Radicalism and Salafism in Indonesia: Development and Movement of Transnational Ideology

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Abstract: *Radicalism and Salafism in Indonesia are important issues that are closely related to the development of transnational ideology. The background to the emergence of this movement cannot be separated from the influence of globalization and technological advances, which facilitate the spread of extreme ideologies such as Wahhabism and Salafism among some Muslims. The Salafi movement, which emphasizes the purification of Islamic teachings by interpreting religious texts literally without considering the social, cultural, and historical context, has the potential to damage the pluralism and tolerance that have become the hallmarks of Indonesia. The main problem faced is the increasing radicalization that can trigger social conflict and threaten national unity. This study uses a qualitative and phenomenological approach with descriptive-analytical methods, as well as data analysis that include data reduction, data presentation, and inductive drawing of conclusions. The results of the study show that radicalism and Salafism in Indonesia developed through a transnational ideology that prioritizes a textual understanding of Islam without considering the social and cultural context. This movement risks exacerbating social tensions and threatening Indonesia's diversity. Therefore, Indonesia needs*

to strengthen its understanding of moderate Islam and the values of pluralism to face this challenge and maintain social harmony.

A. Introduction

In the dynamics of global social and politics, the term radicalism has become one of the concepts that is often discussed, both in academic spaces and among the general public. The debate over its meaning and implications involves not only intellectuals, but also governments, media, and civil society groups. In general, radicalism is often associated with extreme actions or ideological views that are considered to deviate from widely applicable norms.[1] However, this kind of understanding tends to be reductive and does not fully reflect the complexity of the phenomenon. When radicalism is connected to religion, the discussion becomes even more complicated and sensitive. The term is often used as a label to stigmatize certain groups without considering the historical, social, and political context behind the emergence of the movement.

The term *radicalism* is often a topic of discussion, even debate, among religious groups today. This phenomenon is especially evident in groups that fight for the implementation of Islamic law. However, a fundamental question that needs to be examined is whether the term "radical" truly reflects the characteristics or character that underlies the group's movement. This narrative, of course, has the potential to experience a fundamental deadlock because the term is often associated unilaterally with certain religious beliefs, such as Islam.

Etymologically, *movement* comes from the word movement, which in Arabic is called *harakah* and in English is known as motion.[2] This concept refers to moving from one place to another. In the view of Islamic terminology, *harakah* is a topic that is often

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[1] Afadlal et al., *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005), 5.

[2] Abdur Rokhim Hasan, *Kaidah Tahsin Tilawah Al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Alumni PTIQ, 2022), 11; See also Suhartini Ashari, *Khilafah Islamiyah Sebuah Mimpi? (Studi Kritis Terhadap Gerakan Dakwah Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia)* (Indramayu: Penerbit Adab, 2023), 22.

discussed in the study of philosophy and theology. This word experienced an evolution of meaning in terminology in the early 20th century, where *harakah* refers to social movements carried out by Islamic organizations that developed in Muslim society.[3]

In general, social movements are defined as structured and sustainable collective actions, aimed at encouraging transformation from conditions that are considered detrimental to better conditions, or to oppose changes initiated by other social groups. In this context, there are three main elements, protagonist groups, antagonists, and *bystanders*. The protagonist group consists of parties who feel disadvantaged and try to resist, while the antagonist group is considered the party that caused the loss.[4] Meanwhile, the bystander group is flexible and not strongly tied to one party.[5] The decision of this group to join or withdraw is usually rational, depending on the benefits that can be obtained. The attitude often displayed by *bystander* groups in a social context reflects the behavior of individuals or groups who are around an event but choose not to intervene or provide assistance. Views on this attitude can vary, depending on the perspective and values of the individual or group that assesses it.[6]

Social movements, as an effort to achieve change, require various supporting elements, such as actors, organizations, and ideology as the driving force. Ideology plays an important role in unifying the vision and mission of the movement. However, ideology is often set aside in order to mobilize the masses or achieve organizational goals, which can trigger disharmony and even clashes between groups. This phenomenon is unfortunate because it has the

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[3] Read more in: E. J. Brill, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden-Boston: Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas, 1993).

[4] Aah Syafaah, "Memahami Bentuk Gerakan Perlawanan Rakyat dalam Perang Kedongdong (1802-1818 M)," *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam* 8, no. 2 (November 30, 2020): 218–245, https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v8i2.7322.

[5] Gunawan Wiradharma and Rahmat Septiyadi, "Bystander Effect: Ketidakpedulian Orang Urban," in *Seminar Nasional Budaya Urban* (Kajian Budaya Urban di Indonesia dalam Perspektif Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora: Tantangan dan Perubahan, Depok, Jawa Barat: FIPB Universitas Indonesia, 2017), 98–108.

[6] Abdon A. Amtiran, "Fenomena 'Bystander Effect' dan Krisis Kasih Akibat Kemajuan Teknologi," *JIIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan* 5, no. 6 (2020): 1980–1985, https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v5i6.669.

potential to cause material losses and loss of life. On the other hand, loyalists of cultural movements often prioritize lobbying approaches and question the direction of the movement, which shows that strategies in social movements are highly dependent on the context and goals to be achieved.

It is not always the case, but what is certain is that ideology often reflects the character of a movement, regardless of the strategy and form of the movement. Therefore, it is not surprising that groups with the same ideology but conflicting with each other are often found. The idea of the same ideology but conflicting, or different but still in line, is sometimes confusing. This phenomenon can be explained through several cases. *First:* socialism which aims to create a more just and equal society has various schools, such as Marxism, Leninism, and anarchism.[7] Each of these schools has different interpretations and strategies in achieving the goals of socialism. *Second*: the ideology of liberalism which generally upholds individual freedom is divided into two main schools, classical liberalism and social liberalism.[8] Classical liberalism emphasizes market freedom and minimal state intervention,[9] whereas social liberalism focuses more on equality and social justice.

