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Abstract

This article reveals the existence of the *salafī* community with its various social and religious effects as a new phenomenon of religious diversity in Kendari. Since the presence of the Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal, the social and religious life of Kendari has indicated some shifts both socially and culturally. Since this issue has not been explored, it is aimed at providing an overview of the existence of ICM as *salafī* community and its implications for society in a comprehensive manner. This research is qualitative research with a sociological approach with functional and interactional theories. This study shows that the ICM as *salafī* community has a big influence on presenting new religious phenomenon. They have taken over some religious stages which have been dominated by old communities such as NU and Muhammadiyah, reinforced by the presence of their mass media. The thoughts of *salafī*, which were initially opposed, began to be accepted by the public and the government, for the *salafī* in Kendari is generally tolerant, socializing, and adaptable. although there are small groups that are still extreme and less tolerant.

Keywords: Salafī; social transformation; Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal; Kendari;

الملخص

يكشف هذا المقال عن وجود مجتمع السلفي كظاهرة جديدة للتنوع الديني في كنداري مع آثارها الإجتماعية والدينية المختلفة. منذ وجود المركز الإسلامي معاذ بن جبل (ICM)، أشارت الحياة الإجتماعية والدينية في كنداري إلى عدد من التحولات الإجتماعية والثقافية. لم تتأثر ظاهرة الحياة الإجتماعية للتنوع الجديد بالبحث العلمي الذي يقدم نظرة عامة على وجود السلفي وآثاره على المجتمع بطريقة شاملة. هذا البحث هو البحث النوعي مع النهج الاجتماعي مع النظريات الوظيفية والتفاعلية. توضح هذه الدراسة أن المركز الإسلامي معاذ بن جبل كمجتمع السلفيين له تأثير كبير في تقديم ظاهرة دينية جديدة. لقد استولوا على عدد من المراحل الدينية التي سيطرت عليها المجتمعات القديمة مثل نهضة العلماء (NU) والمحمدية (Muhammadiyah)، معززة بوجود وسائل الإعلام الجماهيرية. فتقبل أفكار السلفي بين المسلمين بزيادة التقاليد الرمزية السلفية بينهم. فالبحث يدل على أن السلفيين في كنداري متسامحون وناشؤون الإجتماعية وقابلون

للتكيف عامهم. ثم يتم قبوله من قبل الجمهور والحكومة بسهولة، على الرغم من وجود قليل منهم ما يزالون متطرفة وأقل تسامحًا وتعارض موقف السلفيين الذين يعتبرون غير متناسقين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السلفي؛ التحول الاجتماعي؛ المركز الإسلامي معاذ بن جبل؛ كنداري؛

Abstrak

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap eksistensi komunitas *salafī* sebagai sebuah fenomena keberagaman baru Kota Kendari dengan berbagai efek sosial keagamaan yang ditimbulkannya. Sejak hadirnya institusi Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal (ICM), kehidupan sosial keagamaan masyarakat Kota Kendari terindikasi telah terjadi sejumlah pergeseran sosial kultural. Fenomena kehidupan sosial keberagaman wajah baru tersebut belum tersentuh penelitian ilmiah yang memberikan gambaran eksistensi komunitas ICM sebagai *salafī* dan implikasinya terhadap masyarakat secara komprehensif. Penelitian ini adalah sebuah penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologi dengan teori fungsional dan interaksional. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ICM sebagai komunitas *salafī* telah mewarnai Kota Kendari. Para ustadz dan pembina mereka telah banyak berkiprah dan mengambil alih sejumlah panggung keagamaan yang selama ini dikuasai oleh komunitas lama seperti NU dan Muhammadiyah, diperkuat oleh kehadiran media radio dan tv mereka. Paham-paham *salafī* yang awalnya banyak ditentang masyarakat mulai diterima dan tidak dipersoalkan lagi, bahkan tradisi simbolik *salafī* seperti memakai jubah dan memperpanjang jenggot semakin marak di masyarakat. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa *salafī* di Kota Kendari secara umum toleran, bersosialisasi, beradaptasi dan lebih terbuka sehingga mudah diterima masyarakat bahkan pemerintah, meski terdapat kelompok kecil yang masih ekstrim dan kurang toleran bahkan tidak menerima sikap *salafī* lainnya yang dianggap tidak konsisten terhadap manhaj *salafī*.

