

Inclusivity in Islamic Conservatism: The Moderate Salafi Movement in Kediri, Indonesia

Moh. Qomarul Huda^{1*}, Mubaidi Sulaeman², Siti Marpuah³

¹ Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kediri, Indonesia; email: em_qohu@yahoo.com

² Universitas Islam Tribakti Lirboyo Kediri, Indonesia; email: mubaidisulaeman@iai-tribakti.ac.id

³ Universiti Tun Hussein Onn, Malaysia; email: marpuah@uthm.edu.my

* Correspondence

Received: 2022-11-29; Accepted: 2023-04-22; Published: 2023-04-30

Abstract: This article analyzes the moderate Salafi movement in Kediri through a case study of Jemaah Hijrah at Imam Muslim Islamic Boarding School. This research aims to reveal the characteristics, approaches, and development of religious understanding carried out by Jemaah Hijrah in the context of the moderate Salafi movement in Indonesia. The research method used is a qualitative approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with Jemaah Hijrah congregation and Imam Muslim Islamic Boarding School administrators, participatory observation during religious activities, and document analysis related to the views and principles adopted by Jemaah Hijrah. The results showed that the Jemaah Hijrah there adheres to a moderate Salafi approach, emphasizing being inclusive and tolerant of variations in interpretations of Islam. They seek to maintain core Salafi values while remaining open to dissent on religious issues. The movement's sustainability depends on an educational approach that provides space for discussion and dialogue rather than a rigid emphasis on a single interpretation and avoids actions that breed blind fanaticism, where blind fanaticism is the root of all hostility and division. This research provides insights into how the moderate Salafi movement can thrive in local settings and how this inclusive approach balances religious conservatism and acceptance of difference. The findings contribute to the understanding of the broader community that the development of the Salafi movement in Indonesia is not monolithic but varies and adapts according to local situations and the demands of the times.

Keywords: Indonesian Islam; jemaah hijrah; moderate salafi; religious movement.

Abstrak: Artikel ini menganalisis gerakan Salafi moderat di Kediri melalui studi kasus Jemaah Hijrah di Pondok Pesantren Imam Muslim. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkap karakteristik, pendekatan, dan pengembangan pemahaman agama yang dilakukan oleh Jemaah Hijrah dalam konteks gerakan Salafi moderat di Indonesia. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan anggota Jemaah Hijrah dan pengurus PP Imam Muslim, observasi partisipatif selama kegiatan keagamaan, serta analisis dokumen terkait pandangan dan prinsip yang dianut oleh Jemaah Hijrah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Jemaah Hijrah PP. Imam Muslim menganut pendekatan Salafi yang moderat, dengan penekanan pada pemahaman yang inklusif dan toleran terhadap variasi interpretasi dalam Islam. Mereka berusaha mempertahankan nilai-nilai inti Salafi sambil tetap membuka diri terhadap perbedaan pendapat dalam isu-isu keagamaan. Keberlanjutan gerakan ini bergantung pada pendekatan pendidikan yang memberikan ruang bagi diskusi dan dialog, bukan penekanan kaku pada satu interpretasi tunggal, serta menjauhi tindakan-tindakan yang menjadikan fanatisme buta, di mana fanatisme buta akar dari segala permusuhan dan perpecahan. Penelitian ini memberikan wawasan tentang bagaimana gerakan Salafi moderat dapat berkembang dalam lingkungan lokal, dan bagaimana pendekatan inklusif ini menghasilkan keseimbangan antara konservatisme agama dan penerimaan terhadap perbedaan. Temuan ini memberi kontribusi pada pemahaman kepada masyarakat luas bahwa perkembangan gerakan Salafi di Indonesia yang tidak monolitik, melainkan mengalami variasi dan adaptasi sesuai dengan situasi lokal dan tuntutan zaman.

Kata Kunci: Islam Indonesian; jemaah hijrah; salafi moderat; gerakan keagamaan.

1. Introduction

The Salafi movement is one of the currents of thought in Islam that emphasizes a return to the original teachings of Islam, with an emphasis on the understanding of the *salaf* (predecessors) as an ideal model of religion (Wagemakers, 2016). In Indonesia, the Salafi movement has experienced variations in interpretation and practice, including attitudes towards diversity and inclusiveness in Islam (D. Wahid, 2015). As a current of thought in Islam, the Salafi movement is often known for the perception that it is associated with radical movements (Hasyim, 2017). The basis of this movement is the belief that pure and authentic religious practices depend on a strict understanding and implementation of Islamic teachings (D. Wahid, 2012). In this context, "Salafi" comes from the word "Salaf," which refers to the predecessors or early generations of Muslims, such as the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and the scholars of the early days of Islam (Muliono, Suwarko, & Ismail, 2019). This movement aims to replicate and adopt the practices that these early generations believed to be ideal models of religion.

However, it should be noted that not all Salafi movements adopt radical views or practices (H. Amin, 2017). While there are conservative and even extreme Salafi groups, there are also those who seek to adopt a more moderate and inclusive approach. Many Salafi groups seek to accommodate the diversity of interpretations and consider the social, cultural, and developmental context of the times in understanding Islamic teachings (Adeni & Hasanah, 2022). Thus, the Salafi movement is not monolithic. It encompasses a range of approaches and practices, which can be observed in various locations, including within the Salafi movement in Kediri.

Din Wahid (2015) divides the Salafi movement into three groups: *Jihadi*, *Haraki*, and *Manhaji*. *Jihadi* is a Salafi movement that wants to realize Islamic society through violence, either through acts of war or terrorism. *Haraki* is a Salafi movement that wants to realize the ideals of Islam through political channels. Meanwhile, *Manhaji* is a Salafi movement that wants to uphold religious teachings purely through only da'wah and education.

The moderate *Salafi Manhaji* movement reflects an attempt to blend between core Salafi values and inclusiveness in Islam. By approaching religious understanding comprehensively, the movement seeks to be flexible in dealing with differences in religious interpretation. They recognize the complexity of understanding Islamic teachings and view it as a basis for discussion and reflection rather than a limitation that inhibits dialogue (Weismann, 2017). Moreover, the sustainability of the moderate Salafi movement lies in its educational approach. This movement makes education the heart of social change and sustainable religious understanding (Islamy, 2021). Through deep learning and an inclusive approach, they create a space to ask critical questions, discuss and understand the diversity of views within Islam.

To understand and portray the dynamics of the moderate Salafi movement, a case study that raises Jemaah Hijrah at Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School has essential relevance. This movement is a concrete reflection of one form of adaptation of the moderate Salafi movement in the Kediri area (Febriansyah & el-Alami, 2021). This selection of case studies provides deep insights into how Salafi movements can transform and adapt to local contexts and how they respond to the challenges of the times in a spirit of inclusion (Hamdi, 2020). Jemaah Hijrah is ostensibly the starting point of evolution in traditional Salafi thought, also known as *Salafi Manhaji*, by its inclusive approach to differences in Islam. Concerning *Salafi Manhaji*, Jemaah Hijrah shifts from an exclusive emphasis on a single interpretation towards a more open understanding of dissent (Malik, Tamjidillah, & Satriawan, 2020). This inclusive understanding reflects a mindset that recognizes the complexity of religion and appreciates the diversity of views within Islam.

This development can be interpreted as an intelligent response to contemporary challenges. Moderate Salafi movements such as Jemaah Hijrah of Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School try to keep the roots of traditional values while embracing societal dynamics and changes. This evolution of thought illustrates how the moderate Salafi movement takes its footing from core Salafi principles but with a more adaptive and inclusive approach, resulting in a model that can overcome polarization and promote cooperation in difference. Thus, the case study of Jemaah Hijrah at Imam

Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School provides in-depth knowledge of how the moderate Salafi movement in Kediri elaborates and implements evolution in traditional Salafi thought while maintaining the roots of fundamental values.

