

Indonesian Young Moslems in a New Social Movement in the Post Reformation: Sahabat Hijrahkuu Community

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This paper discusses the migration movement by Sahabat Hijrahkuu community as a new social movement of young Muslims in Medan. The objective of the research was to find out the patterns through some articulation typology of Islamic social movement and the aim of socio-political change, using the Islamic perspective of populism and post-Islamism. The data were gathered using qualitative methods by conducting observations, interviews, and library research. The result of this paper shows the development of the migration movement in the series and the collective awareness of young Muslims in Medan in the post-Islam Defence Action movement. In the polarisation of the movement and the objective of socio-political change which is wanted in the Sahabat Hijrahkuu community, it can be said that this movement is Islamic populism, and that Post-Islamism movements split into two perspectives. First, the objective of the socio-political change in the Islamic populism perspective is identified by the existence and the representation of a middle class of Moslems as Ummah. Secondly, the objective of the socio-political movement through the perspective of Post-Islamism is identified by the adaptation and the negotiation of middle-class Moslems in democracy.

Key words: *Hijrah, Moslems, social movement, post-reformation.*

Introduction

Indonesia is the country which has the largest number of Moslems in the world. Today it has the largest number of young Moslems with different sects and multiculturalism. Youth are full of surprise. In a very short time, they can be the complete opposite of their previous position. They are a global generation that have been born in the last 30 years (Janmohamed,

2017) and they are 14 to 35 years old (Pangkahila, 1998) between childhood and adulthood (Soeprapto, 1984). They are the younger generation and they will replace the previous generation. They believe that religion and daily life cannot be separated. They are full of enthusiasm, immature, and inexperienced (Fowler, Fowler, & FG, 1956). They are the generation which is considered the empowering subject that has effective qualification with capacity and skill supported by their technological knowledge in order to be involved actively, along with the other effective forces, in handling the problems faced by the nation (Hasibuan, 2008). Their intensity in religious study has brought about the spirit of change which is claimed to be an effort to improve their personal quality. This religious spirit is actually increasing in young Moslems (Faisal, 2017). They want to become pious, ethical, and imbedded in religion. For them, these characteristics are considered an anti-mainstream and they are impressive. The word, *hijrah* (migration) is the used to describe and understand this phenomenon.

Hijrah can be defined as an attempt to abandon any difficulty toward various facilities and adherence to *syar'at* (sharia), either *dzahiriyah* or *batiniyah* (Aswadi, 2011). It is a spiritual journey (Erik & al, 2017) and an experience of liberation, either historically or spiritually (Ramadhan, 2007). Migration is a benchmark of the change of the Moslems to move from rigidity and build urban society (Ismail & Abidin, 2017). In this case, the change is meant as a collective attempt to uphold a new life (Blumer, 1955). *Hijrah* movement is a new social movement collectively acting to pursue mutual interests and goals through collective action outside established institutions (Giddens, 2003).

The *Hijrah* movement taken up by the *Sahabat Hijrahkuu* community cannot be separated from the context of social, economic, and political micro-structure. It was one of the impacts of the government's policy (Heryanto, 2015) which pointed out that there had been an awakening of Islamism at the end of the New World Order regime. The Islamic group which had been considered the right extremity was embraced and a new ally of the Soeharto regime in order to strengthen his political position which was weakened at that time. However, the *hijrah* movement was massive in the post-Islamic Defence Action by the end of 2016. Since then, many communities began to create *hijrah* movements which were dominated by young Moslems members.

The phenomena of Islamophobia became an inhibiting factor on the movement. It has led to prejudice and discrimination against Moslems and Islamic doctrines. This attitude was based on a claim that Islam is an "inferior" religion which becomes a threat for dominant values in society (Hady, 2004). The feeling of hatred and hostility exists in some western countries and in some cultures. In the last twenty years, the hostility began to appear more conspicuously, extremely, and dangerously (Trust, 1997). In Indonesia, the phenomena of Islamophobia was realised in dismay and negative incrimination against Islam since the Bali bombing incident

in 2002. Since the incident, a series of arrests were made and all suspects were Moslem in appearance. This condition has led to the Indonesian people feeling prejudiced against a male Moslem who wears a thick beard, black dot on the forehead, *cingkrang* pants, and long *gamis* and against a female Moslem who wears a veil and black habiliments. Consequently, people tend to keep away from him or her (Clerq, 1994).