Kata Kunci: *Salafī*; Transformasi sosial; Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal; Kendari

A. *Introduction*

The phenomenon of *salafī* pesantren in Indonesia has become an exciting trend in pesantren, religious, and even Indonesian studies. The presence of some - *salafī* pesantren, a name they give to themselves, is an implication of the entry of transnational flow into Indonesia that embodies the dynamics of the pesantren in a quite complicated way. *Salafī* pesantrens which are claimed as *unindigenous* pesantrens strive to build and develop themselves amidst indigenous pesantren that

have existed long before. They are identified as *unindigenous* since the *salafī* pesantren no longer represent the characteristics of indigenous (traditional) Indonesian pesantren called the salaf/*salafī*yah pesantren with their classical text, *turāṡ*.[1]

The categorization of pesantren into pesantren salaf and khalaf (traditional and modern) is problematic since it obscures the use of the term *salafī* in the traditional sense that idealizes the generation of *ṣalaf al-ṣāliḥ* (early Islamic generations) as opposed to *khalafī* in the modern sense, a term that is also inaccurately associated with Wahhabis and terrorists.[2]

Religious and social discourse in Indonesia is exciting to observe because of the presence of some new problems in the community both between Muslims themselves and with the government, and often lead to communal conflicts in various regions.[3] *Salafī*s oriented towards puritanism or purification of religion by teaching the ideology of the salaf generation (the first three generations after the death of the Prophet Muhammad)[4] must deal with social and religious realities where the public understands and practices religious teachings which are also considered to be accurate based on the teachings of the previous sects.

The *salafī*sm movement in Kendari began in the early 2000s since the establishment of a pesantren educational institution called the Pondok Pesantren Minhajussunnah as a pioneer of the *Salafī* pesantren in Kendari. *Salafī* flow then developed with the inclusion of the Wahdah Islamiyah community organization in 2006.[5] However, the new chapter began in 2008 after the establishment of an educational institution called the Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal (starting now referred to as ICM) which was allegedly carrying the understanding of *salafī* and had a significant influence on the dynamics of the socio-religious life of the Kendari City community.

A number of studies carried out on ICM, for example the Asliah Zainal study, et al entitled "The Pattern of Education and Da'wah Pattern of Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal (ICM) in Kendari City" which focuses on the existence of ICM as an educational institution and *da'wah* institution with its strategy that win interest Kendari City community.[6] Another study by Nur Alim, et al. entitled "Singularity of

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[1]Muhammad Misbah, 'Tradisi Keilmuan Pesantren Salafi', *IBDA`: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2014), p. 241–258.

[2]Mark Woodward, 'Modeling Muslim Social Movements: A Case Study of Indonesian Salafism', in *Annual Conference on Islamic Studies Banjarmasin Indonesia*, 2011, pp. 1–16.

[3]Mukhtar Hadi, 'Fenomena Kelompok Keagamaan Baru (Heresy) Dalam Islam (Studi Terhadap Jama'ah Ittiba' Al -Salaf Di Purwoasri Metro Utara)', *Ri'ayah*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (2017), p. 1–19.

[4]Mukhtar Hadi, 'Fenomena Kelompok Keagamaan Baru (Heresy) Dalam Islam (Studi Terhadap Jama'ah Ittiba' Al -Salaf Di Purwoasri Metro Utara)', *Ri'ayah*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (2017), p. 1–19.

[5]Saprillah Syahrir, 'The Islamic Centre of Muadz Bin Jabal of Kendari', *JICSA*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (2017), p. 295.

[6]Zainal, Suud and Zainal, 'Pola Pendidikan dan Pola Dakwah Islamic Centre Muadz Bin Jabal (ICM) di Kota Kendari', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2018), p. 44-66.