Based on the research of Din Wahid (2015), the Salafi movement was not monolithic, and it spread through al-Furqan Islamic Boarding School Gresik due to the disapproval of the radical Salafi movement carried out by Ja'far Umar Talib. However, a study entitled Febriansyah & el-Alami (2021) found that the ideological roots of the Salafi movement are always the same, being monolithic and becoming the root of radicalism among Muslims. Even though it has spread throughout the world, its nature has not changed. In contrast, this study confirms Din Wahid's research that the Salafi movement in Indonesia was not a monolithic radical movement. This study also refutes Febriansyah's research, which states that the Salafi movement is always radical and violent, and they are a single movement that none are moderate.

Research on the moderate Salafi movement in Kediri, mainly the case study of Jemaah Hijrah of Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School in Kediri City, can provide a deeper understanding of how this movement combines Salafi principles with inclusive attitudes, as well as how this approach affects religious understanding and interaction within the local community (Wahab, 2019). In addition, this research aims to illustrate how moderate Salafi movements, such as Jemaah Hijrah, represent an evolution in traditional Salafi thought (*Manhaji*). It will provide insights into how moderate Salafi movements can combine core Salafi values with an inclusive attitude towards difference. The finding of this study is essential in looking at the dynamics of religiosity in Indonesia and the contribution of the moderate Salafi movement in shaping a balanced framework of thought between conservatism and inclusiveness in Islam (Davids, 2017).

2. Method

The research approach used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research produces descriptive data regarding spoken words, writing, and observable behavior of the people studied and requires researchers to go directly to the field (Barlian, 2018). This research is field research that focuses on collecting empirical data in the field (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Researchers determined the form of field research because research based on a literature review is irrelevant enough to fulfill the data needed in this study (Glassner & Corzine, 1982). The researchers chose the research location, namely Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School in Kediri City. Therefore, researchers need to be present in the field to get the data needed to complete the study of the moderate Salafi movement in Jemaah Hijrah at Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School, Kediri City (Pathak, Jena, & Kalra, 2013). In addition, the researchers chose it as the research location because it has a strategic role in developing Manhaj Salafi in Kediri City. Its existence has a strong influence in developing Manhaj Salafi in Kediri City among people who mostly make traditional Islamic boarding schools in Kediri City their religious Meccas, such as Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, Wali Barokah Islamic Boarding School, and Wahidiyah Islamic Boarding School.

3. Result and Discussion

The Genealogy of Islam in Indonesia

Islam, historically, first appeared in the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century AD. Prophet Muhammad was the one who first introduced Islam to the people of Makkah (Hodgson, 1974). In just two decades from the beginning of his preaching, the Prophet Muhammad had succeeded in making Muslims spread so rapidly that they reached outside the Arabian Peninsula (Lewis & Churchill, 2008). If seen on a modern map of the spread of Muslims worldwide, Asia and Africa are the most dominant regions. Islam grew not only into a belief system or religion adopted by the people but also into a civilization with many empires/kingdoms after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the early generation of his companions (Kuru, 2019). The Umayyad Empire, the Abbasid Empire in the early period, the Ottoman Turkish Empire, the Safavid Empire, and the Mughal Empire in the late period

were mighty empires in the world that once ruled the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe in the North to Black Africa in the South (Tiliouine, Renima, & Estes, 2016). While in the East, there is Morocco in the West to Southeast Asia. Culturally, the population across Southeast Asia is very heterogeneous regarding language, culture, ethnicity, religion, etc. Some areas have become pockets of Islamic religious bases because almost all of the population is Muslim, and they have even succeeded in forming an Islamic kingdom and government (F. Amin & Ananda, 2018). Most of Southeast Asia is Malay and Muslim, spread from Malaysia and Indonesia to the Philippines. Meanwhile, the Indo-China Peninsula countries are Chinese-influenced, with Buddhists in Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Hooker, 1988).

Azyumardi Azra makes eight categories of Islamic cultural spheres throughout the Islamic world. The eight Islamic cultural spheres are (1) Arabia, (2) Persia (Iran), (3) Sino-Islamic, (4) Nusantara (Southeast Asia), (5) Indian Subcontinent, (6) Turkey, (7) Black Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa), and (8) Western Hemisphere (Azra, 2013). The differences in the realm of Islamic culture in each region are influenced by the cultural factors of the community and the factors of Islamic orthodoxy that form the basis of their diverse practices. As an illustration, the hijab tradition of Muslim women in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, which is fashionable and colorful, differs from the hijab tradition of Muslim women in Arabia, which is ancient and one color, black (Jarmakani, 2008). Another case is the tradition of Muslim women's hijab in Persia, Turkey, China, the Indian Subcontinent, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere. Although the command to cover the aura is the same, the choice of models, colors, styles, and accessories varies according to space, time, culture, and Islamic orthodoxy adopted by the community (Umam, Sulaeman, & Zarkasyi, 2022). The differences in Islamic traditions are a socio-cultural necessity that challenges Muslims in each region. With its most important characteristic as peaceful, friendly, and tolerant Islam, Southeast Asian Islam is different from Islam in other regions (Saleh, Maufur, & Sulaeman, 2021).

The problem is that some scholars of Islamic studies still think that the history of Islamic civilization is only the history of Arab Islam. The history of Islam outside the Middle East is considered non-existent. These experts and scholars of Islam do not treat the history of Islam and the Muslim world outside the Middle East as part of the history of Islamic civilization (Muhammadun, 2019). The history of Islamic civilization ended with the fall of the Abbasid dynasty in 1258 AD. They argue that the history of Islam is nothing more than the life history of the prophet Muhammad, al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidun, the Umayyad Dynasty, and the Abbasid Dynasty (Adam, Rahman, Muhammad, & Ali, 2014). Hence, it is understandable that Indonesian or Southeast Asian Islam is still perceived as not an integral part of the Islamic and Muslim worlds. Islam in this region is practically considered a geographically peripheral and doctrinally marginal part of the Arab Islamic and Muslim entity (Fogg, 2019).

According to Azyumardi Azra (2006), in the 1980s, western scholars such as Edward Said, Nikki Keddie, William Roff, Richard W. Bulliet, Anthony Johns, and others began to correct this unfavorable view. They proved that Indonesian Islam is not peripheral and marginal as perceived by experts and scholars of Islam until the last two decades (Hakim, 2017). The level of observance of Muslims in Indonesia has proven to be better than that of Muslims in the Middle East and other countries. The syncretism of Islam with local culture is found in Indonesia and many other Muslim regions from the Maghrib, Arabia, South Asia, and beyond.

Carool Kersten (2015) even laments the marginalization of Indonesian Muslims and Islam or Southeast Asia because the region is the largest concentration of Muslims with intense historical dynamics and intellectualism, like leading scholars such as Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Fazlur Rahman, Dale F. Eickelman, Jon W. Anderson and others. Carool Kersten (2017) agrees that Indonesia's Islamic intellectual environment can provide fertile ground for the growth of new ways of linking Islamic intellectual heritage (*al-turāth al-islāmiyah*) with the contemporary world so that it has the real potential to reshape scholarship in Islamic studies in both Muslim and non-Muslim circles.

Characteristics of Salafi as Puritan Islam in Indonesia

Scholars and observers use various terms to identify and explain the phenomenon of Islamic revival in the Muslim world, including radicalism, revivalism, scripturalism, political Islam, extremism, and fundamentalism (Sulaeman, 2019). However, the term fundamentalism seems more commonly used by scholars, observers, and academics. However, various terms are still debated and questioned, especially fundamentalism, which is considered to contain negative meanings towards Islam (Rahman, 2021). Islamic revivalism wants to answer the decline of Islam by returning to the pure teachings of Islam (J. A. Ali, 2023). Examples of revivalist Islamic movements are the Salafi-Wahhabis, who drew inspiration from Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) in Arabia, Shah Wali Allah (1703-1762) in India, Usman Dan Fodio (1754-1817) in Nigeria, the Padri Movement (1803-1837) in Sumatra, and the Sanusiyyah in Libya attributed to Muhammad Ali al-Sanusi (1787-1859) (Dallal, 1993). Chouieri (2010) sees similarities in the agendas that characterize these Islamic revivalist movements, namely: (a) returning to the original Islam, purifying Islam from local traditions and foreign cultural influences; (b) encouraging free reasoning, *ijtihad*, and rejecting *taqlid*; (c) the need to migrate from areas dominated by infidels (*dar al-kufr*); (d) believe in the existence of a just leader and a reformer.