Social movements, as collective actions, aim to fulfill and achieve common interests. The Islamic movement can be interpreted as a form of social movement that makes Islamic values the basis for fighting for the order of life in various aspects, such as religion, politics, social, culture, and economy. Islam does not only function as a dogma that regulates the relationship between humans and God, but also includes relationships between humans and interactions with the environment. This principle is the collective basis for Islamic

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[7] Further discussion can be found in the book: Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Pemikiran Karl Marx: dari Sosialisme Utopis ke Perselisihan Revisionisme* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1999); See also Ferdhi F. Putra, *Blok Pembangkang* (Sleman, Yogyakarta: EA Books, 2022).

[8] Yoga Rohtama, Akhmad Murtadlo, and Dahri Dahlan, "Perjuangan Tokoh Utama dalam Novel Pelabuhan Terakhir Karya Roidah: Kajian Feminisme Liberal," *Ilmu Budaya: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Seni, dan Budaya* 2, no. 3 (August 14, 2018): 221–232, https://doi.org/10.30872/jbssb.v2i3.1147.

[9] Rika Dwi Ayu Parmitasari and Zulfahmi Alwi, "Aliran Ekonomi Neoliberalisme: Suatu Pengantar," *Study of Scientific and Behavioral Management (SSBM)* 1, no. 3 (December 31, 2020): 59.

movement groups in forming their social identity. In fighting for its vision and mission, the Islamic movement must always adhere to the comprehensive Islamic law. The relationship between society, state, and religion must be fought for universally, without siding with one or two particular movements. This movement ideally encourages society to take rational and conscience-based actions.[10] Based on the perspective of social psychology, social movements consist of three main elements: feelings of injustice felt by the participant group; an identity that represents the victims of injustice against those in power; and the existence of agency or the ability to act in order to fight for change.[11]

Social movements that claim freedom and justice have similarities with similar movements outside Islam. In Islam itself, there are movements that use Islamic values as the basis of the movement. However, often within the body of the movement there are quite strong internal conflicts and disagreements. The tug-of-war of interests and even sacrifices that should have been avoided often occurs among fellow Muslims. This movement is basically a systemic and transnational response that initially aimed to confront various ideologies and fundamentalist thoughts from the West, such as Zionism, communism, imperialism, capitalism, colonialism, secularism, and other doctrines.[12] These central issues were responded to collectively and progressively by a number of Muslim movements or groups, by making Islam the spirit of their struggle at the global level.[13]

Islamic fundamentalism and radical movements that develop in contemporary Indonesian society are increasingly becoming relevant

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[10] William A. Gamson et al., "Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality," *Annual Review of Sociology* 18, no. 1992 (August 1, 1992): 373–393, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.18.080192.002105.

[11] Jacquelien Van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, "Social Psychology of Movement Participation," ed. Donatella Della Porta et al., *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, January 14, 2013, 1220–1224, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm161.

[12] Abdul Azis, "Gerakan Transnasional Ikhwanul Muslimin di Mesir dan Palestina," *Politea: Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam* 2, no. 1 (2019): 109–125, https://doi.org/10.21043/politea.v2i1.5419.

[13] Deden Makbuloh, "Partisipasi Pendidikan Islam dalam Menetralisir Isu-isu Global," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 13, no. 2 (April 6, 2013): 401–426, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v13i2.696.

topics in social, political, and religious studies. Indonesia, with the largest Muslim population in the world, is at the center of attention regarding religious movements that influence socio-political life, both at the national and international levels. Islamic fundamentalism, which basically refers to movements that want a return to the practice of Islam in a form that is considered original and pure,[14] often associated with various forms of radical movements that tend to use violence to achieve their goals. In Indonesia, this phenomenon is not new, although it basically emerged as a response to various interrelated social, economic, political, and global factors.

Referring to various existing phenomena, this study is very important to be conducted in order to understand the impact of radical ideology on social stability and diversity in Indonesia. As a country with the largest Muslim population, Indonesia is the main target for the spread of transnational ideology promoted by radical Salafi groups. The spread of extreme ideology through social media has worsened the situation, so this study is crucial for designing effective prevention and deradicalization strategies. In addition, understanding the spread of radical ideology allows for the development of an inclusive approach in dealing with radicalization, such as promoting moderate Islam. Thus, this study is not only important for dealing with short-term threats, but also for building long-term social and ideological resilience and strengthening the integration of pluralistic society in facing the challenges of globalization.

This study is a development of several previous studies, including studies conducted by Muary and Atikah, which showed that the teachings of Salafism, which tend to be puritanical and rigid, are often considered radical. Several individuals involved in acts of terrorism are suspected of having links to the Jihadist Salafist group. However, Salafism has experienced internal fragmentation, so that its teachings are not singular.[15]Ananda et al.'s research also discusses the development of the Salafi movement in Indonesia, its contestation

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[14] Azyumardi Azra, *Transformasi Politik Islam: Radikalisme, Khilafatisme, dan Demokrasi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2016), 122.

[15] Rholand Muary and Puteri Atika, "Fragmentasi Gerakan Salafisme di Timur Tengah dan Indonesia," *Gardu: Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 1, no. 01 (November 8, 2023): 48, https://gardu.iakntarutung.ac.id/index.php/gardu/article/view/6.

with NU and Muhammadiyah, and the use of social media to attract followers. Salafi religious identity is strongly formed through the symbols of clothing and rituals that distinguish it, although this group has been criticized for its textualist and conservative approach.[16]

Unlike previous studies, this study offers an interesting and relevant focus, considering the complexity of Indonesia's social and political conditions amidst globalization. This study aims to explore the relationship between the Salafi movement and ideological radicalization that affects certain groups in Indonesia, and analyze how transnational ideologies promoted by radical Salafi groups can affect social stability and diversity. This study seeks to provide important insights into understanding the challenges faced by Indonesia in maintaining religious pluralism and preventing radicalization. This study is also very relevant to formulating adaptive prevention strategies, prioritizing moderate Islam, and building social and ideological resilience in facing global threats.