Besides structural support for open political opportunity (McCarthy, D, & Zald, 1977)(Oliver & Myers, 1998)(Adam & Snow, 1997) the *hijrah* movement is also supported by the mobilisation of good resources (McCarthy, D, & Zald, 1977) such as some money from donors, charity from congregations, and management of secretariat buildings and mosques as public spaces and centres of activities (Jati, 2016) along with the capacity of leadership, managerial, organisational experience, ideological justification, and tactics (Muhtadi, 2011). Besides that, the *hijrah* movement is also supported by a good movement framing package which is aimed to mobilising the potency of followers to get support from various parties (Benford, 2000).

The characteristic religious implementation pattern of young Moslems entering the *hijrah* movement is similar to the characteristic of *santri* Islamic group as it is described by (Geertz, 2014). *Santri* is manifested in the accurate and regular implementation and carrying out of principal rituals in Islam such as prayers five times a day, Friday prayers in mosques, fasting in the month of Ramadhan, and pilgrimage to Mecca. A *santri* is a pious person who does religious rituals regularly and obediently. He is usually a student of a boarding school who knows a lot of the content of the Koran and the other holy books. However, the *hijrah* movement of young Moslems is slightly different from that of *Santri* Islamic groups. The phenomenon of *hijrakuu* and the new social movement of the Indonesian young Moslems who migrate is very interesting to discuss to get clear descriptions, especially those related to the achievement of change and social movement pattern established in communal life.

Methodology

The Setting

The research was conducted at several mosques in Medan which were usually used as public places for the activities of routine studies on Islam for the *hijrah* community. Some of them were Al-Jihad Mosque on Jalan Abdullah Lubis and Alfalaah Mosque on Jalan Alfalah Raya, Medan.

Method

The research used a qualitative phenomenological approach. The data were analysed by using a sociologic phenomenological orientation method. The phenomenon of the *hijrah* of young Moslems in this context was used to interpret the process of this social movement which was comprehensive, including physical, social, and cultural aspects. Therefore, the main research technique was in-depth interviews, participating observation, and documentation. In-depth interviews were done with selective informants such as the founder and the management of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community. The key informant was the founder of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community. Besides the founder, he was also the chairperson of the community who was active in every activity of the community. The associated informants were the members and the active management of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community who were able to give accurate information. The other informants were academics and religious leaders who were considered to have the capability of identifying the phenomena of the *hijrah* movement. Interviews were also done with police officers and military secret service personnel.

The observation component was used to see directly the various activities of the *hijrah* movement community. For example, the researchers joined (participation observation) with the youth in participating in the Islamic study in the two mosques and in the community secretariat office. The researchers could see and observed directly what and how the community (informants) did the activities in the mosques which used public places. Another main instrument in this research were the researchers themselves. The other supporting instruments were the results of the open interviews and observation. Cameras and tape recorders were also used as additional instruments. The data obtained from the informants were recorded in the notebook, written, completed, and improved as field notes. The field notes consisted of the compilation of a diary completed with the results of the recorded interviews. This process was done every day, followed by a discussion with the team of researchers for evaluating the performance in the field.

Dominant Factors in the Establishment of the *Hijrah* Movement of the Islamic Youth

Political Opportunity Structure of Hijrah Movement

The fall of the Soeharto regime in 1988 caused the Islamic mass organisations to be free for filing their demands. The reformation era became the turning point for strengthening and increasing the Islamic movement structurally and culturally. The first characteristic was identified by the increasing establishment of the Islamic parties. Even though only PKB, PKS, PAN, PPP, and PBB had survived so far, they were not able to play their role effectively. In the midst of the Islamophobia phenomena, which is increasingly putting Islam

into an awkward position, it is necessary to have the formulation of *dakwah* (proselytism) strategy, and be able to present the Islamic characteristic in accordance with the principle goal. In its movement, *Sahabat Hijrakuu* wants to present the Islamic *dakwah* in a friendly way by using some strategies as follows:

Firstly, the Principle of Being Exemplary. In their *dakwah* movement, all members of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* movement are required to exhibit Islamic behaviour and the attitude of a Moslem who have *Rahmatallilalamin* (pity for the entire world). A 27-year-old male respondent points out that when a person can ‘behave himself as a good individual’, people will sympathise with and eventually follow him. Their softness, non-violence, and love will stimulate other people to be close to them and sympathise with the movement they have established. This is shown by the increasing number of its members. On the other hand, performing *dakwah* with violence, even though they claim *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (to instruct in doing good and avoiding doing wrong), people will be apathetic and aloof from Islam. Friendly Islam should start with developing one’s own self to become an exemplar for other people.