Religion; Identification of Flow and Radical Understanding in Kendari" which identifies the ICM and Wahdah Islamiyah as a non-radical movement because their religious thinking and nationality did not lead to radical teachings and terrorism. Specifically, for ICM, Nur Alim's research acknowledges the focus on education and *da'wah*. Moreover, Saprillah's research entitled "The Islamic Center of Muadz bin Jabal of Kendari" further emphasizes the position of the ICM as a religious education institution by describing the pattern of movements in religious education and ICM religious understanding itself. Saprillah assesses that the *salafī* movement in Kendari has a bright future because they carry out routine coaching and maximize the potential for spreading propaganda through many media, in addition to useful approaches and collaboration with the government.[7]

Some studies on ICM that have been stated, but this study has a different purpose and focus because of this research aimed at examining the socio-religious dynamics that are especially happening in society. It is undeniable that religious understanding can have social implications for people's lives because religious life is part of social life itself. Therefore, the significance of this research is to uncover some changes in the pattern of the socio-religious life of the Kendari City community as an effect of the presence of the ICM, both from tradition and ritual and other social effects.

B. *Method*

This research is qualitative descriptive research using naturalistic concepts, meaning that they are under social situations, as there are data in the field that are experienced, felt, and thought by participants/data sources. The theory of social change in the sociological approach of Burhan Bungin can be classified in the form of changes in thought patterns, behavior changes, and cultural changes. Changes in mindset and attitudes towards society in various social and cultural issues will give birth to a new mindset adopted by society as a modern attitude. While changes in people's behavior involve changes in social systems where people leave the old system and switch to a new system. While material culture changes involve changes in cultural artifacts used by the community such as clothing models and photography works.[8]

This research used sociology as an approach by functional and interactional theories. Although there are several theories in social research, researchers use functional and interactional theories because they are both relevant to *salafī* social phenomena in Kendari as a contestation of roles, functions, and interactions in society.

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[7]Saprillah Syahrir, 'The Islamic Centre of Muadz Bin Jabal of Kendari', *JICSA*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (2017), p. 295-331.

[8]Burhan Bungin, *Sosiologi Komunikasi; Teori, Paradigma Dan Diskursus Teknologi Komunikasi Di Masyarakat*, IV (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2009), p. 91-92.

C. *Salafī* and the Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal (ICM) in Kendari

Salafī is a term for a group or group of salaf followers. The naming of *salafīs*, according to their adherents, is a necessity because these claims confirm their status as followers of the right and survivors represented by the *salaf* generation (some others call the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). The word salaf has initially been only attributed to the three early generations of Islam namely *sahabah* (companions)-, *tābi'īn* and *tābi 'al-tābi'īn*. The meaning of the word salaf then developed because in the first three generations the sect split occurred, so that the meaning of orientation was no longer limited to the meaning of *qudwah* (exemplary) in these three generations, but also meant *manhaj* (method), ie anyone who followed the method and understanding of the three main generations the. Therefore, salaf is interpreted as a generation of companions, *tābi'īn* and *tābi 'al-tābi'īn*, as well as all Muslims who follow their footsteps until the Day of Judgment, where their justice and cleanliness are recognized in ijma' and not accused of bidding 'ah which causes kufr and wickedness.[9]

As a religious movement, the *Salafī* group has characteristics and characteristics that distinguish it from other Islamic movements. Based on Bernard Haykel's theory, *Salafī* has several unique and distinctive characteristics, including[10]:

First, the majority of *salafī*s are not political actors. They are not political activists who form political parties or organizations. In fact, they do not have a formal organization that has political targets or power to be achieved. This makes the *salafī* movement free to move.

Second, the occurrence of social and religious reforms is a significant concern. The emergence of religious awareness is so strong at the individual level that it will then form a robust religious awareness community. Individual religious awareness is so strong, in the long run, it will have indirect implications for politics. Therefore, the *Salafī* group seeks to form a group that bases itself on the foundation of religion (theology). They want to change with Islamic *da'wah* from the very bottom of society and starting from the individual level and personal transformation. The hope for a change of religion from the small will form a more religious system.

