas and aspirations of Muslims.

When the collapse of the new order, this became the starting point that made the reform era of political opportunity structure for Indonesian Muslims to be actively involved in the re-establishment of the Indonesian nation-state. Various attempts have been made by several groups of Muslims to gain their existence such as Islamic shari'a discourse, khilafah, and the rise of sharia regulations in various regions. According to Siregar (61 years old) that since Soeharto came to power in Indonesia, slowly the terminology of religion was understood by many people and at the same time not beautiful, if not abstain from politics. Those who are still not aware of the changes that occur among Muslims who still consider political awareness that is parallel with religious awareness as a big problem. After the reform hundreds of parties were formed. Even though only 48 qualified as election participants, there were also religious-based parties. There is an Islamic party, there is a Catholic party, there is a Protestant party. If later what remains is only an Islamic party, that does not automatically become the basis for the opinion that SARA politics is banned in Indonesia.

After the post-Reformation period, Islamic da'wah groups increasingly use their dominant position in Muslim public spaces as a vehicle to change the mindset of young Muslims to support a more exclusive interpretation of Islam. In the course of the harok da'wah movement that has colored the dynamics of Islamic movements and organizations both in terms of Islamic narrative discourse, cultural products, and the existence of a stronger Islamic recognition in Indonesia. Now, da'wah groups such as the hijrah movement are developing among young Muslims, especially in big cities. According to Siregar (61 years) the development of the movement was not limited to the city of Medan, in fact the bigger the city the greater the migratory community, this is because of the support of the greater availability of resources too.

In this era, the development of the hijrah movement was very visible starting from the many recitals, the emergence of hijrah communities, and the functioning of the mosque as a public space that was used as a central movement in conveying the spirit of hijrah to the Muslim public. The reform era is a part of the political opportunity structure for the hijrah movement to emerge and develop and can freely spread its views to the public.

### **Collective Awareness After the Islamic Defending Action Movement**

The spirit of hijrah begins with a collective awareness of concerns about discriminatory issues against Islam. But this actually burns the Islamic scene to the point of impacting on self-change for the better. Changed from a person who likes to act to be a more obedient person. Evolved from someone who ignored the Shari'a to become a person who has a religious awareness.

Departing from this awareness of identity, more and more people care about each other and most importantly in their religion. Islamic defense actions that have reached several volumes at least provide a breath of fresh air to the world of the Islamic youth movement, especially the young people of the intellectual class and activists of the movement to form a new forum to channel their Islamic expression. The formation and joining of Medan Muslim youths in the hijrah movement was a series of collective awareness that occurred among Medan's Muslim youths.

As a social movement, the political awareness of Muslims which is packaged through the hijrah movement is a reflection of the growing political participation of young Muslims in Medan which is also part of the overall Indonesian Muslim middle class. This is important considering that in the post-election 2014, the pattern of political participation has increasingly strengthened among the Indonesian Muslim middle class. In addition, another strong factor that influences is that Islam in Indonesia is not always a full political force, but can also mean a comprehensive social force (Jati, 2016).

Political participation is important for the movement of the people, given the democratic system that encourages political aspirations. This also applies to the hijrah movement in an effort to articulate its political aspirations. The character of Indonesian democracy shows the relationship between the personal and citizenship through the enforcement of the rule of law; the links between the political sphere and society by opening up civil and political organizations as well as the increasingly tightly integrated relations between the political sphere and the state (Abdurrahman, 2003). In other words, formal political openness in the realm of the state needs to be balanced with the existence of channels of public informal political participation. In building their channels of political participation, the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community provided support for their political participation through political parties which they considered to be in groups that defended Islam in Islamic defense groups 212.

The existence of a privileged and oppressed context then encourages a form of political participation of the Indonesian Muslim middle class in the creation of new discourses: alternative modernism (Wichelen, 2010). Understanding of alternative modernism can be analyzed as a form of search for other paths of modernism that not only rely on the existence of economic linearity, but also the improvement of morality. That condition is what drives the new modernism based on religious values. It also means the commoditization of religious values in the form of consumerism. In other words, Islam accepts the existence of consumerism which is then practiced in the context of sharia products. The Sahabat Hijrah Community even has a business charity that manufactures Islamic clothing to support the modernism movement based on Islamic values. Through this, they hope to build a community of modern, moral youth.

Whereas in the context of "democratic Muslims" it can be simply concluded as a form of acceptance of Muslims towards democracy as a political system. The values of democracy in Islam are known in various terms such as shura, ikhtilaf, ijihad, and also ijma are mechanisms for achieving consultation in Islam. The rest of Islam does not introduce the existence of liberalism and believes more in the concept of the ummah (Mujani, 2007). In its political movements, the hijrah community accepts the democratic system as a means of channeling political participation. In other words, these young Muslims still have exclusivity and collectivity as a group which then formulates political participation by preferring a moderate path, but remains critical of the state.