Meanwhile, Dekmejian (1995) states that the emergence of various Islamic revivalist ideological orientations is influenced by differences arising from different interpretations of the Qur'an, al-Sunnah, and early Islamic history. In addition, there are other factors, such as the nature of the crisis, the uniqueness of social conditions, and the leadership style of each movement. On this basis, Dekmejian identifies four categories of revivalist ideology: (a) adaptationist-gradualist (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun in Egypt, Iraq, Sudan, Jordan, North Africa; and Jama'at-i Islami in Pakistan); (b) revolutionary Shi'ah (Islamic Republic of Iran, Hizb al-Da'wah Iraq, Hezbollah Lebanon, Islamic Jihad Lebanon); (c) revolutionary Sunnis (al-Jihad Egypt, Islamic Liberation Organization Egypt, Jama'ah Abu Dharr Syria, Hizb al-Tahrir in Jordan and Syria); (d) primitivist-Mesianists (al-Ikhwan Saudi Arabia, al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah Egypt, Mahdiyyah Sudan, Jama'at al-Muslimin lil-Takfir Egypt).

In using the terms fundamentalist, militant, extremist, radical, fanatic, or Islamist, Abou Fadl prefers to use the term puritan (Suhandary, 2019). The use of the term fundamentalist needs to be revised. It cannot be separated from the basic meaning of fundamentalist, which in Arabic is known as the word *ushûlî*, which means fundamental and essential (Sulaeman, 2019). In the view of Abou Fadl (Fadl, 2006), puritan Islam is called conservative Islam, which leads to uncompromising absolutism. In many ways, its authority tends to be puritanical, which is intolerant of various competing points of view and views plural reality as a form of contamination of the genuine truth. Apart from objections to the terms circulating in portraying forms of Islamic thought, Abou Fadl admits that seeing the reality of Islamic thought through the dichotomy of moderate and puritan is an excessive and inadequate simplicity (Baskara, 2017). It is not without reason that Abou Fadl only maps two categories because, in general, most Muslims fall into the choice between the two extremes, namely moderates and purists.

In contrast to moderate Islam, puritan Islam treats Islam as rigid and undynamic (Bakir & Othman, 2017). They greatly exaggerate the text's role and minimize humans' active role in interpreting religious texts. In this case, the orientation of puritan Islam is based on the certainty of the meaning of the text so that the implementation of God's commands is entirely and thoroughly as if it is already contained in the text, not on the nuances of contextualization (Bećirević, 2016). For Abou Fadl, the term moderate cannot be represented by terms such as modernism, progressive, or reformist. In Abou Fadl's view, the term modernist implies one group trying to overcome the challenges of modernity while others are reactionary. Meanwhile, progressive reformists from a liberal perspective implemented dictatorship, as Joseph Stalin and Gamal Abdel Nasser are called forward-thinking reformists. Whereas liberal values are not always achieved by moving forward, sometimes they can be achieved by returning to tradition. For example, certain aspects of the Islamic tradition are far more liberal-oriented than the modern ideas that Muslims have absorbed. Another reason is that a minority of Muslims may be reformists and progressives, but most Muslims are moderates regarding Islamic theology and law (Wahyudi, 2011).

In Indonesia, the Salafi movement is identified as a puritanical or fundamentalist Islamic movement in other languages (Faizah, 2012). However, the puritanism promoted by the Salafi Islamic movement is different from the puritanical Islamic movement promoted by Muhammadiyah (Almu'tasim, 2019). However, the Manhaj Salafi and Muhammadiyah Islamic movements are known as purification movements that invite a return to the spirit and teachings of pure Islam and free Muslims from superstition, *bid'ah*, and *khurafat*. The ideals and renewal movement spearheaded by Muhammadiyah faced a dual-patterned context of religious life: syncretic and traditional (Ar & Riduwan, 2020).

The Salafi movement stands on the principles of the belief that whoever sticks to it is guaranteed to be happy and always safe from misguidance and falsehood (Faizah, 2012). There are many strong principles that this Manhaj adheres to: principles of aqeedah, worship, mu'amalah, da'wah, etc. Here, only list some of the principles of Manhaj Salaf. Among the principles held by Manhaj Salafi are the source of aqeedah is the Qur'an, the Saheeh Hadith, and the consensus of the righteous Salaf. The sources of reference in understanding aqeedah in Manhaj Salafi are limited to three: the Qur'an, Hadith, and *Ijma' Salaful shalih* (Sunesti, Hasan, & Azca, 2018). In other words, the Salafi movement holds the teaching of *Al-wala' wal bara'*, one of the principles of the aqeedah of Manhaj Salafi is love for Allah and hate for Allah, namely loving and giving wala' (loyalty) to the Muslims, and hating the polytheists and disbelievers by bara' (turning away) from them. Every Muslim who adheres to this aqeedah must love those who uphold the aqeedah of Islam and hate those who are hostile to it (M. Bin Ali, 2015).

In Indonesia, when viewed from the Manhaj orientation of the movement, Salafi can be divided into three typologies:

Da'wah-Purification-Oriented Salafi

The characteristic of this Salafi typology is that it is more focused on disseminating religious knowledge for the purification of tawhid. This typology is usually referred to as puritanical Salafi da'wah. The main objective of Salafi da'wah is the purification of aqeedah from innovations and deviant religious practices through the methods of *tazkiyyah* (purification) and *tarbiyyah* (education). It is usually an apolitical puritan group. This typology also includes those that prohibit formal institutionalization in the form of organizations. Salafi da'wah, commonly referred to as "Salafi," focuses on the moral dimension, purity of faith, and Islamic identity and is not so interested in achieving power with politics. Included in this typology are Wahabi Salafis, with their various typologies. Salafi Yamani, as mentioned in Noorhaidi Hasan's research (2009), is also included in this typology because they focus more on da'wah and hate Haraki (movement system) with organizational and political movements. Political activity is considered destructive because it creates a *hizbiyah* (group fanaticism) attitude (A. B. Wahid, 2017).

Purification-Modernization-Oriented Salafi

This Salafi typology simultaneously carries two missions: purification and modernization in all areas of life. It includes Haraki Salafis and modernist or reformist Salafis (Wahab, 2019). The idea promoted is renewal in Islam. They interpret *tajdid* with two meanings: purification (returning to the original) and development or modernization. Purification is carried out on aspects of religious practice, especially aqeedah and worship. The direction of purification is to return to the Qur'an and As-Sunnah and be free from shirk, *bid'ah*, and others that damage. Meanwhile, modernization is carried out in thinking and managing the world to be more advanced (Ismail, 2021).

Salafis Oriented to the Formalization of Islamic Shari'a

This Salafi typology aspires to establish an Islamic state (*Daulah Islamiyah*) to enforce Islamic sharia. Muhammad Nashir stated that this typology is called the Islamic Sharia group that wants the formalization of Islamic sharia. This typology is divided into two movements, namely peaceful and radical movements. First, the Salafis oriented to formalization of Islamic sharia take the path of political

parties and non-parties to realize their ideals. Included in this typology are Jihadi and political Salafis. Second, radical movements are opposition groups or being critical of the government. The driving force is Muhammad Surur bin Zainal Abidin. After being expelled from Saudi Arabia, he founded the al-Muntada Foundation from England. There is also Abdurrahman Abdul Khaliq, who controls the Ihya al-Turats Foundation from Kuwait. These groups are known as Salafi Sururiyah. In addition, there are also Salman bin Fahd al-Audah, who is accused of being an advisor to Osama bin Laden; Safar bin Abdurrahman al-Hawali, a scholar who opposes the policies of the United States and Saudi Arabia; and Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Masari, a pioneer of Hizbut Tahrir Saudi Arabia. Among the Salafis, the Sururiyah group tolerates political life (Maher, 2016).