Third, *salafī* can be identified from how they dress, their religious behavior, how they pray and how they speak. This is a manifestation of the emergence of an awareness of carrying out religious orders. *Fourth*, emphasizing to refer to the Qur'an and Hadith. They always prioritize strong arguments before committing an act. Therefore, mastery of Arabic is emphasized. The emphasis on tauhid in the study is a prominent feature of *salafī*s. Although the study was given non-politics, namely the issue of monotheism, the discussion may touch the political realm, for example talking about a political system dominated by many layers of authority when understanding a text, and this is what distinguishes other Muslim traditions, so that interpretation is more open and democratic.

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[9]Mu'tab bin Suryan Al-'Ashimi, *Beda Salaf Dengan Salafi* (Solo: Media Islamika, 2007).

[10]Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad Al-Shawkani* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 24-37.

Fifth, they have a limited hierarchy in understanding Islamic teachings. This means that in seeking the basics of religion to strengthen beliefī without passing through a complicated hierarchy. They can obtain direct sources textually without having to go through several deep personal hierarchies. This is where they cut down the many layers of authority when understanding a text, and this is what distinguishes it from other Muslim traditions so that the interpretation is more open and democratic.

Sixth, it is not limited by territory and also not fundamentalist. The non-limitation of the territory is the main attraction for the majority of the people. Even moderate attitudes and not identical to the thoughts of fundamentalists, further strengthen the attractiveness of many parties. Therefore, the movement of the *Salafī* people crossed the world boundary and developed everywhere as a transnational movement.

Seventh, they always base all behavior and views by referring to texts originating from revelations, the Qur'an and the Hadith. An empirical example, they are very obedient to the government and have never criticized openly.

The above *salafī* criteria automatically become the identity of the *salafī* pesantren, so that the *salafī* pesantren is associated with Wahhabism. Therefore, *salafī* pesantren are characterized by several characteristics, namely as a purification movement, with their campaign back to the Qur'an and Sunnah, and with their exclusive impression. With this character, *salafī* groups or pesantren are identified with 'hard-line' groups, fundamentalists, revivalists, scriptualists, textualists, Islamists, and fanatics.[11]

Salafīs are identical to religious sects, not as organizations. Therefore, they are not united by separate organizations and have many variants. In the Middle East, *salafī* followers even have at least five groups namely *Salafīyyūn Surūriyyūn*, *Salafīyyūn Al-Albāniyyūn*, *Salafīyyūn al-Jam'iyyūn*, *Salafīyyūn* followers of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān' Abd al-Khāliyūn in Kuwait, *Salafīyyūn al-Jam'iyyūn*, *Salafīyyūn* followers of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān' Abd al-Khālik in Kuwait, *Salafīyyūn* Shaykh 'Usaimin in Saudi Arabia. The *Salafīyyūn Surūriyyūn* was assigned to the Syrian preacher Muhammad Surur Zain al-Abidin was a political *salafī* group influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood. *Salafīyyūn Al-Albāniyyūn* is attributed to Al-Albānī who is concerned with fighting fiery fanaticism and rejecting imitation. *Salafīyyūn al-Jam'iyyūn* is a hard *salafī* congregation and tends to blame and attack opposing groups.[12]

In the Indonesian context, the *Salafī* movement is largely influenced by the ideas and movements of reform carried out by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb in the Arabian Peninsula region. According to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭālibī, the idea of renewal Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb was allegedly first brought into the archipelago by

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[11]Muhammad Misbah, 'Tradisi Keilmuan Pesantren Salafi', *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2014), p. 248-249.