Based on the context of this research, the methodology used is a qualitative approach, which aims to explore the dynamics of social movements, radicalization, Salafism, and complex understanding of religion. This research focuses on exploring the meaning, perception, and motivation behind the observed phenomena, as well as understanding the social, cultural, and historical contexts that influence these movements. With a descriptive-analytical nature,[17] this research will describe in detail the characteristics of social movements, radicalization, and the growing Salafism, while the analytical approach allows for the analysis of causal relationships, behavioral patterns, and implications of the phenomena studied through a phenomenological lens.[18] The phenomenological approach

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[16] Rifki Abror Ananda, Muh Khamdan, and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Salafisme di Indonesia: Identitas dan Kontestasi Ideologi di Indonesia," *Al-Ittihad: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Hukum Islam* 10, no. 2 (November 22, 2024): 16–17, https://doi.org/10.61817/ittihad.v10i2.210.

[17] D.P Creswell, J.W., & Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2018); See also Fatoni et al., "Multicultural Inclusive Education in the Deradicalization of Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Tadris: Jurnal Keguruan Dan Ilmu Tarbiyah* 6, no. 2 (December 31, 2021): 401–408, https://doi.org/10.24042/tadris.v6i2.10246.

[18] Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy* (United States of America: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 402.

focuses on an in-depth understanding of the subjective experiences of individuals in specific social and cultural contexts.[19] The data processing process includes data reduction, data presentation, and inductive drawing of conclusions based on in-depth analysis of phenomena related to relevant theories, resulting in general conclusions.[20]

B. Radicalism

Radicalism is a term known in the principles of social science, and although it is no longer foreign in this field, the use of the term is increasingly relevant. Karl Popper defined radicalism as the fundamental nature.[21] In his view of reality, Karl Marx often rejected Plato, whom Popper quotes. However, there is an important element that Marx does not deny, namely the radical attitude, the unwillingness to compromise. Popper states that radicalism sees the need to eliminate the roots of social evil for anyone who wants a just society.[22] To create a better world, we must eradicate corrupt social structures.

Popper argued that Plato and Marx both had a vision of a revolution that would put everything in prime condition and transform the social world.[23] The extreme radicalism of this Platonic approach, according to Popper, is related to asceticism, the desire to build a world that is not only better and more rational than our present world, but also a world free from all ugliness. The world in question is not a world of rags, but a new world that is truly beautiful.[24]

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[19] Read more in: M. Van Manen, *Phenomenology of Practice: Meaning-Giving Methods in Phenomenological Research and Writing* (United States of America: Left Coast Press, 2014).

[20] Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif Dan R & D*, Cet. Ke-14 (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2014), 247.

[21] Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (United States of America: Princeton University Press, 2020), 54.

[22] Supardi, "Pendidikan Islam Multikultural dan Deradikalisasi di Kalangan Mahasiswa," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 13, no. 2 (April 6, 2017): 375–400, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v13i2.700.

[23] Muhammad Sofian Hidayat and M. Ammar Tsaqib, "Prinsip Eror Elimination dan Pergeseran Paradigma dalam Perkembangan Ilmu Pengetahuan," *Jurnal Penelitian Medan Agama* 13, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 80.

[24] Maydi Aula Riski, "Falsifikasi Karl R. Popper dan Urgensinya dalam Dunia Akademik," *Jurnal Filsafat Indonesia* 4, no. 3 (November 1, 2021): 261–272, https://doi.org/10.23887/jfi.v4i3.36536.

Radicalism, according to Popper, must begin by eliminating existing institutions and traditions. It requires purification, cleansing, expulsion, deportation, and even murder. Plato's statement like this, according to Popper, illustrates the non-compromising attitude of all forms of true political radicalism, the rejection of compromise by lovers of beauty.

From a different perspective, F. Landa Jocano, an anthropologist, stated that every movement that emerges in developing countries is evidence of rejection of the modernization process.[25] Throughout history, radical movements have always sought to overthrow or at least destroy religious and civil power that is considered the cause of people's suffering. Radical movements take various forms, but all have one thing in common: collective consciousness and organizational efforts to fight power in order to change conditions that they consider better and more satisfying. In addition, radical movements arise from various inspirations, including religion, social, and politics.[26]

Something similar is also described in the view of Sartono Kartodirdjo, who explains how religious symbols are used by Banten farmers as symbols to carry out a series of rejections of the order that is considered inappropriate and tends to be unfair. This radicalism is an indicator of a movement that totally rejects conditions and regulations that are considered not to be in favor of the conditions experienced by the people.[27]

Horace M. Kallen explains three general tendencies that characterize social radicalism.[28] *First:* radicalism is a reaction to the inconsistency of ongoing conditions in social life, which leads to the

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[25] Read more in: F. Landa Jocano, *Filipino Value System: A Cultural Definition* (Manila: Punlad Research House, 1997).

[26] Rijal Arham, "Islam, Radikalisme, dan Demokrasi: Analisis Interkoneksi dan Implikasinya," *Al Kasyaf (Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Dakwah)* 1, no. 2 (September 12, 2023): 56–65, https://jurnal.arrisalah-jakarta.com/index.php/alkasyafjpd/article/view/11.

[27] Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course and Sequel: A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia* (New York: Springer, 2014), 26.