The vital thing to note in discussing the dynamics of Salafi religious understanding in Indonesia is that Salafi in Indonesia is not a monolithic community. The tendency of Indonesian Salafi figures with countries in the Middle East show different thoughts and creates seeds of differences in understanding that are harsh and even divisive (Saparudin, 2017). It can be understood that the dynamics of the Salafi religious movement in Indonesia, through the network of countries in the Middle East, was accompanied by internal problems caused by various Salafi typologies (D. Wahid, 2014c). Recently, there have been incidents of *tahzir* (stern warnings for going astray or departing from the Salafi group) by fellow Salafi da'wah activists and *hajr* (silence or not addressing the group as heretical).

Learning Construction of Salafis Islamic Boarding School

Salafi Islamic boarding school, like other Islamic boarding schools in general, is a place for Islamic religious education, specifically as a center for developing the Salafi religious model. It develops from preschool to higher education (Irham, 2016). The three types of educational programs developed there are the *tahfidh al Quran* program (memorizing the Quran), the *tadrib al-duat* program (teaching training), and the *tarbiyatun nisa'* program (women's education) (Meliani, Basri, & Suhartini, 2023). The Salafis developed two models of Islamic boarding schools. First, the exclusive model only develops Islamic knowledge and adds some basic general knowledge, namely Indonesian language and math lessons. Basic general knowledge only provides knowledge in community interaction; the rest is not. The exclusive Puritan Salafi group (Puritan Rejection) developed this model. The second model is Islamic boarding schools, which tend to be inclusive. The students study Islamic sciences and general sciences by adopting the national curriculum there. The cooperative Puritan Salafi group developed this model (D. Wahid, 2014).

One of the exclusive Islamic boarding schools is al-Furqon Islamic Boarding School Gresik (Hafid, 2020b). This Islamic boarding school has education levels ranging from kindergarten, *tahfidh*, *mutawassitah*, *tsanawiyah*, *takhassus*, and higher education. The students study *tahfidh* al-Qur'an and basic religious knowledge such as aqeedah, morals, Hadith, and jurisprudence. The basic general knowledge studied includes natural and social sciences, mathematics, the Indonesian language, and civic education. The guidebooks used are as in the national curriculum. It does not take the national exam, but if the students want official recognition, they can take the pursuit package (D. Wahid, 2014). The teaching and learning process starts early in the Islamic boarding schools of Salafi. For example, in kindergarten, the implementation model is to teach the most basic Salafi doctrines. They remember important kinds of worship based on the Prophet's Hadith, prohibit children from drawing living things (humans and animals), prohibit children from singing songs, and separate women from men of different classes. The teachers who teach the children are veiled woman, but when in class, the veil is removed (Meliani et al., 2023).

The teaching training program is for students in their teens and above or adults, especially seniors. The purpose of this program is for students to teach or spread their knowledge to others. This program is not limited to a specific curriculum, time, or place. It can be done at any time according to the appropriate conditions. Because all students live around the dormitory, it becomes flexible. The curriculum depends on and is determined by the teacher in charge (Makruf & Asrori, 2022). Usually, one teacher gives one to three discussions using one guidebook in this teaching. The method used is *mulazama*, where students gather and listen to the teacher lecture or explain the discussion in the

guidebook. This method is the same as that used by traditional Islamic boarding schools, commonly called *bandongan/wetonan* (Yamin, 2023). In this method, students listen to the teacher's translation descriptions or explore the book's explanation.

Some models of Salafi Islamic boarding schools are inclusive, and some are exclusive. The difference between these two models is related to the curriculum system used. Inclusive Islamic boarding schools with cooperative Puritan Salafi affiliation fully adopt the national curriculum and take national exams. In addition, this Islamic boarding school also adopts the Saudi Arabian curriculum in Islamic knowledge. It is to obtain accreditation from the University of Saudi Arabia and Medina Islamic University (D. Wahid, 2012). The importance of accreditation is to obtain funding, for example, from Charitable Foundations from the Middle East, Jamiyya Ihya' al Turath from Kuwait, and Muassasat Aid al Thani from Qatar. The exclusive model curriculum affiliated with Salafi-rejectionis refers to the curriculum of Sheikh Muqbil in Dammaj, Yemen, related to the learning model, materials, and methods. The function of this Islamic boarding school model is the same as its role in the beginning: the transmission of religious knowledge, maintaining Islamic traditions, and giving birth to scholars of the Salafi. This relationship with the Middle East regarding curriculum is oriented to continue the Salafi ideology and pragmatically gain recognition and finance from the Middle East (Irham, 2016).

Salafi Islamic boarding school prioritized the study of the creed. Then, the book references that become the basic guidelines as learning materials are the books written by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab entitled *al Usul al Thalatha*, *Kitab al-Tawhid*, *Kashf al Shubuhah*, *Masail al-Jahiliyah*, and their books written by Salafi scholars such as Muhammad Ibnu Salih al Uthaymin and Salih Ibnu Fawzan ibn Abd Allah al Fauzan. In addition, a book written by Ibn Taymiyyah entitled *al Aqida al Wasitiyyah*, *Sharh al 'Aqida al Wasitiyyah* by al Uthaymin, *al 'Aqida al Tahwiyyah* by al-Imam al Tahawiyah and *Syarahi* by Ibn Abi al 'Izzi (Makruf & Asrori, 2022).

After studying *aqeedah* as the priority, the second is Hadith. The Hadith books used are almost identical to those used by other Islamic boarding schools, such as *al-'Arbain Nawawi*, *Sahih Bukhori*, and *Sahih Muslim*. However, the difference lies in the authority of using the books and *syarah* (the explanation book) held by Salafi scholars. In addition to the Hadith are the jurisprudence books by Abd al 'Azim ibn Badawi entitled *al Wajiz fi Fiqh al-Sunna wa al Kitab al 'Aziz*, Ibn Qudama's *Umdat al-Ahkam* which was re-shared in *Taysir al 'Allam* by Abd Allah ibn Abd al Rahman ibn Salih Alu Bassam. The book of morals was *al Ta'lim al Muta'allim* by al Zarnuji, and Islamic history is the book *Khulasah Nur al Yaqin* by Umar Abd al Jabbar (D. Wahid, 2015). The study of *aqeedah*, Hadith, jurisprudence, and moral books are all directly sent from Arabia. The books used to teach are published by Wazarat al-Maarif (Ministry of Education) in Saudi Arabia (Hafid, 2020a). In applying the doctrine of Salafi Manhaj, the Islamic boarding schools make stages/scientific structures. In the field of belief for the *ibtidaiyah* (beginner) level, the students learn the book of *Usul al Thalatha*. The first material learned is about *masail al arba'* (four issues), which examines knowledge (science), how to implement it, what can be categorized as knowledge, and how to preach it.

In the study of knowledge, there are three essential principles of discussion: the science of divinity, that Allah is the one who must be worshipped; the science of religion (faith, Islam, and *Ihsan* or good deed); and the message of the Prophet Muhammad. The learning method for it is straightforward, such as giving a brief and concise explanation, defining following the Qur'an and al-Hadith arguments, and giving examples of problems. The method used is through dialogue; there are questions and answers. At the *mutawasitah/tsanawiyah* (intermediate) level, the book used is the book of *tawhid* by Muhammad Abdul Wahhab which examines *tawhid al-uluhiyyah*, *al-rububiyah*, and *asma wa al-sifat* (Saparudin, 2017). However, these books are discussed in detail at the higher level because, at the *tsanawiyah* level, the books studied are still bare. Grounding Salafi to the students is not only through learning but also through daily life practices. The effort is to carry out habituation in their tradition. The habit starts from the way of dressing to the principles of life, such as the prohibition of playing, watching, or listening to all musical instruments, singing, watching TV, and listening to the radio. It is considered a matter of *bid'ah*, forbidden to do. In addition, theater and drama arts are also prohibited because they are regarded as imitations of non-Muslim culture (Sunesti et al., 2018).

