

# Political Interpretation of the Muslim Youth Migration Movement in Makassar City

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the migration movement of Muslim youth in the socio-political context in Makassar City. The purpose of this study is to analyze the pattern of movement and interaction with the political movement of Islamic populism especially in Indonesia. The method used is qualitative by using social movement theory and the concepts of Islamism and Post-Islamism. The analysis of the political interpretation of the Hijrah movement of young Muslims in Makassar City especially in terms of the pattern of ideological networks and activism as a form of propaganda and political strategy. As a community, this movement provides its own perspective within the frame of Islamism and the construction of the movement. Contemporary Islam, Islamic activism with a lot of masses that have emerged in recent years in opposing to government policies not a spontaneous action. These Hijrah communities which are dominated by young Muslims, with their own organizational and ideological networks, have contributed to the Islamic movement so far.

**Keywords:** *Political Interpretation, Hijrah (Migration), Islamism and Post-Islamism.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This research starts from the issue that why the Islamic movement (Islamic activism/Islamism) in fighting for their ideological-political ideals, either in the form of the struggle for the establishment of an Islamic state, making Islam the basis of the state, as well as the application of Islamic law in public life (formalization of Islamic law) always appear and experience reproduction. This situation has allowed the birth of a large number of political parties. Islam also took a big part in the era of democratization with the emergence of parties with Islamic principles. In addition, symptoms that stand out and cause controversy have also emerged, that is the revival of Islamic movements and the application of Islamic law.

In the context of Islamism, the presence of political parties, media and Islamic organizations with an Islamist or ideological pattern in the reform era has openly voiced and brought back the struggle to uphold Islamic law. At least there are some Islamist groups that are increasingly showing their activism, both within formal institutions and outside formal state institutions. Issues regarding the enforcement of sharia and the enforcement of Islamic sharia which are championed by

Islamist groups will certainly greatly affect local politics and democratization, especially in South Sulawesi.

This situation has enabled the birth of political forces such as religious organizations in the form of civil society and other new pillars of democracy. Islam also took a big part in this era of democratization. The proof is that among the emerging political forces are those with Islamic social origins. In addition to mass organizations, small-scale but wide-networked communities have emerged, for example the Hijrah community. The Hijrah community can be said to be successful in attracting followers from young millennials from various social classes. This is because of the community's ability to use non-conventional da'wah methods, including maximizing the use of social media, youth-style communication, and the ability to follow and respond to developing trends (lifestyles and issues). There was a religious twist that changed, especially among young people. For example, in the '80s there were several movements that were relatively similar but had more political tendencies and carried out silent resistance to state hegemony. Meanwhile, the youth movement of the '90s emerged as an executive recitation movement such as Paramadina. In the 2000s until now it seems they are building a new movement with a new nomenclature. Social media that is widely

used by millennials is considered to be the most appropriate means of spreading da'wah. Various images with unique models and content color the religious perspective of young people today. Contemporary Hijrah communities in Indonesia currently fill these spaces. Research by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) sees that there are two typologies, namely conservative and Islamist. This is the result of research on the Religious Trends of the Contemporary Hijrah Movement (Syakir NF, 2021).

The formation of Hijrah communities in the city of Makassar is a common phenomenon that does not only exist in the city of Makassar but also in several big cities in Indonesia. On average, their existence always carries around issues to Islam, especially issues related to urban Sufism, the importance of changing the direction of religious life in modern life today, in addition to issues of religious politics, such as leadership in Islam, government systems, justice, the Muslim world, etc., are also issues that cannot be separated from the life of communities like this. . Historically, this Hijrah phenomenon has ideological ties that are full of Islamic values, namely sharia as a solution to social and state problems. Their presence also cannot simply be separated from ideological ties or ideological and organizational emotional closeness with certain mass organizations, especially in South Sulawesi, so that they seem different from other mainstream organizations or groups. In general, these Hijrah communities have always emphasized that Islam is a global and synthesizing system of thought. Islamic society in its various foundations and structures of life must be Islamic. This phenomenon can be seen from the background of the members, including the agendas and programs that they have been involved in and running so far. The involvement of Muslim youth is a form of socio-religious movement in mobilizing highly progressive Islamic youth resources. The phenomenon where the program or agenda of da'wah and social religious movements looks very massive and very structured. Mention, for example, how the da'wah projects which have been the main program have targeted the pattern of the people's economic strength, and also how these da'wah patterns respond to issues of the benefit of the ummah which theoretically cannot be separated from political interests. Political interests can be in the form of responding to issues of nationality, leadership, the benefit of the people and how they construct an issue with the perspective and ideology they believe in. Based on this phenomenon, it is not uncommon for the existence of these Hijrah communities to be identified with Islamists. Islamist or often identified with Islamism is a thought that believes in Islam as a set of value systems as well as a socio-political ideology (Fealy, 2007). Based on the nomenclature it is increasingly clear that the philosophies of the two media were formed based on the