### **Islamophobia As an Obstacle to the Development of the Hijrah Movement**

At the beginning of its development, the hijrah movement experienced resistance from the community because it was considered a movement that spread radical ideology. This is due to the stereotypical view of Islam and also the revival of the wave of Islamophobia, both in terms of religion, culture, and politics. Various stigmas are attached that Islam is identical with radicalism, terrorism and violence. This stigma seems to be a major obstacle to the development of the hijrah movement.

One rejection came from parents who were shocked by the change in behavior and the way they dressed after emigrating. The women changed their appearance by wearing shari'i with large headscarves, some even wearing veils, while men began to look after beards, wearing frills, and routinely participated in recitals held by the community.

Related to this rejection, it is actually in line with a priori thinking and the phenomenon of Islamophobia that is happening now. This phenomenon seems to guarantee what is assumed to be a symbol of Islam such as lengthening a beard, wearing pants, black forehead, large headscarf, is considered a symbol of radicals. So, not a few Muslims who are contaminated with this negative stigma, then shave his beard. Likewise Muslim women who wear large, veiled veils are often considered radical symbols, especially after the ban on wearing veils at Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University in Yogyakarta.

Associated with wearing clothes with this Islamic symbol, of course this is not a form of political piety as described by Saba Mahmoud quoted by Aziz (2017), where it is used to construct

themselves with a direct correlation with personal supporting capital as an agency. Furthermore, the strategy becomes a system that conceptions the body to form the desired image. In the political space of piety, there is an attempt to "reverse discourse" as part of constructing identity and self-image by changing attitudes, waging discourse war or attaching new symbols as personal parts (Aziz, 2017).

Mutia (25 years old) said that he felt more comfortable when wearing a large hijab in accordance with Islamic advice, where he feels more awake from male bad views of some parts of his body, which may contain elements of sensuality that provokes the lust of men who see it. This he realized when trying to compare himself with his friend who still wore a "triangle hijab" that was smaller than the hijab he was wearing, where some sensitive parts such as the chest and hips are not covered so that the curvature is still visible.

The same thing was also conveyed by Dinda (21 years) who revealed his reasons for wearing the veil. According to Dinda, not only on the chest and hips, on the face of a woman, there are also some parts that can cause lust for men who look at her. According to him, wearing a veil can protect himself from the temptations of men, because just by looking at a man's face he can be tempted, fascinated, and ultimately seduce or do evil to women. So using a large veil that protrudes over the chest and hips and wearing a veil can help men to maintain their views of women, so that they are not slandered, not tempted or fascinated by it.

Foucault quoted by King (2004) argues that women's bodies are considered as "other". That is, women's bodies are judged differently from men's bodies. Women have certain body parts that are more prominent than men, such as breasts, hips and buttocks. This is what then makes a woman's body a target of exploitation and is often used as a visual object to fulfill men's desires.

Sensual impression on a woman can indeed arise through several facial expressions. The face part in the form of lips and eyes is considered to contribute greatly in shaping the sensuality of a woman. Lips that are slightly open or gaping can create a sensual impression especially on women. Pease and Pease (2004), explained that the facial expressions of women with gaping lips refer to sensual expressions that indicate a woman's sexual power. Sensual impression is stronger when facial expressions with slightly gaping lips are associated with expressions when women experience orgasm during intercourse.

From the other side, the use of veil is still problematic in terms of social acceptance. Sociologically, veiling for women is still not considered a common practice and norm among highly diverse Indonesian society and tend to develop cultural-religious expressions that are different from trends elsewhere, especially in the Middle East / Arabs where veiling may have stronger cultural roots.

Discrimination, and negative views aimed at those who emigrate and wear Islamic clothing, occur because of the actions of people who only have a passion in religion but are not based on knowledge. Bombs and jihad as they glorify are not part of Islamic teachings. The source of their teachings is takfiri understanding, which is easy to disbelieve others so that if they are infidels then halal blood and property.

Apart from the parents of community members, another obstacle also came from the police who suspected the movement that was built by the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community as a radical and politically inclined movement. If we see the religious enthusiasm in various countries it is often colored with excessive and extreme attitudes. After the attack on the World Trade Center (WTC) in New York on September 11, 2001, accusations against Islam as a religion that advocates violence and terrorism are often heard. The history of violence and radicalism indeed often carries the name of religion. This can be understood because religion has tremendous power, which exceeds political, social and cultural strength. Religion can even be elevated to the supernatural level. In the name of religion, then radicalism is validated in various actions. Starting from the disbelief of people who disagree (takfir) to do the killing of enemies who are not as ideological as him.