The Salafi emphasizes and believes that the method of da'wah is *tawqifi*, not *ijtihadi*. So, there is no room for dissent. Another refraction is in the form of a Salafi dress style. The four identities of Salafi clothing are jalabiya, isbal, lihya, and niqab. The giving names or aliases are also in Arabic (Ahmad, Muniroh, & Nurani, 2021). For example, a boy named Fauzan is nicknamed Abu Fauzan, and a girl named Umi. This nickname is considered *sunnah* and means a prayer. This call name is a non-formal name only because the actual name is used administratively.

Regarding eating and drinking, they are accustomed to the prophet's commandments: using the right hand with three fingers and sitting together. Whether in puritanical or exclusive Salafi Islamic Boarding Schools, the students also vary. Some are from Salafi families and want their children to become Salafi *kaffah* (perfect Salafis). Some come from non-Salafi families. Students from non-Salafi backgrounds do not want their children to be Salafi, but their motive is because the education is excellent and professional. The second reason is to prevent children from free and despicable associations. Because parents are busy and do not have time to care for them, they are sent to Salafi institutions because of the whole day system. The third reason is to make their children good Muslims (Chaplin, 2018).

Genealogy of Moderate Salafi Movement in Kediri

A few decades after the Reformation, Salafi in Kediri showed a significant development in the 2000s. The beginning of Manhaj Salafi in Kediri was brought by students who graduated from 3 Salafi boarding schools in East Java and Central Java, namely Al-Furqon Islamic Boarding School Gresik, Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School Surabaya and Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School Salatiga, -where the three of them did give birth to many Salafi cadres who became preachers in all Salafi boarding schools in Indonesia (AG, Personal Communication, August 21, 2022). In Kediri, Salafi Manhaj began in the outskirts, such as Al-Qudwah Islamic Boarding School in Srikaton and Susuh Bango area, Ringinrejo Subdistrict. Al-Qudwah was the first Manhaj Salafi Islamic boarding school in Kediri. It was built by Ustadz Hasyim and Ustadz Ainur Rofiq, who graduated from Al-Furqon Islamic Boarding School Gresik (JAM, Personal Communication, August 12, 2022).

Then came Al-Mansur Islamic Boarding School in Tegowangi, Plemahan Subdistrict, and Ar-Robitoh Islamic Boarding School in Gurah, which were established by the graduates from Al-Furqon Islamic Boarding School Gresik and Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School Surabaya. Both experienced ups and downs in their development until finally, after the end of 2010, because many people in Kediri were interested in the teachings of Salafi Manhaj, these institutions automatically became large. These successes gave birth to Ar-Rosyad Bogem Islamic Boarding School and Salman Al-Farisi Gayam Islamic Boarding School in Gurah Subdistrict, to Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School in Kaliombo, Kediri City - where the entire scientific references of the founder have an attachment to Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School Salatiga, Al-Furqon Islamic Boarding School and Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School (AG, Personal Communication, August 21, 2022). They are the epicenter of the spread and revival of Islam. Salafi, a type of da'wah-puritan as evidenced by the many Hijrah communities, such as Brother Jannah, Sister Jannah, and the Hijrah States have affiliations with these Islamic boarding school.

The development of Manhaj Salaf Islam in Kediri City must be connected to the contribution of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah in Kediri, which provided a place for the da'wah of Manhaj Salafi around 2003. The *halaqah* (meeting) activities held at the Al-Irsyad mosque in Kediri City were initiated by Mr. Abdus Salam (Hijrah name: his real name is Slamet Riyadi), who at that time was the distributor of As-Sunnah magazine in Kediri (SAL, Personal Communication, August 20, 2022). At that time, it had two opposing camps: *harakah halaqah* (read: HTI and PKS) and *da'wah halaqah* (read: Manhaj Salafi). After the resistance between the two, Abdus Salam and several leaders of Salafi Manhaj in Kediri, initiated the establishment of the Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy mosque in 2005, which later became the Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School (AG, Personal Communication, August 21, 2022).

The congregation's development was quite significant; Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School was able to establish by opening a Qur'an tahfidz program in 2007, Preschool, and Kindergarden

in 2010, and establishing Imam Muslim Elementary School in 2013 (Halim, 2022). In contrast to Al-Irsyad, Persis, and Muhammadiyah, Manhaj Salaf Islam is a transnational Islamic group whose ideology and reasons for its presence are not due to turmoil and were founded by the Indigenous people. The thoughts of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and his successors carried out the penetration of Salafi's understanding into Indonesia. The Salafi teachings entered Indonesia through Middle Eastern alumni scholars from Yemen and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Both countries are the main base or center of the Salafi movement worldwide. These two oil-rich countries are suspected to be the main funding source for the continuity of the Salafi movement's activities (Saleh et al., 2021). The rise of preachers in Kediri who have graduated from the Middle East proves it. They have a close relationship with the Manhaj Salafi Islamic group. There was even tension on July 13-14, 2019, at Joyoboyo Sport Center Kediri City by holding the "Brother Fest" event (a kind of hijrah community festival), which has an affiliation with Manhaj Salaf Islam with the Traditionalist Islamic group - Nahdlatul Ulama monasteries (Mashudi, 2019).

Although the Mayor of Kediri finally canceled the event, it was still held on a smaller scale in places that were indeed the epicenter of the spread of this Salafi Manhaj, such as cafes, mosques, and several schools associated with the Salaf Manhaj (Duta Islam, 2019). The most obvious driving factor for the existence of this Salafi Islamic Boarding School is the increasing awareness of Middle Eastern Islam as a reference in religion. The effort is very structured. Arguments can prove it. First, there exists the provision of scholarships to Indonesian Muslims by Saudi Arabia to study there. This effort is a way to cadre Indonesian Muslims to practice and spread the Salafi ideologies. Second, funding flows from Saudi Arabia to develop da'wah and education networks. Third, the Islamic Boarding School with Salafi uses curriculum and teaching materials from Saudi Arabia (AG, Personal Communication, August 21, 2022).

However, it should be noted that not all Salafi has an exclusive attitude. There are two models of Islamic boarding schools developed. First, the exclusive Islamic boarding school model only develops Islamic knowledge and adds a little basic general knowledge, such as Indonesian language and mathematics lessons. This Islamic boarding school was developed by the exclusive Puritan Salafi group (Puritan rejection). In Kediri, Ar-Rosyad Islamic Boarding School Bogem and Al-Qudwah Islamic Boarding School Kediri apply this model (JAM, Personal Communication, August 12, 2022).

Second, the inclusive Islamic boarding schools model teaches not only Islamic sciences but also general sciences, for example, the establishment of integrated Islamic schools—starting at the preschool to college level named Ma'had 'Aly. The educational materials of the integrated Islamic kindergarten to integrated Islamic Senior High School refer to the national education curriculum and the teaching of the Salafi Manhaj doctrine. A cooperative Puritan Salafi group developed this model. Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School in Kediri City and Al-Manshur Islamic Boarding School in Plemahan, Kediri Regency, conduct this model (Halim, 2022).