[28] Georgia Pike-Rowney, "The 'Distant Music of Social Radicalism': The Debate between Pelagius and Augustine of the 4th Century CE and Its Relevance to Music Education," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 46, no. 1 (2023): 5–21, https://doi.org/10.1177/15366006231187659.

birth of various forms of fanaticism, rejection, evaluation, and awareness that culminate in resistance. In principle, the things that are rejected are related to beliefs, concepts, institutions, or principles that are considered responsible for the disliked situation. *Second:* radicalism is not only limited to rejection; they also seek to replace the existing order with a new one. Radicals seek to create a new system to replace the old system. A radical attitude involves a desire to fundamentally change the situation, according to the meaning of the word radic. *Third:* radicals believe that their ideology or program is correct.[29]

Horace M. Kallen's view on social radicalism shows a deep understanding of the dynamics of social change. Kallen identifies that radicalism often emerges as a reaction to the mismatch between existing social conditions and the expectations or needs of society. This mismatch then triggers the birth of various forms of fanaticism, rejection, and evaluation of the existing system. This process not only creates collective consciousness, but also leads to resistance that seeks to change social structures that are considered unfair or inadequate. This view reminds us that radicalism is often more a response to social dissatisfaction than simply a symptom of violence or extremism.

Various observers of socio-religious movements explain that there are many similarities between the concepts of fundamentalism and radicalism.[30] Fundamentalism is often described as a condition involving resistance or struggle. One indicator of this resistance is the effort to maintain the existence that is their identity. Fundamentalists fight to maintain principles related to basic things, such as family and social institutions.[31] They oppose certain value frameworks or

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[29] Tasman and Lazuardi A. Valencia, "Radikalisme Islam: Pemikiran dan Gerakannya di Indonesia Kontemporer," *Dakwah: Jurnal Kajian Dakwah Dan Kemasyarakatan* 27, no. 2 (December 28, 2023): 230–243.

[30] Farhan Bahrul Ulum et al., "Pandangan Islam Terhadap Fundamentalisme: Analisis Tafsir Maudhu'i," *Gunung Djati Conference Series* 25 (July 5, 2023): 186–204; See also Abduh Wahid, "Fundamentalisme dan Radikalisme Islam (Telaah Kritis tentang Eksistensinya Masa Kini)," *Sulesana: Jurnal Wawasan Keislaman* 12, no. 1 (August 10, 2018): 61–75, https://doi.org/10.24252/sulesana.v12i1.5669.

[31] Fahrurrozi Dahlan, "Fundamentalisme Agama: Antara Fenomena Dakwah dan Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama," *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2012): 331, https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v6i2.341.

identity dominance that come from old or new traditions. Therefore,
they also fight against certain enemies that are considered deviant or
threatening to these values.

C.   Salafism in Indonesia

The development of Salafism in Indonesia is increasingly
attracting the attention of many parties, along with the spread of its
influence in various circles. Although often considered an exclusive
movement and far from local traditional values, Salafism has
succeeded in finding a place in the midst of Indonesian society which
is rich in cultural diversity and traditions. Interest in the study of the
values and development of Salafism in Indonesia continues to
increase, especially considering that Indonesia is one of the countries
with a Muslim majority population. On the other hand, the
characteristics of Islamic religiosity in Indonesia are often considered
peripheral (Islam on the fringes), because it is full of distinctive local
traditions and cultures.[32] Therefore, Indonesia must accept the fact
that Salafism, as a transnational Islamic movement, has gained
significant acceptance in society. Interestingly, the proliferation of
Salafism has not only developed in urban communities and campus
environments known for their rationality. In recent times, this
movement has also begun to penetrate rural communities that are
thick with local culture and mystical (irrational) nuances. This
phenomenon shows that Salafism has a strong appeal and is able to
adapt to various social and cultural contexts in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, the roots of Salafism can be found in the religious
purification movement pioneered by a number of reformers in West
Sumatra in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although not using the name
Salafi, the spirit of purifying religion is reflected in their movement.[33]
So far, there is an opinion that states that the religious purification

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[32] Anthony Bubalo and Greg Fealy, *Jejak Kafilah: Pengaruh Radikalisme Timur
Tengah di Indonesia*, Terjemah dari: Joining the Caravan?: The Middle East, Islamism
and Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2007), 24; See also A. Rubaidi, *Radikalisme
Islam, Nahdlatul Ulama & Masa Depan Moderatisme Islam di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta:
Logung Pustaka, 2008), 53.
[33] Yon Machmudi, *Timur Tengah dalam Sorotan: Dinamika Timur Tengah
dalam Perspektif Indonesia* (Jakarta Timur: Bumi Aksara, 2021), 60.

movement pioneered by Haji Sumanik and Haji Piambang was influenced by a similar movement that was developing at that time in the Arabian Peninsula. It is said that the two hajis were very intolerant of religious practices that were often carried out by traditional Muslim communities, such as grave pilgrimages and tarekat. This religious purification movement was then continued by the Paderi led by Imam Bonjol in the early 19th century.

The development of Salafi teachings or movements in Indonesia began with efforts to purify morals and preaching movements that overcame elements of tradition and culture that were considered deviant. However, over time, this movement began to be infiltrated by internal conflicts that led to conflict.[34] Disputes over doctrine caused clashes within the Salafi movement, which then become to new factions within the movement.[35]

The Salafi da'wah movement in Indonesia that emerged in the early 1980s was first managed by students and alumni of the early generation of LIPIA (Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences), as well as several alumni of famous universities in Saudi Arabia, such as the Islamic University of Medina and the University of Muhammad Ibnu Sa'ud. The central figures of the early generation of Salafis, such as Ja'far Umar Thalib, Yazid Abd al-Qadir Jawaz, Yusuf Usman Baisa, Muhammad Umar as-Sewed, Aunurrafiq Gufron, and Abu Nida, initially worked together to eradicate various forms of polytheism and heresy that plagued the majority of Indonesian Muslims. However, over time, doctrinal disputes between them became a serious problem, which led to the fragmentation of the Salafi movement into several factions. Each faction then claimed to be the safest group and the one that followed the Salafist method correctly.[36]

The emergence of various factions within the Salafi body in Indonesia is influenced by a variety of fundamental studies. These

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[34] Read more in: Krismono, *Ekonomi-Politik Salafisme di Perdesaan Jawa* (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2020).