conception and meaning of Islamic law, the conception of the Islamic State, and the conception of the caliphate. In the philosophical basis mentioned above, it is increasingly emphasized that Islam is a point of view to understand political realities and to develop strategies for political struggle.

Therefore, it is very interesting to study the analysis of the political interpretation of the Hijrah movement of young Muslims in Makassar City, especially in terms of the ideological network pattern and its activism as a form of propaganda and political struggle strategy. As a community that has emotional ties with certain ideological lines, which understands Islam as a binding rule in matters of *ubudiyah* (worship), *mu'amalah* (interaction between humans) and *siyasa* (state politics), it will certainly provide its own perspective within the frame of Islamism and the construction of the contemporary Islamic movement. Islamic activism with a large number of masses that have emerged over the last few years, such as the defending Islam movement 411, 212 to the last 313, the turmoil of opposition to government policies that are not pro-interested by groups, the phenomenon of Hijrah among young Muslims. which is so massive, certainly not a spontaneous action. The Islamic movement was planned systematically. The question is whether the presence of these Hijrah communities as a source of information and a place to spread 'Islamist' ideas has room in influencing the Islamic movement so far. Of course, the militancy of young Muslims who are in the position of urban Sufism is highly considered to have contributed greatly to the public discourses that have been exposed through media coverage and da'wah projects that they have carried out so far. These empty spaces are what the researcher will elaborate further during the research process. From here, the focus in this research will be described on the problem of how the construction pattern of the da'wah movement carried out by these young Muslims who are members of the Hijrah movement in Makassar City will be described. Next, it will ask whether the construction of the Hijrah movement used is part of religious politics within the framework of Islamism which has direct implications for social movements so far.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted with a qualitative method. This method is used because the phenomenon under study is a dynamic social phenomenon. In addition, the material object of this research is closely related to the pattern of activism and movement construction as well as the pattern of networking and movement penetration which is certainly very dynamic and requires a qualitative in-depth analysis. Furthermore, the data was analyzed descriptively-analytically, namely describing the phenomenon as well as unraveling and analyzing it in detail and systematically.

This study uses two data collection techniques, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data is data that is directly obtained from the main data. In this study, the primary data used is interviews. While secondary data is obtained – especially from publications that are related to the object of this research, including the results of studies of scholars who have been published, in various mass media, journals, books, which are in accordance with the study material in this study as well as other ingredients.

### **3. THEORY FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1. Social Movement Theory**

There are three very important concepts of social movement theory, namely the political opportunity structure, framing, and mobilizing structure. As part of social movement theory, framing is one of the analytical tools that is often used in looking at patterns of activism and movement ideology. Framing is a process by which social movement actors create and roll a discourse that can resonate among those who are the target of mobilization as proposed by David A. Snow (Muhtadi, 2012). The political opportunity structure explains that the emergence of social movements is often triggered by major changes that occur in the political structure. Such drastic changes open up many opportunities that provide benefits for social actors to initiate new phases of oppositional politics and encourage the public to take advantage of opportunities. This political opportunity is external – formed from the actions of people who are not members of the movement – so the sustainability of a social movement is largely determined by how long political opportunities are available (Muhtadi, 2012).

Social movement theory provides advantages for efforts to understand the various symptoms of political Islam in a cross-disciplinary manner. This theory does not only look at historical dynamics, but also the process and organization of activism that carries the flag of Islam. It also provides an understanding of how the dynamics, processes and organizations of Islamic activism can be used as a determining element for collective action, which works beyond the uniqueness of Islam as a system of meaning, identity, and basis for collective action. Although the ideological color distinguishes Islamic activism in some ways from other secular-oriented collective actions, it is not *sui generis* especially when we consider the dynamics, processes, and organization of activism. As with other collective actions, it is rational and arises because of its contact with certain political dynamics, through a mobilization process that involves complex recruitment networks and is polished with ideological touches through appropriate framing (Hasan, 2012).