The Dynamics of the Moderate Salafi Movement among the Jemaah Hijrah of Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School

In social science, *hijrah* has the same meaning as religious conversion, a process leading to acceptance or change in individual religious attitudes (Rijal & Masturi, 2022). Religious conversion has two meanings: moving/entering into another religion and the spiritual attitude. In this context, religious conversion shows a change in one's attitude towards one's religion; a shift or change in one's perspective is caused by problems in the religion, which indicates an increase in one's understanding or practice of religion (Galonnie & de los Rios, 2016). This research found the term *hijrah* is used to describe the movement of individuals from something bad to something better. Someone gets the label *hijrah* if they do what is left behind and what is aimed at (goal) in a better direction. In today's context, *hijrah* means leaving something bad to go to something better by the teachings and commands of Allah Almighty with sincerity (Hamudy & Hamudy, 2020).

This research also found *hijrah* in the Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School, many of which occurred among worshippers formerly affiliated with the Muhammadiyah and LDII (Lembaga

Dakwah Islam Indonesia) (Halim, 2022). The two organizations have the same ideological roots, namely Puritan Islam, although genealogically, they have different implementations. Muhammadiyah and LDII are puritanical Islamic groups not included in the fundamentalist or revivalist groups, but Muhammadiyah and LDII are puritans (Supani, 2008). Muhammadiyah is puritanical Islam with a modernist type, while LDII is puritanical Islam with a traditionalist type (Isfironi, 2016).

The objective conditions underlying the birth of Muhammadiyah and LDII are due to internal and external factors. The internal factors are the impurity of Islamic practice due to not making the Qur'an and al-Sunnah the only reference by most Indonesian Muslims, and the educational institutions owned by Muslims have not been able to prepare generations who are ready to carry out the mission as caliphs on earth. Meanwhile, the external factor is the increasing Christianization of Indonesian society, marked by the penetration of Europeans, especially the Dutch, into Indonesia during the colonial period (Qodir, Jubba, Hidayati, Abdullah, & Long, 2020). The above reasons also make Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School willing to migrate. It can be seen when they express opinions about the meaning of their *hijrah* from Muhammadiyah to the Salafi at Imam Muslim Islamic Boarding School as stated by Halim, Leony, Abdus Salam, and Azzam, who mostly argue that the Salafi is a manifestation of Islam that is pure and consistent with Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah. For them, the *hijrah* intended by the Jemaah Hijrah at Imam Muslim Islamic Boarding School can shape a person's heart and mind in responding to everything. This form of *hijrah* is the main focus of preachers in spreading Islamic law. Because the main thing in *hijrah* is to monotheize Allah, a person needs to shape his heart and mind to monotheize Allah.

The purification of Islamic teachings felt by the Jemaah Hijrah is related to continually encouraging and requiring the congregation to return and refer to the basic sources of Islam, namely the Al-Quran and Sunnah (Saparudin, 2017). Therefore, any form of taqlid is rejected. As a result, ijihad (religious interpretation by ulema) and individual interpretation are accepted but within strict limits (Hafid, 2020b). In the view of the Salafi congregation, the Qur'an is the direct word of God, while the life of the Prophet Muhammad is seen as a model, a perfect example that does not depart from the teachings and values of the Qur'an. Therefore, LDII followers do not need leader figures to emulate Islam if they are not in line with the attitude of the Prophet Muhammad taught by the Qur'an and As-Sunnah (Dodi, 2017). In addition, Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School teaches only to worship Allah and does not recognize the divine nature of other than Allah. Anyone who includes creatures to be glorified together with Allah means that he has committed polytheism, and in worshiping Allah must follow the methods prescribed by Allah through the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

The consequence of these two things is that it is not permissible to appoint human beings, living or dead, as intermediaries (*wasilah*) to get closer to Allah. It is not acceptable to make pilgrimages to the graves of pious people and prophets to ask for prayers, nor is it permissible to sacralize them (including *tawassul*, *tabarruk*, grave pilgrimage, *karamah wali*) because they all fall under the category of shirk to Allah. Therefore, actions that deviate from and contradict the oneness of Allah in worship are acts of *bid'ah* in religion and polytheism. Indeed, this makes the Jemaah Hijrah realize that the above teachings they found in Muhammadiyah and LDII, but in its implementation, many Muhammadiyah and LDII circles need to be more consistent in carrying it out. Instead, they find the consistency of the above teachings in Salafi at Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School (Halim, 2022).

However, it does not make the Jemaah Hijrah as radical as the Salafi movement in general. They consider the Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School purely as an educational institution and are not affiliated with any mass organization, only solely studying Islam together to lead to Allah's blessing. The Jemaah Hijrah believe that the Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School develops teachings to return to the sources of Islam, the Quran and Hadith. The basic principles of this approach are strict monotheism (*tawhid*) and total obedience to the commands of the Prophet Muhammad (SAL, Personal Communication, August 21, 2022). As one of the most influential modern Salafis, Albani became a reference point for the Muslim Brotherhood in its scholarly foundations, developing the teachings of Islam as developed by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. A distinctive feature of Albani's thought is that he is more concerned with the movement to return to knowledge than power.

The teaching that Albani developed was the teacher-student relationship, a pattern that has been known since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In this personal and obedient relationship, Salafis grew and developed in various parts of the world and then formed a genealogy that gave birth to movements that moved freely and could not be controlled by the state (Makruf & Asrori, 2022).

It shows that the Jemaah Hijrah adheres to a moderate Salafi approach, emphasizing being inclusive and tolerant of different interpretations of Islam. They seek to maintain core Salafi values while remaining open to dissent on religious issues. The movement's sustainability depends on an educational approach that provides space for discussion and dialog rather than a rigid emphasis on a single interpretation. The Jemaah Hijrah there applies the principle of *al-walâ' wa al-barâ'* in their practice, where they seek to build solidarity with their fellow Muslims and make a clear distinction between those who share their faith and those who do not, without being hostile to them. However, they are not bound by a vow of allegiance (*bay'ah*) to one particular group. They believe applying this doctrine encourages them to live within community bonds (*jamâ'ah*) without limiting their political involvement. They refuse to engage in political activities that lead to fanaticism and hostility, as seen in their unaffiliated with political parties or organizations in Kediri City. Through this approach, Jemaah Hijrah in Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School demonstrates their commitment to da'wah and an apolitical lifestyle.

The teaching of the Jemaah Hijrah is not to disbelieve any Muslim unless they commit an act that invalidates aqeedah or faith and Islam. As for big sins other than shirk, no evidence condemns the perpetrator as kafir (disbeliever). There are several principles that the Salafi movement holds in the matter of kufr or disbelief. The first principle is that disbelief is a Sharia law and must be to Allah and His Messenger. If a person's Islam is firmly established, it cannot be removed from him except for a convincing reason. There are two types of kufr: minor and major. Not every word or action identified as major kufr excludes someone from the trust in God. The judgments rendered on these actions and words are based on the methodology and orders issued by Ahl al-Sunnah scholars.

Judging a Muslim as a kafir is not permissible unless there is clear, explicit, and unequivocal evidence from the Qur'an and Sunnah that he is a kafir. So, in this matter, it is not enough, just *shubhat* (doubt) and suspicion. Based on the principles of *al-wala'* and *al-bara'*, Imam Muslim Islamic Boarding School divides people into three groups: people who must be loved sincerely without hostility, people who must be hated and oppressed without the slightest love, and the believers who commit sins. Based on these three groups, people deserve to be loved and hated. First are the true believers from among the Prophet Muhammad, the Siddiqi (truthful and righteous people), the martyrs, and the righteous. The foremost among them is the Messenger of Allah. Muslims must love the Messenger of Allah more than themselves, their children, their wife, their parents, and all human beings. Then, it is followed by his wife, family, the Companions, especially the khulafaurrasyidin, the muhajirin, and the anshar (M. Bin Ali, 2015).