Secondly, the Principle of Tolerance. Tolerance is an appreciation for other people’s differences. In the era of “cultural shock,” as it is pointed out by (Huntington, 1993) tolerance is an attempt to indicate that conflict between Islam and Western countries can be avoided. A 25-year-old female respondent points out that if Islam does not want to be accused of “being the accused,” it has to show the good faith to live together with anyone else. Tolerance showed by the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* movement is reflected in some of its social activities such as helping disaster victims and regular Friday Sharing. The receivers of the programs can be non-Moslems except for aid for orphans. This program is given to those who are Moslems. They were also active in humanitarian aid during the natural disaster in Lombok and Palu. The reflection of tolerance can also be seen in the friendship between its members with non-Moslems. Dinda (21 years of age) has intimately befriended a girl who is Christian. She never uses the word, *kafir* (non-Moslem), in reference to her friend, keeping harmony between them. And she never talks about the difference in beliefs with her friend.

Thirdly, the Principle of Dialogue. This *dakwah* strategy is found in the Koran in Surah An-Nahl, verse 125 which says, *wajadilhum billahi hiya ahsan* (refute them with the best method). In the *dakwah* movement the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community always attempts to present the friendly and prudent Islam. Dialogue is one of the methods of *dakwah* which is being stirred up by this movement. The purpose of dialogue is to search for a win-win solution. In *dakwah*, one should not position himself as “the right one” and the other people as “the wrong one.” There will be no violence, assault, raid, and so on. This might discredit Islam. It is in accordance with their motto of breaking through the difference in *harokah* (movement) in operating their *hijrah* movement. For the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community the

difference in *harokah* does not mean to find which *harokah* is the best one, but its wealth in doing *ibadah* (religious devotion).

For the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, creativity has become a priority. It is not only about *dakwah* but also about having religion. They feel that the important thing is how to adjust their movement pattern which they have been establishing in the millennial generation. This condition is needed to prevent the incidence of freezing and inflexibility on religious patterns. The established *Sahabat Hijrakuu* movement should be capable of presenting a good and friendly image of Islam. In the midst of civilisation conflict which is positioning Islam as “the accused”, the *Hijrah* movement of young Moslems wants to be well understood by other people regarding Islam so that Islam, which will eventually become *rahmatanlilalamin*, will be able to become part of local culture through the *rahmah* (love and affection) Islamic *dakwah*.

Political Movement of the Sahabat Hijrakuu Movement

As a movement which appeared as the elementary result of the post-Islam Defence Action, it can be guaranteed that this movement will give political support to Prabowo-Sandi as the presidential candidate (Prabowo as the candidate for president and his running mate, Sandi as the candidate for vice-president) for the Republic of Indonesia, consecutive number 2 (two). Moreover, the 212 alumni groups and GNPF-Ulama have officially given their political support for these presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Besides that, Ahmad Kamal as the chairperson and the founder of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is also a part of GNPF-Ulama management of North Sumatera.

The *Hijrah* movement as the movement of young Moslems experienced reorientation prior to the Presidential Election in 2019. This can be seen from the viewpoint, attitude, and political goal of their idea-men who are also part of the 212 movements. Semiotically, it is evident that the 212 movements have experienced reorientation, compared to the same movement that occurred in 2017. Symbolically and in narration, it is evident that the 212 movements used to be a religious movement which dedicated itself to a part of the processes of practical politics – DKI Pilkada (regional election) of 2017. However, it has eventuated into a wider orientation.

A 61-year-old respondent pointed out that political support cannot automatically conclude that the *Hijrah* movement is a political movement since it is only a part of the implementation of the intention of the movement. Besides that, those who join the *Hijrah* movement are also part of the 212 movements and GNPF-Ulama. On the occasion of the simultaneous general election in Indonesia, there was the split of parties into two groups; one of them is called ‘religion defamer’ party which became the framing of the GNPF-Ulama movement in the

post-212 action. For the *hijrah* community and the Indonesian Moslems that are in line with the GNPf-Ulama movement, Prabowo was not an ideal alternative. However, giving support for Prabowo has guaranteed achieving ‘getaway’ temporarily from a bad situation under the President Jokowi regime since they consider that there is no hope to survive under President Jokowi. By observing the political involvement of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, the writers attempt to model this community in politics.