Based on social movement theory, it can comprehensively explain how emotions, ideas and activities intertwine, giving birth to a movement that

involves various layers of actors and constituents, all of which are very different in character and function. From this theory, it is important to look at what makes those who come from diverse walks of life and backgrounds become part of a large movement, in which they share similar religious rhetoric and language, diverse codes of behavior and common passions. to change the existing social order. In this context, Asef Bayat, for example, specifically offers the concept of “imagined solidarity”, borrowing Ben Anderson's very famous “imagined community” to see how people with diverse social backgrounds and minds come together into a movement and shout to voice the same concerns and organize collective actions. According to Bayat, Imagined solidarity is something that is formed spontaneously among movement actors who agree on a common consensus by imagining subjectively the interests and values that are upheld together (Hasan, 2012).

Through this approach to the construction of the movement by Muslim youths in the form of the Hijrah movement, it will be easier for researchers to see further the ideological networks in these communities. How the construction of ideas and ideas reflected in the Hijrah activism can be framed in such a way that it can be a communication tool to spread their ideas (ideology). Including ideas related to the ins and outs of regulating the affairs of the people and the State with all forms of laws, regulations and policies made by the holders of power that are in line with the basic teachings and spirit of the Shari'a to realize the benefit of the people.

#### **3.2. Islamism**

Islamism can be defined as a movement or organization that seeks to change Muslim society with programs and ideologies taken from the holy text of Islam. Unlike the terms “Fundamentalist”, “militant”, “radical”, or “terrorist”, which tend to carry Western pejorative connotations and may contain reductionism, the term “Islamist” (*Islamiyyun*) is a term chosen by those who are part of the movement. Islamist. The term “Islamist” differs from the term “Muslim” in the sense that the former refers to people with an activist conscious agenda, while the latter is a nominal identity for an individual or group of people from a range of ideological views. Islamism refers to Islamist politics as well as the process of re-Islamization (Hilmy, 2009).

Political Islamist refers to the activities of organizations and movements that burst into the public sphere by using signs and symbols from the Islamic tradition. Islamism is a political ideology that articulates the idea of the need to establish an Islamic government, which is understood as a government that implements sharia (Islamic law). Islamization or re-Islamization shows the urge to Islamize social spaces in various ways, including through the media.

In general, Islamism is the belief that Islam has a comprehensive and superior set of norms or teachings, which can be used as guidelines for social order. Therefore, Islamists everywhere try to replace the existing socio-political rules with norms or teachings based on certain interpretations of Islamic teachings. This can be achieved through peaceful or violent actions depending on the value system believed by the actors of the Islamist movement. The two main characteristics of Islamism, namely the Islamic state and Islamic activism in a diverse spectrum. The two are interconnected and cannot be separated because an Islamic state is impossible without well-organized Islamic activism (Muhtadi, 2012).

The presence of an Islamic movement that carries ideology, which links Islam directly or integrally with state or political institutions, in contemporary discourse is known as Islamism (*Islamiyyah*). This movement (Islamism) views that Islam cannot be separated from and has an integral relationship with state politics, because Islam covers all aspects of life (Nashir, 2007). This Islamist group has a tendency to be ideologically motivated Muslims and representatives of the "Islamic movement" (*al-harakah al-Islamiyyah*) (Dale F. Eickelman & Piscatori, 1998). Although in its development Islamism is often equated with Marxism. Islamism is why so many people are interested because the basis of its movement is that it departs from the socio-political phenomenon of a country that has many problems so that Islamism then offers a national solution by offering sharia enforcement as a solution. Similarly, many people are attracted to marxist ideology because marxism offers a theory of justice, that capitalism must be fought for the realization of social justice in a country. An example is the criticism of the formalization of sharia. Sharia should not be forced into the area of state policy because it is a public sphere (Baehr, 2011).

This symptom of Islamic ideology has even recently been associated with "Islamism" (*Islamiyyah*), which in contemporary Islamic discourse has begun to be widely used as a more appropriate choice than the concept of Islamic fundamentalism, which has been criticized a lot because it contains many weaknesses or ambiguities. In the era of Islamic revival at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the ideological ideology of Islam seemed to be in sync with the Pan-Islamic movement (Pan-Islamism) as proclaimed by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, which then echoed throughout the Islamic world including in Indonesia (Peter R. Demant, 2006).

With several definitions of the concept above, it will greatly clarify the pattern of Islamism in the construction of this Hijrah movement that is formed and moves. It is clear that both certain religious actions and thoughts have a direct relationship with this pattern of

activism of the Hijrah movement. This movement can be identified clearly either through symbols, da'wah in social media, as well as social movements and their da'wah through the dissemination of opinion. Of course, this movement a little or a lot will definitely have an influence on the socio-political life of the community.