The second group is the genuine disbelievers: polytheists, hypocrites, apostates, and deviants, whatever type they are (Maher, 2016). The third group is the believers who commit sins. Because their sins do not reach disbelief and shirk, they deserve to be hated due to their sins. They also deserve love by advising them repeat the sinful deeds. Their evil deeds should not be tolerated but should be discouraged and forbidden to do good deeds, and the law should be enforced against them until they stop and repent from sin (Sunesti et al., 2018). Due to *Wala'* (love) and *bara'* (hate), Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School should be built on the principles of the Qur'an and Sunnah, not on *hizbi* (groups). Salafis like Muslims to stick to the Qur'an and al-Sunnah based on the understanding of *Salafush Shaleh*. They hate the followers of lust and *bid'ah* because they disagree with the *Manhaj* of the *Salafush Shaleh* (Bećirević, 2016). The Salafi movement at Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School stands on the principles of Salafi, the belief that whoever holds fast to it is guaranteed to be happy and always safe from misguidance, *bid'ah*, and falsehood, regardless of certain Islamic groups. So, it shows that Imam Muslim, as a Salafi movement, accept various interpretations from other groups, with all the truths they believe in.

4. Conclusion

The results of this study revealed that the Jemaah Hijrah at Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Islamic Boarding School is a clear example of a moderate Salafi movement that has implemented an inclusive and tolerant approach to variations in interpretation in Islam. They diligently strive to maintain core Salafi principles while remaining open to diverse views on religious issues. This movement has also proven to be not just a temporary phenomenon. Still, it has the potential for sustainability, which depends on an educational approach that supports discussion and dialog as a means of understanding. Amidst these dynamics, moderate Salafi movements such as Jemaah Hijrah must protect themselves from the blind fanaticism often at the root of hatred and division. By making inclusivity and respect for difference their main pillars, they have created a balanced model between conservative religious values and acceptance of variations in interpretation.

Through these findings, this research makes a valuable contribution to the basic understanding of the development of the Salafi movement in Indonesia. This understanding highlights the fact that the Salafi movement in Indonesia is not monolithic but has variations and adaptations according to local situations and the needs of the times. Moreover, the findings also provide insights that there are alternative ways for religious movements to bridge gaps and promote peace within the Islamic context and in the broader environment. As such, this study highlights the importance of inclusive understanding in formulating a balanced framework of thought, which can ultimately positively contribute to the dynamics of a diverse and evolving society.

References

- Adam, F., Rahman, A. A., Muhammad, E., & Ali, T. E. (2014). Islamic Khilafah (Caliphate) in the History of Muslim Civilization: The Conflict Between Sunni and Shi'i. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 22(8), 1253–1258. <https://doi.org/10.5829/idosi.mejsr.2014.22.08.22039>
- Adeni, A., & Hasanah, S. (2022). Salafi Da'wah In Countering Terrorism Through Contextualization Of Jihad And Cultural-Social Action: The Case Of Salafi Cileungsi Bogor. *Jurnal Al-Bayan: Media Kajian Dan Pengembangan Ilmu Dakwah*, 27(1), 167–199. <https://doi.org/10.22373/albayan.v27i1.9061>
- Ahmad, M., Muniroh, S. M., & Nurani, S. (2021). Niqab, Protest Movement, And The Salafization Of Indonesian Islam. *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.21043/qjjs.v9i2.8195>
- Ali, M. Bin. (2015). Al-Wala' wal Bara' in the Salafi-Wahhabi Ideology. In *The Roots of Religious Extremism* (pp. 125–174). London: Imperial College Press. https://doi.org/10.1142/9781783263936_0004
- Ali, J. A. (2022). Modernity, Its Crisis and Islamic Revivalism. *Religions*, 14(1), 15. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14010015>
- Almu'tasim, A. (2019). Berkaca NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam Mewujudkan Nilai-Nilai Moderasi Islam di Indonesia. *Tarbiya Islamia: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Keislaman*, 8(2), 199–212. <https://doi.org/10.36815/tarbiya.v8i2.474>
- Amin, F., & Ananda, R. A. (2018). Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoritik tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara. *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 18(2), 67–100.
- Amin, H. (2017). Moderate Salafism and the Challenge of De-Radicalization. The Case of Pakistan. *Romanian Journal of Political Sciences*, 17(1), 62–90.
- Azra, A. (2006). *Indonesia, Islam, and Democracy: Dynamics in a Global Context*. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing.
- Azra, A. (2013). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah & Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII; Akar Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia*. Depok: Kencana Prenamedia Group.
- Bakir, M., & Othman, K. (2017). Wasatiyyah (Islamic Moderation): A Conceptual Analysis from Islamic Knowledge Management Perspective. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 7(1), 13–30. <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.71.02>
- Barlian, E. (2016). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif & kuantitatif*. Padang: Sukabina Press.
- Baskara, B. (2017). Islamic Puritanism Movements in Indonesia as Transnational Movements. *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v2i1.103>
- Bećirević, E. (2016). *Salafism vs. Moderate Islam: A Rhetorical Fight for the Hearts and Minds of Bosnian Muslims*. Atlantska inicijativa: Udruženje za promicanje euroatlantskih integracija BiH.
- Chaplin, C. (2018). Salafi activism and the promotion of a modern Muslim identity. *South East Asia Research*, 26(1), 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X17752414>
- Choueiri, Y. M. (2010). *Islamic Fundamentalism 3rd Edition: The Story of Islamist Movements*. London: Continuum.

- <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472548573>
- Dallal, A. (1993). The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113(3), 341–359. <https://doi.org/10.2307/605385>
- Dauids, N. (2017). Islam, Moderation, Radicalism, and Justly Balanced Communities. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37(3), 309–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2017.1384672>
- Dekmejian, R. H. (1995). *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World, Second Edition*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Dodi, L. (2017). Metamorfosis Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan: Antara Polemik, Desiminasi, Ortodoksi, dan Penerimaan terhadap Ideologi Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII). *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 17(1), 227–246. <https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v17i1.880>
- Duta Islam. (2019). Peta Umpet Brother's Fest 2019 Kediri, Ternyata Masih Diadakan Acara Brother's Serupa. Retrieved March 12, 2022, from Duta Islam website: <https://www.dutaislam.com/2019/07/peta-umpet-brothers-fest-2019-kediri-ternyata-masih-diadakan-acara-brothers-serupa.html>
- Edmondson, A. C., & Mcmanus, S. E. (2007). Methodological fit in management field research. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), 1246–1264. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2007.26586086>
- Fadl, K. A. El. (2006). *The Search for Beauty in Islam: A Conference of the Books*. Pineapple: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fadlun, M., Elitear, J., Tambunan, A., & Koto, E. (2016). Penelitian Lapangan (Field Research) Pada Metode Kualitatif. *Penelitian Lapangan*, 1–26.
- Faizah, F. (2012). Gerakan Salafi Di Lombok. *Harmoni*, 11(4), 56–68.
- Febriansyah, D., & El-Alami, D. S. (2021). Moderate Islam vis-a-vis Salafism in Indonesia: An Ideological Competition. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 29(1), 55–78. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.29.1.7212>
- Fogg, K. W. (2019). Indonesian Islamic Socialism and its South Asian Roots. *Modern Asian Studies*, 53(6), 1736–1761. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X17000646>
- Galonier, J., & de los Rios, D. (2016). Teaching and Learning to Be Religious: Pedagogies of Conversion to Islam and Christianity. *Sociology of Religion*, 77(1), 59–81. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socrel/srv055>
- Glassner, B., & Corzine, J. (1982). Library research as fieldwork: A strategy for qualitative content analysis. *Sociology & Social Research*, 66, 305–319.
- Hafid, W. (2020a). Geneologi Radikalisme Di Indonesia (Melacak Akar Sejarah Gerakan Radikal). *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law*, 1(1), 31–48.
- Hafid, W. (2020b). Menyoal Gerakan Salafi Di Indonesia (Pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi). *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law*, 2(1), 29–48. <https://doi.org/10.33096/altafaqquh.v2i1.87>
- Hakim, L. (2017). Sentralisasi Islam Marjinal: Dari Dunia Melayu-Nusantara untuk Dunia Islam. *Khazanah: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam*, 57–93. <https://doi.org/10.15548/khazanah.v0i0.61>
- Halim, A. *Pengurus Pondok Imam Muslim Al-Atsariy Kota Kediri*. , (2022).
- Hamdi, A. Z. (2020). Wajah Baru Islam Indonesia: Dari Kontestasi ke Pembentukan Lanskap Baru. *Tashwirul Afkar*, 39(1), 59–78. <https://doi.org/10.51716/ta.v38i01.3>
- Hamudy, N. A., & Hamudy, M. I. A. (2020). Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity. *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)*, 4(2), 133–150. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2020.4.2.5784>
- Hasyim, A. (2017). *Teologi Muslim Puritan: Genealogi dan Ajaran Salafi*. Jakarta: el-Bukhari Publishing.
- Hodgson, M. G. S. (1974). *The Venture of Islam, Volume 1* (Vol. 1). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226346861.001.0001>
- Hooker, M. B. (1983). *Islam in Southeast Asia*. Leiden: BRILL. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004642898>
- Irham, I. (2016). Pesantren Manhaj Salafi: Pendidikan Islam Model Baru Di Indonesia. *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*, 17(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v17i1.3252>
- Isfironi, M. (2016). Proyek identitas kultur kerukunan: studi harmoni kehidupan warga NU, Muhammadiyah dan LDII. *Al'Adalah: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 17(2), 235–253.
- Islamy, M. R. F. (2021). Islam And Religious Moderation: The Role Of School Laboratory In Negotiating Religious Moderation Within Theological Plurality. *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Filsafat*, 18(1), 91. <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v18i1.3418>
- Ismail, R. (2021). *Rethinking Salafism: The Transnational Networks of Salafi 'Ulama in Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jarmakani, A. (2008). Veiled Intentions: The Cultural Mythology Of Veils, harems, And Belly Dancers In The Service Of Empire, Security, And Globalization. In *Imagining Arab Womanhood* (pp. 139–184). New York: Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230612112_5
- Kersten, C. (2015). *Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Kersten, C. (2017). *A History of Islam in Indonesia*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748681853>