[12]M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), p. 10.

several scholars from West Sumatra at the beginning of the XIX century.[13] The reform movement in Indonesia is originally a movement better known as the Padri movement; one of the main characters is Tuanku Imam Bonjol. This movement itself took place in 1803 until around 1832.[14] However, Ja'far Umar Thalib claims in one of his writings that this movement emerged during the time of the Sultan of Aceh Iskandar Muda (1603-1637).[15]

In general, the typology of the salafī movement is divided into three based on the Quintan Wiktorowicz theory of 'purist', 'politico', and *'jihadi'*. [16] Whereas Zoltan Pall criticized it and offered two categories namely 'purist' and *'haraki'*.[17] However, Din Wahid, combining two theories, classifies three typologies of Salafi movement namely 'purist', *'haraki'*, and 'jihadist', and 'purist' are classified into three sub-groups namely 'rejectionists', 'cooperasionits', and *'tanzimi'*. [18]

The perceptions of the Indonesian people in each region who have received previous schools or teachings with the culture of the Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have again questioned these differences because they only followed a school with traditions passed down without reason and arguments so that what existed became *taklid* and hard to change. On the other hand, young groups are anxious with various questions, and it is easier to accept and practice them because they look only at the aspects of non-academic doctrine and academic doctrine without comparison with the previous schools. other groups also have academic doctrines as a basis for strong comparisons so that they do not respond to new doctrines.

Salafī in Kendari is claimed to have been present since 2000 through the Minhajussunnah education movement, then Wahdah Islamiyah in 2006, the *Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah* group, and increasingly varied since the presence of the Islamic Center of Muadz bin Jabal in 2008.[19] The ICM is indicated to adhere to the notion of *salafī* from their principle of making the Qur'an and Sunnah the primary reference in education and *da'wah* as exemplified by the *Salafussalih. Salafussalih* or the generation of early Islam which is considered to be the generation of Islamic ideals is

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[13]Abu Abdirrahman Al Thalibi, *Dakwah Salafiyah Dakwah Bijak: Meluruskan Sikap Keras Dai Salafi* (Jakarta: Hujjah Press, 2006), p. 30-31.

[14]Muradi, *Gerakan Paderi Di Sumatera Barat* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), p. 84.

[15]Ja 'far Umar Thalib, 'Pasang Surut Menegakkan Syariah Islamiyah', *Majalah SALAFY*, Vol. 5, 664–702.

[16]Quintan Wiktorowicz, 'Anatomy of the Salafi Movement', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, no. 3 (2006), p. 207–39.

[17]Mira Baz, 'Lebanese Salafis between the Gulf and Europe: Development, Fractionalization and Transnational Networks of Salafism in Lebanon', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, Vol. 25, no. 1 (2014), p. 134–36.

[18]Din Wahid, 'Nurturing Salafi Manhaj A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia', *Wacana*, Vol. 15, no. 2 (2015), p. 367.

[19]Saprillah Syahrir, 'The Islamic Centre of Muadz Bin Jabal of Kendari', *JICSA*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (2017), p. 295.

the keyword for all the *salafī* movements. However, ICM does not want to be called *salafī* because of the negative stigma over the label *salafī* which is associated with radicalism and terrorist background, so they refer to themselves as *Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah*.[20]

ICM officials claim that ICM is not a religious organization such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Hizb ut-Tahrir, or Wahdah Islamiyah. ICM does not have an organizational structure except the foundation structure. ICM does not have a regeneration system to recruit new members. ICM also does not implement a membership system that binds all followers as part of group identity. Therefore, ICM does not have a membership list, cadre recruitment patterns, and does not have area-based management. Existing administrators are only foundation administrators who work within a limited scope. People who are recruited as administrators are people who have a close relationship with Ustadz Zezen or people who are considered potential to develop ICM programs.[21]

H. Zezen Zaenal Mursalin as the ICM leader of Kendari has explained the achievements of ICM since it was inaugurated by the Mayor of Kendari in October 2008. Among them is the preaching cadre education program, the establishment of the Muadz 94.3 FM radio, SMS of daily da'wah that has served around 16 thousand members, organizing social religious activities such as mass circumcision, sacrifice, to corpse services with ICM ambulance facilities.

The achievement of ICM so far is the result of the consistency of the da'wah that was carried out from its inception. In about four years, ICM already has a permanent congregation with hundreds of people, where at the beginning of its establishment ICM only had dozens of people. Over time the number of recitation worshipers increased to over 200 people who became permanent worshipers (for male brothers/sisters), and there were around 40 people (sisters/female worshipers). Radio and television media also made a significant contribution in this regard, Radio Muadz bin Jabal 94.3 FM, for example inviting pilgrims to the mosque to attend religious studies from various professions such as lecturers at Halu Oleo University, students and their students, and residents.