#### **4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

The new socio-religious movement is one of the efforts to overcome the problem of identity crisis related to individual religiosity in one's life. Recently, a movement has emerged in Indonesia that was started by a group of millennial Muslims who have changed from a religious point of view through change. The religious movement in the form of Hijrah is a form of religious transformation that is implemented in group activity forums in changing religious behavior (Rochimah, 2018). The religious movement developed in the form of the Hijrah movement which was started by the millennial generation. The role and position of millennial actors in the collective Hijrah movement has created a new identity as a religious community that adheres to Islamic rules

As a social movement phenomenon, Hijrah is a form of collective action that creates awareness of the importance of religion for mankind. create life (Saputra, S., Pujiati, & Simanihuruk, 2020). The reason is, Hijrah is basically a personal rite that began to develop into a community movement. The Hijri movement became one of the popular da'wah movements that became a social trend that was persecuted collectively (Addini, 2019). If you look at history, the development of Hijrah has occurred since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, including Umar bin Khattab's friend who was initially known as an anti-Islamic bully who later migrated to become the most persistent defender of Islam. The Hijrah incident was observed when the Prophet Muhammad SAW established Islamic social culture in Medina by making social and political changes.

The mass migration movement as a new phenomenon of social movement as one of the Islamic movements has become a dynamic form of social reality in society. This social reality occurs in society both globally and nationally and shows that there are many social movements taking place in the name of Hijrah. The various phenomena mentioned above clearly do not pay attention to the true meaning of Hijrah. Between celebrations and *de-Hijrahization* in the midst of stretching the awareness of Muslims to carry out Hijrah, religious movements in the form of Hijrah are a form of religious transformation that is manifested in changes in religious behavior in a group activity forum (Rochimah, 2018). The presence of the Hijrah movement has indirectly become an institution that is considered effective for carrying out transformations by making religious aspects a forum for change.

In Makassar itself there are several Hijrah communities that exist. The majority of Muslim youths are members of these communities. These communities in recruiting members have various methods such as mobilizing all cadre handling divisions to find members either by distributing open recruitment volunteer pamphlets or by directly inviting people around them including distributing google forms. Its cadre consists of *Ikhwan* and *Akhwat* where some act as permanent members and some act only as temporary volunteers on humanitarian agendas, studies or certain activities.

The construction of da'wah in the Hijrah community uses the pattern of inviting youth to study together and making study events to convince the hearts of the youth. This is based on the motto among the Hijrah communities such as, "we unite our hearts and unite our intentions to preach" which means "we will touch your hearts and strengthen your intentions in preaching by presenting you in the knowledge assembly". This Hijrah phenomenon can be said as an effort to "Islamize" the public sphere. This can be seen from the concept of Hijrah which is not only understood as a change in behavior, but also includes changes in the way of dressing, the way of communicating, the way of grouping to the way of socializing in public spaces. In this case the concept of Hijrah is then not only pinned on individuals, but its reach can be associated with groups or communities to society. The process of change that previously belonged to the individual then shifted to the internalization of Islamic principles to the public through Hijrah groups and communities. On the other hand, the trend of Hijrah also gave rise to cynicism from several community groups. The trend of Hijrah is said to be limited to a lifestyle that covers how to dress and how to group, but has not yet reached the effort to change behavior. In addition, the exclusivity of the Hijrah group makes it closed and less able to reach or be accepted by other community groups. The public space that is the target of this da'wah movement becomes its own political interpretation as an effort by the social movement to indoctrinate, frame certain issues and political branding.

Some of the reasons behind the formation of this Hijrah community in Makassar City are, among others, *first*; Seeing the number of Hijrah communities in Makassar, it was thought to create the same community, *second*; Starting from the intention to prosper young people in the field of da'wah because in Makassar and even the whole of Indonesia cannot do that if there are still few who accommodate, *third*; there is anxiety about the condition of the ummah which is increasingly leaving Islamic values as well as the issue of division and personality, especially in the field of *da'wah*, the difficulty as an *ummah* / congregation / community to present *da'i* / *daiyah* in remote areas, and other reasons.