Firstly, the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is directly involved in politics as a political practitioner on the executive board and as the legislative candidate of certain political parties. In this case, it directly involved the community elite, Ustadz Rudiawan Sitorus, the establisher of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community. Direct involvement has given the community an opportunity to have better political bargaining. The legislative position is expected to be able to provide the political opportunity for the people’s interests and for the existence of the community.

Secondly, the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community play a role as a supporting power for certain political parties by giving support behind the scene. The community is able to initiate various religious activities which, at the same time, are also the mobilisation of voters. This can be seen from their activities, such as holding religious events that involve a great number of Moslems, full of political content implicitly. This was reflected in events such as *Malam Bina Iman dan Taqwa* (MABIT) (Faith and Religious Devotion Development Night) and *Subuh Akbar* (Great Early Morning Prayer) with Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno (vice presidential candidate) held in Al-Jihad Mosque, Jalan Abdullah Lubis, Medan, on September 16, 2018.

As a *Hijrah* community of argumentation based-young Moslem members, the policy of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is based on a strong religious belief. This belief is digested in the Koran and Hadits and the explanations of the Islamic scholars in various books frequently scrutinised in the Islamic study programs completed by the community. The *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community considers that participation in politics is part of the implementation of the Islamic doctrine.

Mobilisation of Resources

Access to the Funds of the Sahabat Hijrakuu Community

A 28-year-old respondent pointed out that the main source of the funds of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community comes from donors, individuals, partners, gifts from the congregation, and membership fees at either weekly fee or monthly fee. Financial support from community is usually received during the activities such as regular activity in Islamic studies, great sermons, and social programs for humanitarian aid. During the public assembly, donations

are collected through *kotak infaq* (boxes provided for donating by inserting money into them). The donation is used for financing daily operation such as accommodation and transportation for inviting the Islamic speakers on the national scale. Some of the permanent donors for the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community are Medan Napoleon, Duren Awak, Joko Solo Group, Medan Par Par, Restaurant JM Bariani, Mie Ayam Mahmud, Notaris Muslim, Maidani Pancake Durian, and some business people who donate their money individually. The *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community never sets or fixes the amount of money given by donors.

Donation collected by the volunteers of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is divided into two categories: first, donation which is intended for the funds of charity and *dakwah*. This kind of donation comes from donors and congregations, and it is used for charity activity and religious study. Secondly, the fund is used for operational administration such as electronic bills, internet, piped-in-water, and the other office administration. This donation comes from membership fees. Since the biggest donation for the community comes from donors and congregation, a financial statement is presented to the congregation transparently and it is announced in every public assembly held.

Besides donors, the other source of donation comes from the business done by the community *Sahabat hijrakuu* Store, in which the earnings of the store will be allocated to the need of the community operation. The business is managed by DANUS (Fund and Business) which had the responsibility to find donors while managing its business. Today, the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* Store sells fashion products and merchandise with the brand, *Sahabat Hijrakuu* such as jackets, *koko* clothes, T-shirts, key hangers, *dakwah* stickers, and mugs. Besides that, the community collaborates with volunteers who have the same kind of products, using a profit sharing system.

Membership of the Sahabat Hijrakuu Community

Up to the present time, in a neighbourhood of 700 members, the community have registered as permanent members of the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, either as the executive board or as volunteers even though there is also turnover. This is because there are various reasons or motivations for joining the community in that some of the members feel that their expectation is not fulfilled in joining the community. Some of their motivations are to find marriage partners and to promote their businesses. The other factors which influence someone to join the community are difference in viewpoints, opinions, *harokah*, and the problem of *khilafiyah* (disputed). To anticipate them, during the recruitment of new members, the executive board gives confirmation that the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is very plural and egalitarian toward any ideology, *harokah*, *mazhab* (religious sects), and the Islamic motivation of its members. Therefore, if there is one of its members finding fault with the other members about their point of view on *ibadah*, they will be eliminated from the community.

The volunteers who join the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community come from various professions with different soft-skills. Some of them are teachers, employees, UMKM business people, students, and even senior high school students. All of them are actively involved in the activities of the community without disturbing their daily activities. The distribution of their roles, tasks, and functions are adjusted to the background of their professionalism and skills, and it can be done permanently in the management or tentative structure during the activities of the program.