[35] Bubalo and Fealy, *Jejak Kafilah*, 26.

[36] Krismono, "Salafisme di Indonesia: Ideologi, Politik Negara, dan Fragmentasi," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 2 (August 26, 2017): 173–202, https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art2.

factions can be distinguished based on their characteristics, such as rejectionists, reformists, and even jihadists, each of which is considered a step towards renewal in Islamic teachings in Indonesia. For example, the rejectionist faction led by figures such as Thalib, Abu Nida, Ba'dullah, and Abu Turab,[37] has a holistic understanding of the application of religion, which is reflected in an apolitical attitude and unconditional obedience to the legitimate government. Their thinking emerged as a consequence of doctrinal understanding rooted in a particular religious ideology.[38]

Similar to the first Salafis, the reformist Salafis are also represented by various factions of deep-rooted understanding. In relation to this, a forum such as Wahdah Islamiyah (WI) shows a tendency towards pragmatic thought principles that open up the possibility of developing and increasing the contextuality of doctrine, by involving doctrinal principles in legitimate government practices through ongoing socio-political processes. The movement carried out by WI can be considered as an example used as a reference by the Sahwah group in Saudi Arabia, which is also involved in practical political activities and social development. Often this movement receives criticism and arguments related to the organization of the state, both through verbal spotlights and mass movements. In the end, this movement is often accused of being a separatist movement or stream that leads to acts of terror.

Even in persistent efforts to understand religion, there are conservative Salafi sects and groups that tend to carry out separatist movements and acts of violence. This group, often known as Salafi jihadists, operates with a textualistic approach in fighting for Islamic law, with the aim of fighting the monopoly of Western hegemony. Their efforts involve converting doctrinal values into a conservative state movement, by fighting for Islamic law which tends to be textual. This has led to the emergence of the opinion that the legitimate government in Indonesia is Taghut and its supporters.

On the other hand, the act of declaring each other infidels as a form of affirmation of the implementation of textual Islamic law often

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[37] Read more in: Syeikh Hasan et al., *Fathul Majid Syarhu Kitab At-Tauhid* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2001).

[38] Krismono, "Salafisme di Indonesia," 173–202.

leads to acts of terror, which is the understanding of al-Maqdisi's extremist ideology (*hakimiyah* dan *al-wala' wa al-bara'*).[39] Furthermore, this arise to a dogmatic separatist movement that tends to give a social stigma, by emphasizing the value of self-justification. In fact, in essence, the true value of truth is that which is given by Allah SWT in the afterlife. Humans do not have the absolute right to claim the truth for themselves or blame others with any pretext and basis.[40]

D. Development and Movement of Indonesian Salafis

In this rule, the term Salafi refers to the meaning of "before", which refers to Islamic life before the modern era or after the death of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.[41] Overall, the term *Salafi* refers to a religious belief that holds that the early period of Islam— the time of the Prophet and his companions—is the most authentic period and the main reference in understanding Islamic teachings. This theory is then known as the term *Salaf*, which means "earlier people". This understanding argues that the early generation of Islam, known as *Salaf al-Saleh* (earlier pious people),[42] is the best example in practicing religion, while the next generation is considered to have done a lot of *bid'ah* (innovation in religion). The desire of the Salafis is to return religious understanding and practice to its original sources, namely the Qur'an and al-Sunnah. The Salafis use a scriptural or literal interpretation approach in practicing religious values,[43] which means that religious texts are understood literally,

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[39] Read more in: M. Mukhsin Jamil, *Islam Kontra Radikal: Meneguhkan Jalan Moderasi Beragama* (Semarang: Southeast Asian Publishing, 2021).

[40] Shofiatun Nikmah and Muchamad Saiful Muluk, "Existence of Islamic Boarding School Sufism in the Digital Age: Buya Syakur Yasin's Sufism Moderation Thoughts," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 22, no. 2 (December 30, 2022): 229–50, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v22i2.14215.

[41] Muhammad Zainal Abidin, "Dinamika Gerakan Salafi dan Paradoks Kosmopolitanisme Islam: Problema Terminologis, Sejarah dan Ajaran," *Tashwir* 10, no. 1 (October 30, 2022): 17–35, https://doi.org/10.18592/jt.v10i1.7280.

[42] Wahyudin Hafid, "Menyoal Gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (Pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi)," *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law* 2, no. 1 (December 20, 2020): 29, https://doi.org/10.33096/altafaqquh.v2i1.87.

[43] Zakaria Syafe'i, "Metode Penelitian Hukum Islam," *Jurnal al Ahkam* 5, no. 1 (2011): 83–98; See also Zulkarnaini, "Ragam Metodologi Memahami Al-Qur'an: Cara Baru Mendekati Ayat Tuhan," *Lentera* 5, no. 1 (January 15, 2023): 1–20.

without using interpretation methods such as *ta'wil* or *qiyas* which are usually applied by scholars.