Many factors cause the growth and development of radical movements in the name of religion. One of them according to Fealy and Hooker (2006), is the result of the opening of the post-reform democratization valve. Meanwhile, according to Huntington (1993), the dominant source of conflict today is not cultural, not ideological, or economic. Conflicts will occur between countries and groups that have different civilizations. Huntington defines civilization as the highest cultural entity and the greatest identity that humans have. Furthermore, he also identified seven major civilizations, namely the West, Confucius, Japan, Islam, Hinduism, Slavic-Orthodox, and Latin America. According to him, of the seven great civilizations, Islam was the most potential to threaten Western civilization which is now at the peak of its power (Huntington, 1993).

The number of movements or hardliners in the name of the preaching movement is now a challenge in the life of the nation and state. This understanding tends to negate differences. Understanding radicalism arises at least from the existence of movements that understand the context of the Koran in part, rigid, and literalist. According to radicals the doctrines contained in the Koran and the Sunnah are doctrines that are universal and have covered all aspects of human life without being limited by space and time (Umar, 2014). Whereas Islamic movement figures such as Sayyid Quthub stated, jihad is a necessity, but it does not mean war (qital) and makes terror without rights. Islam is a religion of peace and peace. While the war is a compulsion (dlaruriah), an exception (al-istisna), and an urgent guidance (Quthub, 1992).

Although acts of terrorism are not Islamic teachings, these prejudices and prejudices are difficult to release, given that the perpetrators of terrorism are usually Muslim and jihadist. Here is the role of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community to deliver tolerant Islamic preaching, to counter this lopsided stigma about Islam and terrorists. As a da'wah community which incidentally consists of Muslim youth in it, placing the community of Friends of Hijrahkuu as the spearhead of the callers of Islam, as preachers, they must remain consistent in preaching with tolerance as a real effort to ward off the stigma. With this tolerant da'wah it is hoped that the image of Islam and Muslims can be recovered and its effects can be felt as a religion that is rahmatan lil alamin.

In order to answer the negative stigma and accusations of radicalism, the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community continues to strive to be able to present a more effective da'wah strategy. In the midst of the symptoms of Islamophobia which are increasingly cornering Islam, there must be a reformulation of the da'wah strategy that is able to present the characteristics of Islam that are in accordance with their intended objectives. In its movement, Sahabat Hijrahkuu wishes to present Islamic da'wah in a friendly manner. There are several things that become their strategy in building this friendly preaching.

First, the principle of example. In the missionary movement, all members of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community are required to organize their attitudes and behavior as a self-image of a Muslim who is rahmatan lil alamin. According to Ichsan (27 years), when someone is able to decorate himself as a good individual or community, then people will sympathize and eventually follow him. According to him, the prophet Muhammad is a concrete example in relation to this matter. Because the morals of the Messenger of Allah are morals sourced from the Qur'an. In the Qur'an, the letter Ali Imran verse 159 explains that, if the Messenger of Allah was not meek, then people would definitely run away.

With tenderness, non-violence, and affection, it will stimulate people to draw closer and sympathy to the movements they are building, this is evidenced by the growing number of members of the community. Conversely, preaching with violence, even though they excuse amar ma'ruf nahi munkar will only make others more apathetic and stay away. Friendly Islam must start from building oneself to become role models for others.

Second, the principle of tolerance. Tolerance is an appreciation of others for differences. In the era of "clash of civilizations" as explained by Huntington (1993), hence tolerance is an attempt to

show that the clash between Islam and the West can still be avoided. According to Mutia (25 years), if Islam wants to get out of 'the accused' then Islam must show good intentions to live together with anyone.

The tolerance attitude taken by the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community is reflected in some of their social activities when carrying out social actions for disaster victims, and routine Friday sharing programs that they routinely do, the beneficiaries of the program could come from those who are non-Muslim, except the compensation program for orphans which is specifically for those who are Muslim. Likewise with humanitarian assistance in the case of natural disasters that have occurred in Lombok and Palu lately.

Third, the dialogical principle. This strategy is a suggestion from the Qur'an in carrying out da'wah. It is stated in Al-Qur'an Surah An-Nahl verse 125 relating to this matter is "wajadilhum billati hiya ahsan" (refute them in the best way). The Sahabat Hijrahkuu community in its missionary movement always strives to show a friendly and wise face of Islam. Dialogue is one way of preaching that is currently being strengthened in their movements.

Dialogue has the goal of finding mutually beneficial solutions. In da'wah one does not have to position oneself as 'righteous' while others as 'wrong'. With dialogue, there will be no violence, beatings, raids and the like, because that will only further discredit Islam itself. This is reflected in the motto of their movements that break the harokah differences in undergoing the hijrah movement. For the community of hijrahku friends, the difference in Harokah is not to find the best harokah, but it is a wealth of worship.