Developing *Hijrah* Movement Framing

Diagnostic Framing of Hijrah Movement

In the case of the *hijrakuu* movement, an issue emerged as with Islam being threatened or attacked. In the beginning, various actions via the Islam Defence Action were triggered by an assumption that the Koran was insulted and defamed by Ahok (ex-Jakarta Governor) in his speech at Pulau Seribu (BBC, 2016). In the process, through various religious speeches, it was said that there was an attempt to ‘smash up’ Islam by having rams Islamic fundamentalists and traditionalists against each other (playing off Moslems against the other Moslems) and an attempt to criminalise Islamic scholars. It was evident that Islam, the Koran, and Islamic scholars were the victims of injustice. This condition became the starting point of collective awareness which would eventually strengthen Islamic *ghirah* (enthusiasm) among Moslems, especially young Moslems.

Prognostic Framing of Hijrah Movement

To keep the volunteers of the *Sahabat hijrakuu* community not undergoing *futur* (temptation) during the process of *hijrah*, they actively participate in the programs of Islamic study which is done every day. A 28-year-old respondent pointed out that it is very important for a person who has migrated (*hijrah*) to regularly participate in the Islamic study and to keep in touch with the pious people. It is important because he says, *futur* can come over any time; temptation can come from economic problems, family and old friends who have not migrated, mates for those who are still single, and the other secular affairs. He further points out that by participating in Islamic study intensively every day to get together in doing virtuous things, one will be protected from *futur* because they can remind one with another so that they can safeguard themselves.

Another obstacle is about adjusting each member’s time to the schedule of participation in the program of Islamic study because they come from different professional backgrounds. In order to respond to this situation, the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community makes working programs for a six-day work week so that the volunteers can adjust their time to the schedule and they

can participate at least once in a week. The program includes *Kajian Rutin di hari Senin* or KANTIN (Routine Study on Mondays), *Kajian Bersama di hari Selasa* or KABAR (Collective Study on Tuesdays), the agenda of routine meeting of the executive board and volunteers on Wednesdays, Routine Study on Thursdays, archery, Sharing Friday, and study on pre-marriage on Fridays, and weekend study now on Saturdays.

For the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, creativity is needed not only to organise each program in order to avoid the joined members' boredom but also to attract people to join the community. The preachers do not deliver their speech in a one-way method; they attempt to direct their congregations to implement what is said into daily life by presenting the Islamic doctrine according to the people's condition.

Motivational Framing of Hijrah Movement

The *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community recruits its new members to join the community voluntarily. The motivation is related to how to improve one's self to return to the religious doctrine according to the guidance of the Koran and Hadits. Developing the Islamic values as the spirit of *hijrahkuu* becomes the commitment and the organisational shared values of all its managers. The organisational values and commitment seem to end up by the spirit of religious voluntarism which usually becomes a motivating force for social movement, especially when the voluntarism is based on religious awareness. The *hijrahkuu* movement itself is a social movement based on religiosity. Informant AK (28 years old) firmly points out that there is no material reward obtained by either the management or the volunteers. They believe that their activity in the *Hijrah* movement is considered as good or meritorious work and a devotion which needs sincerity, belief, and prayer.

Besides that, the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is a *hijrah* community which is open to anyone who wants to join the community without considering the difference in *harokah* and *khilafiyah*. This kind of concept becomes attractive and sympathetic to young Moslems who join the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community. Plural attitude toward the different *harokah* is also one of the aspects which distinguish the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community from the other Islamic groups which are inflexible in facing differences.

Respondents need to have wisdom in their attitude and flexibility in their action to respond to the variety of *harokah* so that the difference can trigger them to do *fastabiqulkhairot* (competing for good deeds), *mudzakarah* (exchange of thoughts/news/ ideas), negotiation, and *taushiyah* (advice). The *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community prioritises appreciation to all people without considering their difference in *harokah* and background toward Islam. A person who has migrated is reflecting his religious attitude which is friendly and peaceful, not

threatening, finding fault and accusing someone *bid'ah* (innovation in religion), since the latter will influence a different opinion of him.