In terms of terminology, people who follow the Salafiyah/ Salafism manhaj are referred to as *as-Salafi*, with the plural form *Salafiyyun*.[44] As explained by Imam adz-Dzahabi, "*As-Salafi* is the term for anyone who follows the "*manhaj Salaf*".[45] Their motto in the spirit of struggle is "return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah." This is the principle they apply in the Salafi ideology. The Salafis use this motto to avoid the historical process that produces various understandings and religious practices. Thus, their practices and procedures for worship are often tied to the traditions of the school of thought. This is different from the approach carried by the Salafi group, which tries to build understanding directly from its sources, namely the Qur'an and the Sunnah.[46] The problem they face is the belief that history often prevents someone from carrying out *ijtihad*, because people are bound by established religious understanding.

The impact that needs to be considered from the principle that emphasizes the attitude of "referring directly to the source" is to encourage individuals to develop religious understanding independently and eliminate elitism in religious practice. This principle reflects religious freedom, where everyone has the same right to interpret religious teachings, a principle that is also supported by Islamic modernist groups. This effort is known as *ijtihad* in Islam, which is considered a noble act. However, the Salafi group tends to choose a scripturalist or literalist approach, because they are reluctant to use traditional Islamic scientific methodologies such as *ushul fiqh*, tafsir science, and hadith science.[47] This causes them to be trapped in literalism, because they think these methods distance them from the true essence of Islam. The principle of "referring directly to the source" ultimately ignores the legacy of religious scholarship that has developed over centuries and was built through sects. Although the

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[44] Hafid, "Menyoal Gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (Pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi)," 29.

[45] Imam Adz-Dzahabi, *Siyar A'lam An-Nubala'* (Beirut: Mu'asasah Ar-Risalah, 2011), 18.

[46] Abidin, "Dinamika Gerakan Salafi dan Paradoks Kosmopolitanisme Islam," 11–35.

[47] Zulkarnaini, "Ragam Metodologi Memahami al-Qur'an," 1–20.

madhhab tradition is often criticized for giving rise to an attitude of jumud and taqlid among Muslims, it is important to understand that this tradition has value that cannot be ignored. Overall, this principle produces paradoxical consequences: it encourages *ijtihad* but also ignores the sociological-historical aspect, which ultimately strengthens the literal and scriptural understanding of religion.[48]

In addition to its contradictory identity, this manhaj is also a movement that is historically interesting to examine more deeply. Moreover, if we observe the movement and development of this manhaj, which fights for concepts that often seem utopian.[49] On the other hand, it is important to note that this method tends to reject changes or currents of intellectualism. This narrative is built as a basis for a movement that remains steadfast in adhering to the principle of "everything refers to its source". Therefore, it is important to note that the relationship between source and life is a reality that is separated by a very distant space and time. Life in the early days of the Islamic generation was very different from the context of life today, so that the reliance on religious understanding should not only refer directly to scholars or Islamic thinkers of the latest.[50] It is impossible for Muslims to understand in detail and validly the sources of Islamic law without first understanding the context of the knowledge that has been developed by previous scholars.

Temporarily, the Islamic world will indeed be filled with the emergence of various thought movements that have their own fundamental concepts, while still claiming to be part of Islam. It is undeniable that this correlation is increasingly visible with the emergence of stigmas that are often associated with hardliners or radicalism. One of them is the emergence of Wahabis in Saudi Arabia in the late 19th century, which is systematically viewed as part of the fundamentalist scripturalist movement.[51] On the grounds that all life

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[48] Nor Huda, "Gerakan Fundamentalisme Islam Di Indonesia: Perspektif Sosio-Historis," *Tamaddun: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sastra Islam* 16, no. 2 (2016): 369–396.

[49] Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oup Oxford, 2010), 16.

[50] Abi Hamed al Ghazali, *Revival of Religion's Sciences (Ihya Ulum Ad-Din)* (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al Kotob Al Ilmiyah, 2010), 101.

[51] Hafid, "Menyoal Gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (Pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi)," 29.

affairs must be returned to the basic sources of Islamic teachings.[52] This raises a big question, actually this problem arises as a response to changes and stagnation of the world or how. Therefore, the separatist movement in defending and claiming pure teachings without accepting changes and developments in the flow of life needs to be criticized. In fact, Islam in its teachings has provided a concept of life with faith, one of which is accepting the consequences of destiny (*qada and qadar*).[53]

E. Radicalism and Transnasional Movement Understanding

Whether we admit it or not, transnational political movements have caused internal inter-religious conflict and separatism in Indonesia. Transnational ideology is like a sword ready to tear apart the fabric of mutual agreement that has been built based on togetherness and diversity of society for years.[54] In this agreement, character building was born as a sign of the consistency of a shared identity formed by ideology, movement and collective struggle.[55] In this agreement, character building was born as a sign of the consistency of a shared identity formed by ideology, movement and collective struggle. Transnational ideology can be interpreted as a global ideology that crosses national and state boundaries, not just as a propaganda campaign or mere belief.[56] Moreover, this ideology has the potential to influence political policies in a country. In Indonesia, the ideals of transnational Islamic groups are to enforce Islamic law, even replacing Pancasila. This is certainly contrary to the foundation

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[52] Read more in: Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Comprehended* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[53] Toshihiko Izutsu, *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology* (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2006), 116.

[54] Yusril Fahmi Adam, Elza Ramona, and Imam Muhsin, "Islam Melayu dan Islam Jawa: Studi Komparatif Akulturasi Islam dan Kebudayaan dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Muslim Heritage* 8, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 133–52, https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v8i1.5723.

[55] Rahmat Hidayat, "Konsep Pendidikan Karakter dalam Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam (Studi Pemikiran Burhanuddin al-Zarnuji)," *Alfuad: Jurnal Sosial Keagamaan* 3, no. 2 (December 6, 2019): 1, https://doi.org/10.31958/jsk.v3i2.1692.