The communities in Makassar City are also networked with several institutions, such as the Indonesian Da'wah Movement, youth communities and government institutions. agencies and various companies related to the agenda to be carried out, it was affiliated with PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), Garbi (Indonesia's new Movement), Da'wah project, KPK (cool preacher community), one goodness community, phinisi archipelago. WIZ (Wahda Inspirasi Zakat), etc.

The phenomenon of Hijrah has actually been recorded in several big cities in Indonesia since the 1980s. The social phenomenon of 'to become more religious' at that time could not be separated from the expansion of various transnational Islamist movements originating from other countries, including Salafis, Wahhabis, Tablighi Jamaat, Muslim Brotherhood, Tareqat, and Hizb ut-Tahrir. The spread of views to become more religious or Hijrah occurs naturally in Indonesia. The phenomenon was formed as the return of Indonesian students who were educated in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia, which generally belonged to the Salafi sect. The emergence of a movement is a rational choice for the perpetrators. Like social movements in general, the Islamic movement also moves on the basis of common interests and with the same method. If we look at the history of the Islamic movement in mobilizing the masses, then we can draw far from how the Muslim Brotherhood is in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood is a reformist Islamic activist group and uses non-violent means in carrying out da'wah (Addini, 2019).

In Makassar City itself, a Hijrah movement has been established, which is dominated by young Muslims with a da'wah pattern that is familiar to millennials. One way to do da'wah is to use an approach by utilizing social media, be it Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and so on. The Millennial Generation is a generation that is identified with a generation that is technology literate, because this generation is more related to the virtual world, because this generation was born in the midst of the development of technology. So that da'wah using social media is the most effective way that has been carried out by the Hijrah Movement. In the political momentum, both locally and nationally, the Hijrah movement has also become an important part in determining who will become the leader. In the national context, for example, Prabowo's policy of cooperating with Islamic groups is also a winning strategy. Prabowo has rebranded his image as a devout Muslim to gain support from Islamists, Sandiaga has rebranded himself as a santri who moved from his liberal background as a successful investor and businessman with a degree from a US university. In the context of local politics, these Hijrah communities have also become a bone of contention by political contestants. This was acknowledged by several Hijrah communities who were visited by certain candidates to ask for their support.

According to Isnaningtyas (Isnaningtyas, 2021), the Hijrah group can then become one of the external nodes, outside the internal node, namely the family, which is able to provide views and even preferences regarding a certain political phenomenon, such as contestation. The circulation of information related to politics among members of the Hijrah group then made it a medium for political socialization which also included agents for forming political orientations. The Hijrah group as a community is said to be one of the places where agents of political orientation meet with the process of political socialization. In this regard, in particular, the Hijrah communities in Makassar City also carry out several forms of studies or activities in their communities such as, Study For Campus (KFC), Night of Faith and *Taqwa* (MABIT), Graphic Design Training (PELAGIAS), Writing Workshop, Studying Women's Jurisprudence (BELFITA), Gardens of Heaven (TTS), Prophetic Treatise Assembly, Tabligh akbar, Routine studies, dhikr assembly, Community events (wedding, aqiqah, takziah, seminars, training), Special studies (presenting clerics from within and abroad), Friday sharing food, Caring for the community, Caring for disasters, *Tahsin* classes, *Waqf Al-Qur'an*, etc. Especially in his studies, several issues that are often raised are not only religious issues specifically, but also political issues both locally, nationally and internationally. For example, the issues regarding the conflict in Palestine, national leadership, government policies, and others.

The network and issues raised both in the study and in the distribution of the pamphlets show that there are many contextual meanings of how the Hijrah movement, especially in Makassar City, cannot be separated from direct or indirect political interests and actions. This process can occur formally when the preacher in the study of a Hijrah group explains matters related to politics, examines it from a religious point of view, and seeks to internalize political preferences. This process can also occur non-formally, namely political campaign efforts in discussions among group members, either face-to-face or through other media such as social media platforms.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In general, the Hijrah community in Makassar City has three variants of character, physical Hijrah, mental Hijrah, and spiritual Hijrah. Physically, the meaning of Hijrah is more about the good appearance of clothes. The Hijrah in thought, which is more directed to the concept of interpreting religion. While spiritual Hijrah, which leads to the practice of worship both in quality and quantity to be closer to God. Politically, the migration movement of young Muslims in Makassar can be seen in the organizational network, cadre recruitment

patterns and the construction of *da'wah* by carrying out political issues both locally, nationally and internationally. Hijrah communities in Makassar City are also the main attraction in every democratic contestation at the local level. Organizational networks are ideologically considered very helpful by contestants in politics to gain votes.

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