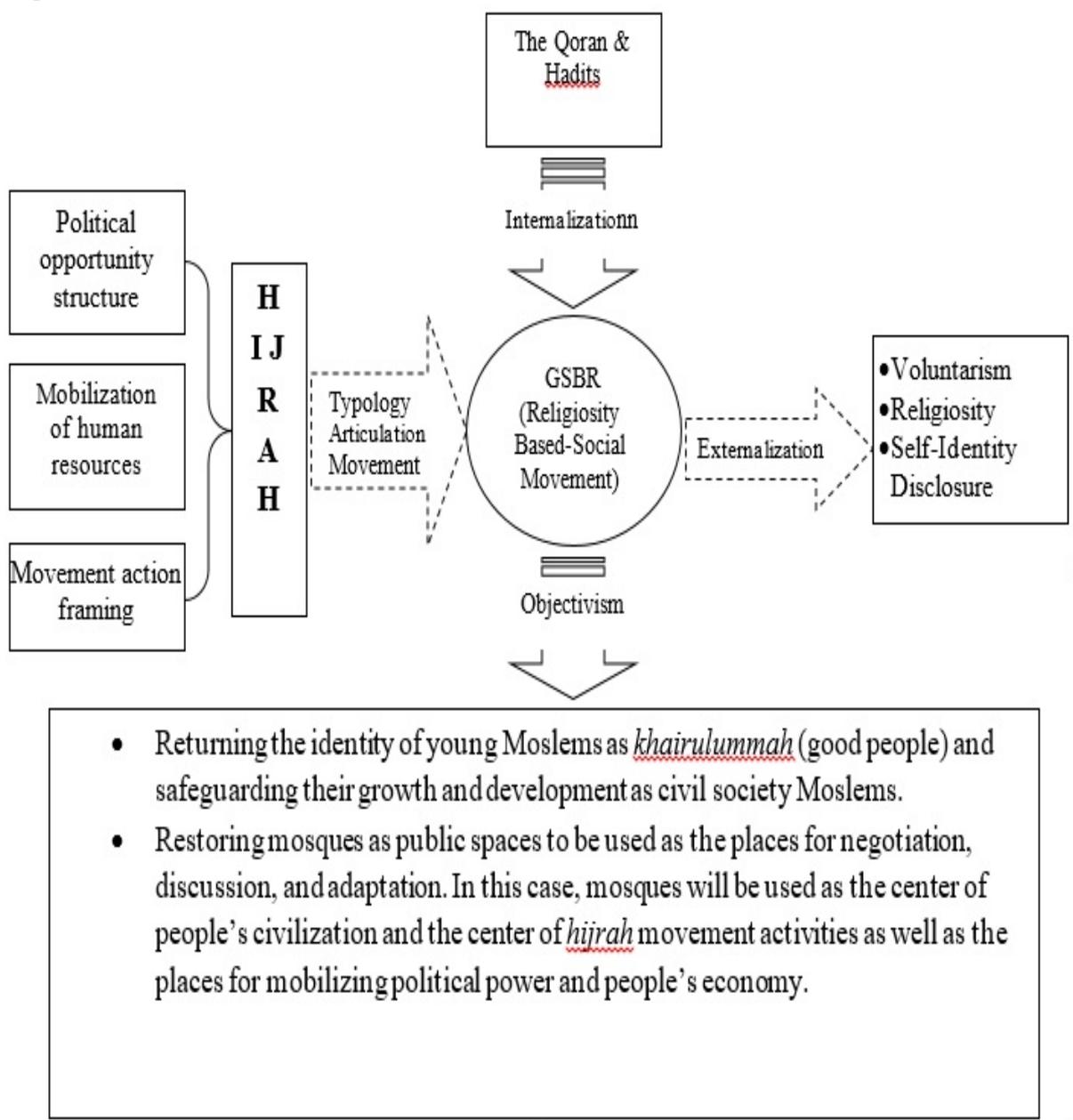
***Hijrakuu* as a Religiosity Based-New Social Movement**

As a new social movement of young Moslems, *Hijrakuu* movement can be positioned as GGBR (Religiosity Based-Social Movement) because the idea of movement which comes from young Moslems who join this community is based on the religious attitude of its initiators as a spiritual response to the social and spiritual condition of young Moslems in Medan. Viewed from the theory of a social movement approach, Neil Smelser (Smelser, 2011) includes the GGBR category into a social movement which is oriented toward values. Meanwhile, Weber (Weber & King, 2014) characterises social movement which is oriented to values as being determined by conscious belief in ethical values, beauty, and religion. Neil Smelser (Smelser, 2011) further points out that GGBR is a phenomenon of collective behaviour which is oriented to values which attempt to make a change, to restore, to protect, and to modify value system to a generalized belief. This belief includes an idea, divine source of power, and mystical belief. However, this belief cannot be separated from the involvement of all components of social action and expecting a change in value system, norm, motif, and facilities.