In addition to radio media, the da'wah media through television developed by ICM also further expanded the reach of their da'wah. In the city of Kendari and its surroundings, there is a brother (as the ICM network) is a cable television network entrepreneur in Kendari City, offering cable television channels to ICM for use as a media for propaganda activities. Through this local TV broadcasting, the community can get dakwah access more quickly and more satisfying especially among mothers who do many activities inside the house. Another propaganda media is the humanitarian 05 aid ship from AMCF (Asian Muslim Charity Foundation) owned by ICM in, which has been operating since April 20, 2018, which was handed over directly by AMCF's leading donor Syehk Dr. Muhammad Al-Khoory. The area of

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[20]Saprillah Syahrir, 'The Islamic Centre of Muadz Bin Jabal of Kendari', *JICSA,* Vol. 6, no. 2 (2017), p. 317.

[21]Interview with Ustadz Anwar, Ustadz Syamsul, and Ustadz Heru.

operation of this humanitarian ship is the islands that are difficult to reach by land vehicles such as Labengki and the surrounding areas which are tourist islands in the North Konawe district, as well as the Laonti area of Konawe Regency. This humanitarian ship carries out humanitarian activities in the form of health assistance, cheap food assistance, fostering preaching to the community and children, so the coastal community always await for it.[22]

In addition to supporting media publications, ICM has several infrastructures in the form of mosque buildings and exclusive learning spaces. With funding from Saudi Arabian donors, local donors and community *infaq*, ICM continues to develop and even add pesantren locations on waqf land in the areas of South Konawe, Konawe, Kolaka, East Kolaka, and Wakatobi. ICM even began to develop a network to areas outside the island of Sulawesi, namely Raja Ampat, West Papua and Bandung, West Java. The development in Raja Ampat did not get constrained even though its development was not as good as Kendari. Whereas the construction of the Wakatobi ICM had faced obstacles from the local parties with accusations addressed to ICM as a Wahabi and ISIS network. Another concern is that ICM seems as "damaging" the existence of the Babussalam pesantren in the area, although these concerns have gradually disappeared.

ICM was established to invite Muslims to purify worship and exemplary the Prophet Muhammad and supporting the government in building the nation's morality based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, able to gain sympathy from the people of Kendari City in a relatively short time. The interest of the people who become active worshipers of ICM activities is a phenomenon that shows the progress of the ICM, apart from the completeness of infrastructure, the whole level of education, and the maximum pattern and media of da'wah from radio, television and blog media.[23]

The development of ICM is very quickly, influenced by internal and external factors. Internally, ICM is supported financially by Saudi Arabian donors. Also, ICM has a more open relationship with the government and society, different from the pattern that is commonly used which seems closed and keeps a distance from the government and society. In the process of learning, communication and development networks, it is divided into two groups, *first*, *salafī* which experiences accelerated development individually and in groups, namely *salafī* which follows the wishes of the people and the government. Muadz bin Jabal's Islamic Center falls into this category because ICM manages its management with principled ideals (*miṡāliyah* and *wāqi'iyah*). ICM received a response from the people of Kendari city so well because it provided teaching opportunities to all levels of society, ranging from academics, traders, medical personnel, the general public. Able to be invited voluntarily without coercion and violence, so that many people feel gain satisfaction and comfort when joining the ICM. *Secondly*, another form of *salafī* in Kendari, *salafī* which reluctant to follow the trend of society, so its impression imposes on society. They even criticized the ICM and considered them to be extravagant compared to the dakwah of *salaf al-*

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[22]Interview with Mr. Anwar in TV Muaz, December 18, 2018.

[23]Zainal, Suud and Zainal, 'Pola Pendidikan dan Pola Dakwah Islamic Centre Muadz Bin Jabal (ICM) di Kota Kendari', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2018), p. 48.