[56] Zainul Mu'ein Husni, "NU di Tengah Pusaran Ideologi-Ideologi Transnasional," *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 2, no. 1 (2018): 45, https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnalin.v2i1.68.

of the struggle of large Islamic organizations in Indonesia, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.[57]

The transnational Islamic movement, or what is often known as the *transnational Islamic movement*, is often associated with the Islamic teaching system.[58] However, if we examine further, especially in Indonesia, Islam lives and develops on the basis of mutual agreement that gives birth to values of heterogeneity and diversity, which are reflected in the values and norms of its culture. This is different from the transnational Islamic movement, which is basically a movement with external affiliations or ideologies originating from abroad. Peter Mandaville explains that transnational movements and ideological expansions include activities that are not limited to local or national areas, but are global in nature. The activities and organizations in this movement go far beyond the territorial boundaries of the nation state.[59]

If we characterize it, the transnational Islamic movement can be understood as a movement that fights for several principles, including: complete Islamic teachings (*kaffah*), not separating religion and state, unity of Muslim life through the caliphate, and religious romanticism within the framework of the caliphate as in the time of the Prophet and companions.[60]

The transnational Islamic movement is growing stronger in Indonesia with the presence of an ideology that supports the total

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[57] Zaimul Asroor, "Islam Transnasional vs Islam Moderat: Upaya NU dan MD dalam Menyuarakan Islam Moderat di Panggung Dunia," *At-Turas: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 6, no. 2 (2019): 173, https://doi.org/10.33650/at-turas.v6i2.807; See also Din Wahid, "Kembalinya Konservatisme Islam Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 2 (2014): 375–390, https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v21i2.1043.

[58] Moh Ainur Rokhim and Ubaidillah Wasi, "Eksistensi Pesantren Ditengah Pusaran Radikalisme dan Ideologi Transnasional," *Ar-Risalah Media Keislaman Pendidikan Dan Hukum Islam* 19, no. 2 (October 23, 2021): 170–191; See also Mukhamat Saini, "Penguatan Tradisi Aswaja An-Nahdliyah: Upaya Menangkal Gerakan Islam Transnasional," *Tasamuh: Jurnal Studi Islam* 14, no. 1 (April 15, 2022): 171–187, https://doi.org/10.47945/tasamuh.v14i1.593.

[59] Read more in: Peter Mandaville, *Global Political Islam* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[60] Ihsan Yilmaz and Nicholas Morieson, "Islam and Civilizational Populism," in *Religions and the Global Rise of Civilizational Populism*, ed. Ihsan Yilmaz and Nicholas Morieson (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2023), 58, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9052-6_3.

implementation of Islamic law. They not only demand the elimination of secularism in national life, but also reject the religious pluralism that is characteristic of Indonesia. This group believes that a country that does not recognize and implement Islamic law in its entirety is a form of disobedience to Islamic teachings. This attitude has the potential to cause friction with Indonesian society that has long been accustomed to diversity and tolerance between religious communities. These groups often consider that the Indonesian state and society that recognize Pancasila as the basis of the state is a system that is "illegitimate" and "deviates" from Islamic teachings.

However, the challenges to this transnational ideology have not gone unanswered by the majority of Indonesian Muslims. Large Islamic organizations, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, continue to advocate moderate, tolerant, and progress-oriented Islam. They reject radicalization and understand that Islam in Indonesia must be practiced in the context of diversity and social harmony. NU, with its *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah* approach, emphasizes the importance of maintaining *ukhuwah Islamiyah* and *ukhuwah basyariyah* (brotherhood between fellow human beings), which are the basis for living together in a multicultural society. This aims to keep Islam relevant to the pluralistic social and political realities of Indonesia.

The development of this transnational Islamic movement must also be understood in the context of globalization that brings new ideologies that transcend national borders. The fast and easy flow of information, through social media and other digital platforms, has accelerated the spread of this ideology among the younger generation. Therefore, it is important for Indonesia to combat radicalization through education and strengthening national values, as well as strengthening awareness of the importance of maintaining harmony between religious communities. This effort is not only aimed at maintaining social stability, but also to ensure that transnational ideologies that can threaten the unity of the country can be faced in a more constructive way, based on the principles of togetherness and diversity that have existed since the founding of this country.

F. Indonesia Amidst Transnational Ideological Disruption

The development of human civilization in religion cannot be separated from interactions with political and social aspects. History records, for example, in the development of Islam when it was first introduced through the preaching of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, Islam did not openly display its political profile and identity to society. This can be seen in how Islam, brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW, became a worldview that dominated the Arab region and its surroundings. However, before entering the era of imperialism, Muslims were actually already familiar with the system and process of government, in fact this had been known since the Prophet Muhammad SAW settled in Mecca.[61]

After the death of the Prophet, the Islamic system of government was continued by the companions and developed through various dynasties, such as the Umayyads, Abbasids, Ottomans in Turkey, Mughals in India, and Safavids in Persia.[62] These dynasties played a major role in continuing the Islamic government system, which was in line with the development of imperialism at the same time. However, the Prophet Muhammad SAW never explained in detail the form or system of government.[63] Therefore, there is no single, fixed and definite form of Islamic government, so questions arise regarding the relevance of the system of government desired by Islam in different social and political contexts.

If we talk about the expansion of ideology and transnational understanding, then we need to trace how this understanding spread across time and place.[64] Since the birth of this movement is a

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[61] Muannif Ridwan, "Sejarah Makkah dan Madinah pada Awal Islam (Kajian Tentang Kondisi Geografis, Sosial Politik, dan Hukum serta Pengaruh Tradisi Arab Pra-Islam Terhadap Perkembangan Hukum Islam)," *Al-Ittihad: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 1 (October 12, 2021): 6, https://doi.org/10.61817/ittihad.v7i1.36.