The hijrah movement undertaken by the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community in the form of study programs, is more directed at normative teachings for self-improvement in accordance with the idea of community movements namely hijrah, leaving old habits that are far from good towards changing themselves towards goodness according to Islamic teachings.

### **Community Political Movement**

Regarding the political movement, the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community took a role in the agitation of identity political values. This was conveyed through propaganda through Islamic political studies delivered by Ustadz-Ustadz who also became the organization's supervisor. Implicitly actually the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community continues to provide political support, both to political parties and to personal figures of politicians.

As a movement that emerged as a result of elementary after the Islamic action, of course it is certain that this movement will provide political support to the Prabowo-Sandi couple, as a pair of candidates for president and vice presidential candidate of the Republic of Indonesia with serial number 2 (two). What's more, the 212 alumni group and the GNPF-Ulama have officially provided political support to the candidate pair. In addition, Ahmad Kamal as chairman and founder of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community is also part of the North Sumatra GNPF-Ulama board.

The hijrah movement as a social movement for Muslim youth did experience reorientation prior to the 2019 presidential election. This can be understood from the views, attitudes and political goals of the initiators who were also part of the 212 movement. Semiotically, it seems that the 212 movement has been reoriented compared to 2017. Previously, both symbolically and narratively, it appears that the 212 movement was initially a religious movement dedicated as part of a practical political process, namely the 2017 DKI Election. Although in the end the movement underwent moderation which changed the orientation of the movement towards a broader orientation.

According to Siregar (61 years), this political support certainly does not necessarily conclude that the hijrah movement is a political movement, this is only part of the implementation of the movement's objectives. Moreover, those who are part of the hijrah movement are also part of the 212 and GNPF-Ulama movements. In the face of simultaneous elections in Indonesia, there was a division

of parties, one of which was called the group of Islamic dissident parties which also became the framing of the GNPF-Ulama movement after the 212 action. For the migratory community and Indonesian Muslims who are in line with the GNPF-Ulama movement, Prabowo is indeed not an ideal choice, but giving political support to Prabowo had guaranteed a temporary escape from a bad situation at the hands of Jokowi, and they considered that there was no hope for Jokowi.

By observing various processes of political involvement in the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community, the researcher tries to make several models of community involvement in politics.

First, directly involved as practitioners and political actors who are involved as administrators and legislative candidates from certain political parties. It directly involved the community elite, namely Ustadh Rudiawan Sitorus who was the builder of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community. Direct involvement provides greater political opportunities for communities to have better political bargaining power. The legislative position is expected to be able to provide political space to fight for the interests of the people and the interests of the existence of the community.

Second, as a strength supporting certain political parties by providing support behind the scenes. The community is able to initiate various religious activities which simultaneously constitute the mobilization of the electorate. This can be seen when several times the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community has been involved in holding religious events involving large numbers of Muslims, but the performance was filled with political content, although it was not conducted openly. That was reflected in the implementation of the Malam Bina Iman dan Taqwa (MABIT) and the great morning with Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno which was held on September 16, 2018 at the Al Jihad Mosque, Jl. Abdullah Lubis Medan.

As a migratory community consisting of young Muslims, the basis of the political argument of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community rests on a strong religious understanding. This understanding is extracted from the explanations of the Qur'an and the Hadith as well as the explanations of the ulama which are explained in various books which are often reviewed in the study program held by the community. The Sahabat Hijrahkuu community views politics as part of the implementation of Islamic teachings.

The state has a religious coherence that is reflected from the thought that the establishment of the state is in accordance with the consensus (*ijma'*) of its legal cleric *fardhu kifayah*. In Islamic political theory, such understanding is better known as accommodationalist understanding which views politics as part of religious teachings that cannot be separated (Syamsuddin, 1993).

## CONCLUSION

The spirit of migrations begins with a collective awareness of the concerns of young Muslims regarding discriminatory issues against Islam. But this actually burns the Islamic scene to the point of impacting on self-change for the better. After the Islamic action movement, Indonesian Muslim youth found a point where they understood the importance of collective work (*amal jama'i*). This awareness will have an elementary impact on the world of the youth and student movements, one of which is the increasing number of Muslim publics who are siding with the agenda of the Islamic movement. Collective awareness of self-identity as part of Islam, contributes to the political awareness of Muslims. The formation and joining of the Medan Muslim youths in the hijrah movement that was built by the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community was a series of collective awareness that occurred among the young Muslims of the city of Medan.

The current political condition has opened space for anyone to establish and carry out community organization activities. As a social movement, the hijrah movement has a capacity of ideas and ideas that guide in every action. This requires an opportunity for young people to freely spread their ideas, ideas and ideology to the public. The political structure and opportunity that was

born from reform is like a more open space, which gives more opportunities to the movement of the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community.

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