- Kuru, A. T. (2019). *Islam, authoritarianism, and underdevelopment: A global and historical comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, B. E., & Churchill, B. E. (2008). *Islam: The Religion and the People*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Maher, S. (2016). *Salafi-jihadism: The History of an Idea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Makruf, J., & Asrori, S. (2022). In the Making of Salafi-Based Islamic Schools in Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 60(1), 227–264. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.227-264>
- Malik, A., Tamjidillah, T., & Satriawan, S. (2020). Budaya Literasi dan Infiltrasi Gerakan Islam Radikal di Pesantren Indonesia. *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 15(1), 48–67. <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2020.15.1.48-67>
- Mashudi, D. (2019). Diduga Pendakwah Berpaham Radikal, Dua Ponpes Menolak Kegiatan Brothers Fest 2019 di Kota Kediri. Retrieved June 12, 2022, from Tribun News website: <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2019/06/27/diduga-pendakwah-berpaham-radikal-dua-ponpes-menolak-kegiatan-brothers-fest-2019-di-kota-kediri>
- Meliani, F., Basri, H., & Suhartini, A. (2023). Learning System in Salafi Manhaj Boarding School. *Munaddhomah: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 4(2), 175–186. <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v4i2.300>
- Muhammadun, M. (2019). Kritik Nalar Al-Jabiri; Bayani, Irfani dan Burhani dalam Membangun Islamic Studies Integrasi-Interkoneksi. *Eduprof: Islamic Education Journal*, 1(2), 52–77. <https://doi.org/10.47453/eduprof.v1i2.15>
- Muliono, S., Suwarko, A., & Ismail, Z. I. (2019). Gerakan Salafi dan Deradikalisasi Islam di Indonesia. *Religio Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 9(2), 244–266. <https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v9i2.1207>
- Pathak, V., Jena, B., & Kalra, S. (2013). Qualitative research. *Perspectives in Clinical Research*, 4(3), 192. <https://doi.org/10.4103/2229-3485.115389>
- Qodir, Z., Jubba, H., Hidayati, M., Abdullah, I., & Long, A. S. (2020). A progressive Islamic movement and its response to the issues of the ummah. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10(2), 323–352. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i2.323-352>
- Rahman, F. (2021). *Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rijal, S., & Masturi, A. (2022). Hijrah ke Manhaj Salaf: Ekspresi dan Negoisasi Kesalehan Kaum Muda Urban. *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 17(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3569>
- Saleh, F., Maufur, M., & Sulaeman, M. (2021). *Menarasikan Islam, Pluralisme, Dan Keberagaman Di Indonesia* (M. Maufur & M. Sulaeman, Eds.). Kediri: Cakrawala Satria Mandiri.
- Saparudin, S. (2017). Salafism, State Recognition and Local Tension: New Trends in Islamic Education in Lombok. *Ulumuna*, 21(1), 81–107. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v21i1.1188>
- Suhandary, D. (2019). Moderat Dan Puritan Dalam Islam: Telaah Metode Hermeneutika Khaled M. Abou El Fadl. *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Theology and Philosophy*, 1(1), 19–44. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ijitp.v1i1.3902>
- Sulaeman, M. (2019). Permainan Bahasa Atas Tuduhan Gerakan Fundamentalisme Islam Dalam Politik Barat. *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 7(1), 55–72. <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2019.7.1.55-72>
- Sunesti, Y., Hasan, N., & Azca, M. N. (2018). Young Salafi-niqabi and hijrah: agency and identity negotiation. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 8(2), 173–198. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.173-198>
- Supani. (2008). Problematika Bid'ah: Kajian Terhadap Dalil dan Argumen Pendukung serta Penolak Adanya Bid'ah Hasanah. *Jurnal Penelitian Agama*, 9(2), 218–249.
- Tamin, Z., & Riduwan, R. (2020). Resistensi Dakwah Salafi terhadap Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah di Sidoarjo. *SANGKÉP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan*, 3(1), 51–68. <https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v3i1.1881>
- Tiliouine, H., Renima, A., & Estes, R. J. (2016). The Changing Map of the Islamic World: From the Abbasid Era to the Ottoman Empire of the Twentieth Century. In H. Tiliouine & R. J. Estes (Eds.), *The State of Social Progress of Islamic Societies* (pp. 53–68). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-24774-8_3
- Umam, K., Sulaeman, M., & Zarkasyi, A. N. (2022). *Isu-Isu Islam Kontemporer: Refleksi Kritis Kondisi Muslim di Indonesia*. Batu: Literasi Nusantara.
- Wagemakers, J. (2016). Salafism. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.255>
- Wahab, A. J. (2019). Membaca Fenomena Baru Gerakan Salafi Di Solo. *Dialog*, 42(2), 225–240. <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v42i2.335>
- Wahid, A. B. (2017). Dakwah Salafi: Dari Teologi Puritan Sampai Anti Politik. *Media Syari'ah : Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial*, 13(2), 147–162. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jms.v13i2.1783>
- Wahid, D. (2012). Challenging Religious Authority: The Emergence of Salafi Ustadhs in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 6(2), 245. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.2.245-264>
- Wahid, D. (2014). Kembalinya Konservatisme Islam Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 21(2), 375–390. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v21i2.1043>

- Wahid, D. (2015). Nurturing Salafi manhaj A study of Salafi pesantrens in contemporary Indonesia. *Wacana*, 15(2), 367. <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v15i2.413>
- Wahyudi, C. (2011). Tipologi Islam Moderat dan Puritan: Pemikiran Khaled M. Abou el-Fadl. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam*, 1(1), 75–92. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2011.1.1.75-92>
- Weismann, I. (2017). New and Old Perspectives in the Study of Salafism. *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, 8(1), 22–37. <https://doi.org/10.5325/bustan.8.1.0022>
- Yamin, M. (2023). Learning Management in Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools. *At-Tadzkir: Islamic Education Journal*, 2(1), 25–36. <https://doi.org/10.59373/attadzkir.v2i1.10>



© 2023 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).