[62] Muhammad Yamin, "Peradaban Islam pada Masa Nabi Muhammad Saw," *Ihya Al-Arabiyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Arab* 3, no. 1 (June 7, 2017): 112, https://doi.org/10.30821/ihya.v3i1.705.

[63] Muji Mulia, "Sejarah Sosial dan Pemikiran Politik Ali Abdul Raziq," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 10, no. 2 (February 1, 2011): 121, https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v10i2.48.

[64] William E. Shepard, "Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 3 (August 1987): 307–336, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800056750.

response to the phenomenon of struggle and resistance against the values of globalization and the progress of science and technology (IPTEK) which facilitates access between countries.[65] The term transnational Islam refers to the ideological and political movement of Islam which is not limited to one particular country or geographical region.[66] This movement seeks to transcend national boundaries by spreading a uniform understanding and interpretation of Islam throughout the world.[67]

Likewise, if we trace how this understanding spread in Indonesia, we will find a change in values related to the practice of structured religion, which wants the path of expansion and this idea to lead to constitutional legality. The concept of "constitutional legality" itself is complex and diverse, as evidenced by a series of studies that attempt to discuss the principle of legality, the basis of the concept, and its various interpretations and applications in Indonesian law. For example, we can see the rules of the state and various efforts to challenge the current of state establishment. One of them is an effort to change the state system by basing it on the universal application of Islamic law.

Since the rolling of the reformation in Indonesia, which marked various processes and openness, one of which is related to the understanding of politics and religion, many changes have occurred. Wahhabism, as one of the religious beliefs that tends to be extreme, began to emerge in Indonesia after the New Order era. The General Chairperson of PBNU, KH. Said Aqil Siradj, firmly stated in an event organized by the GP Ansor Regional Management in Sumatra, that Wahhabism is a major threat to the continuity of the Republic of Indonesia. Although the Wahhabis are not included in the terrorist group, Wahhabism has provided a strong theological foundation for the emergence of terrorism and other violence.[68]

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[65] Read more in: Peter Mandaville, *Global Political Islam* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[66] K. B. Leonard, "Transnational and Cosmopolitan Forms of Islam in the West," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 8 (2009): 176–199.

[67] Imtiaz Gul, "Transnational Islamic Networks," *International Review of the Red Cross* 92, no. 880 (December 2010): 899–923.

[68] Ahmad Shidqi, "Respon Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) terhadap Wahabisme dan Implikasinya Bagi Deradikalisasi Pendidikan Islam," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 2, no. 1 (June 21, 2013): 109–130, https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2013.21.109-130.

Wahhabism, which has its roots in the teachings pioneered by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab in Saudi Arabia, emphasizes the purification of Islamic teachings by abandoning traditions and practices that are considered to deviate from the pure teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith.[69] This understanding then spread to various countries, including Indonesia, especially after the reformation that opened up space for the entry of various global ideologies. Although not all followers of Wahhabism are involved in violence, teachings that emphasize purification and rejection of various forms of moderation in religion have the potential to worsen radicalization among a handful of groups. This can cause tension in Indonesian society, which has so far upheld the principles of interfaith tolerance and diversity.

In this context, the impact of Wahhabism on Indonesian political and social life cannot be considered trivial. The existence of this ideology can threaten social stability by fostering an intolerant attitude towards differences, both in the context of religion and culture. The exclusive attitude brought by Wahhabism also risks breaking the unity of Muslims in Indonesia, which has so far been formed within the framework of moderate Islam and is oriented towards diversity. In addition, this ideology seeks to change the existing social structure, which prioritizes harmony between religions and ethnicities, towards a narrower formation, by considering only one form of Islam as legitimate.

The presence of transnational ideologies, such as Wahhabism and other radical Islamic movements, seek to spread an understanding of Islam that is not only contrary to the values of diversity, but also to the foundation of the Indonesian state which recognizes Pancasila as the state ideology. This transnational movement has had a major impact, especially in exacerbating tensions between religious communities and triggering radicalization among some young people. Through social media and digital platforms, this ideology spreads

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[69] M. Arfan Mu'ammar and Abdul Wahid Hasan, *Studi Islam Kontemporer Perspektif Insider Outsider* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSod, 2017), 144.

rapidly and transcends national borders, influencing individuals' views and attitudes towards their country and society. In the context of Indonesia, which has long been known for its principle of tolerance between religious communities, the emergence of this transnational ideology has the potential to damage the foundations of social unity and trigger divisions among the community.

It is important for Indonesia to strengthen the values of nationalism, tolerance, and moderation in the face of this transnational ideological threat. Educational efforts that instill the importance of pluralism and respect for differences, as well as interfaith cooperation, must be part of the strategy to maintain peace and social integration. Indonesia needs to maintain the heritage of diversity that has been established for centuries, so that it can continue to manage differences harmoniously and strengthen national unity amidst increasingly complex global challenges.

G. Conclusion

Radicalism and Salafism in Indonesia are growing rapidly along with the influence of transnational ideologies that enter through the currents of globalization. Salafi groups, with a textual and literalist approach to Islamic teachings, seek to return Islam to an understanding that is considered pure, ignoring the social, cultural, and historical context. This movement tends to foster intolerant attitudes, exacerbate social tensions, and threaten the diversity that has long been upheld in Indonesia. However, Indonesia with its Pancasila ideology and democratic system still has the strength to overcome this radicalization, through efforts to understand Islam that is moderate, inclusive, and contextual, developed by Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. In facing this ideological challenge, it is important for Indonesia to continue to prioritize the values of pluralism, nationality, and tolerance to maintain social harmony and diversity.

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