The *hijrah* movement lived by young Moslems in Medan is evidently a movement which is oriented to values. Their movement has commenced by conscious belief in the Islamic values believed by them to have originated from the Koran and Hadits. One of the characteristics indicates that the *hijrah* movement is a religiosity-based social movement. This is evidenced by their militancy which is merged with voluntary (sincere) attitudes, and indicated by the behaviour of the *hijrah* movement's volunteers. The implementation of the Islamic concept on good deeds or philanthropy in each of their programs shows their militancy and sincerity with high consciousness and sincerity based on their religiosity. Voluntarism is often used as the initiator of a social movement. Besides that, voluntarism is based on the awareness of diversity. In this movement, there is no material reward received by its management or volunteers. They consider that their activity in the *hijrah* movement is 'good or meritorious' work and a devotion which needs sincerity, belief, and prayer.

In general, the liner framework of the social movement model which occurs in the *hijrah* movement of young Moslems in the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community can be explained as follows in Figure 1:

Figure 1. Framework of Social Movement Model



Conclusion

The spirit of *hijrah* was started by collective awareness of the great concern for the issues arising from discrimination toward Islam. The Islamic *ghirah* was initiated and has eventually had an impact on a change toward a better personality: From a person who is fond of doing bad things toward a person who was pious or devout. It was the evolution from a person who ignored *syariat* (canon law) to a person who had awareness of religious devotion. *Hijrah*, in this context, is the derivation of the several conditions above. What they have done

is based on collective awareness and great concern for Islam and disappointment in the State. The concern and disappointment (social grievance) in the conceptualisation of the social movement is called relative deprivation. In the post-Islam defence action scheme, Indonesian young Moslems eventually found a starting point in which they began to understand the important meaning of *amaljama'i* (collective work). This awareness has had an elementary impact on a youth and student movement, as indicated by the increasing number of Moslems who take the side of the agenda of the Islamic movement. Collective awareness of self-identity as part of Islam has contributed to Moslems' political awareness. The establishment and the joining of young Moslems in Medan with the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community has been part of a series of collective awareness' of young Moslems in Medan.

Concerning the *hijrah* movement established by the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, MUI (Indonesian Islamic Scholar Assembly) of Medan recommends that what they do in developing the *hijrah* movement be used as the model for the other *hijrah* communities. Another respondent (37 years old) pointed out that the important things are that young Moslems who had joined the *hijrah* community should not establish another community which is contrary to the other Islamic groups.

The *hijrah* movement established by the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community is also supported by good and useful ideological framing, so that the ideas and the objective of this movement can be accepted by people. What it means by ideological framing is that a person who has *hijrah* (migrated) should be reflected in his friendly and peaceful religious attitude; it is not threatening, finding fault with, and accusing other people as being *bid'ah*. The *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community prioritises appreciation for all people without considering their *harokah* and their point of view on Islam. This ideology is reflected in their motto, "whatever your *harokah*, I am your brother." This kind of framing is realised in the form of collective action such as Islamic study, human action, and publishing on a YouTube channel and Instagram.

In the polarisation the movement and the objective of socio-political change which is wanted by the *Sahabat Hijrakuu* community, it can be said that this movement is Islamic populism and a Post-Islamism movement since there is a split of these two perspectives. Firstly, the objective of the socio-political change in the Islamic populism perspective is identified by the existence and the representation of middle class of Moslems as *ummah*. The *hijrah* movement reflects in its objective, a desire to restore the identity of young Moslems as *khairulummah* and to safeguard the growth and the development of young Moslems as civil society Moslems. Secondly, the objective of the socio-political perspective of Post-Islamism is identified by the adaptation and the negotiation of middle-class Moslems in democracy. The objective of the *hijrah* movement is also to restore mosques as public places for negotiation, discussion, and adaptation. Mosques will be used as the centre of people's civilisation and the



centre of *hijrah* movement's activities as well as the places for the mobilisation of people's political and economic power.



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