ṣāliḥ, which was full of simplicity, not necessarily having the facilities obtained by selling its ideology and piety. Therefore, this group is developing slowly, both in terms of individual community support as well as the local government.

Externally, ICM is in the public interest because it brings a new color of education and *da'wah* compared to other existing groups such as NU and Muhammadiyah. Besides, social and cultural factors have a significant influence. Kendari people have historically been slow in getting religious knowledge as in other regions. Thus forming the face of Islam as it is, which does not socially and culturally have active religious militancy, so there are no Islamic boarding schools, especially older *kyai* (Islamic expert) who have strong character and become the primary reference for the community, this is also due to a large number of migrant communities with different backgrounds.

Socially, the absence of figures and pesantren with a strong character which is the primary reference for Kendari people causes the weakness of religious principles to be weak so that people tend to be able to accept something new and appreciate it in any form as long as it does not conflict with their culture.

With high financial capacity, ICM builds a complete infrastructure and runs extensive and intense education and *da'wah* programs by utilizing modern media such as radio, television, internet, and social media.[24] Although carrying ideas or ideologies that tend to be alien to the Kendari community, ICM only need one year to show tremendous progress in gaining the interest of Muslims to entrust their children's education to ICM.[25] Even the ICM has been able to take over the role of many other religious institutions that have existed before in Kendari.[26]

As part of the adherents of the *Salafī*, ICM considers *taṣfiyah* (purification) of Islamic teachings amid Indonesian Muslims to be urgently needed because religious beliefs and practices—Including Kendari—are not following the understanding of the Salaf as the ideal generation. They want to teach them right, clean and straight Islamic *aqīdah* because among the Kendari community they have erroneous creeds such as Shia and Ahmadiyah. Besides, some religious practices that do not have the basis on the Qur'an and the Sunnah such as the tradition of reading the *Barzanji* and the *Maulidan* program.[27]

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[24]Zainal, Suud and Zainal, 'Pola Pendidikan dan Pola Dakwah Islamic Centre Muadz Bin Jabal (ICM) di Kota Kendari', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2018), p. 44.

[25]Nur Alim and others, 'Singularitas Agama: Identifikasi Aliran dan Paham Radikal di Kendari', *Al-Ulum*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (2019), p. 271–300.

[26]Zainal, Suud and Zainal, 'Pola Pendidikan dan Pola Dakwah Islamic Centre Muadz Bin Jabal (ICM) di Kota Kendari', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (2018), p. 48.

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D. *ICM and social-religious dynamics of Muslim Kendari*

Changes in attitudes and behavior of the people are never separated from the transfer of knowledge into a new social transformation for followers and groups with the existence of rules or values and norms in life. The change is more directed to the principles of religious life, practice, and culture in the social life of the community.

The presence of the ICM *salafī* in Kendari City with a variety of new ideas and teachings gave rise to socio-religious discourse in the community, especially religious leaders and members of other religious organizations. For example, it was stated by a committee of the Masjid Al-Kautsar[28] (Grand Mosque of Southeast Sulawesi Province):

> "The existence of *Salafī* with ICM is disturbing the community. They come together in the congregation at the mosque, and their practices are different from the majority community. After the prayer, there is no *wirid* reading, and there is no prayer. Many laypeople ask because they think it is strange because it is different from the majority habits that have been rooted for generations in the hearts of Kendari people."[29]

Besides, ICM has contributed significantly to the changes of the social life in the community, for example, the tradition of thanksgiving, wedding traditions, memorial traditions of *maulid*/*isra 'mi'raj*, dress tradition, and usury-free (*riba*) residential communities.

  a. The reading tradition of *Barzanji* and Surah Yasin

The tradition of thanksgiving in the practice of the Muslim community of Kendari is a symbol of *tabarruk*. *Tabarruk* is to find blessings for developing and increasing goodness. A Muslim believes that this blessing is given by Allah to a being who is good at blessing Allah's favors. Allah is the source of blessing for every human action done facing the earth in seeking *rizki* (treasure). The real activity for the community in carrying out the thanksgiving is by carrying out the tradition of reading the book *al-Barzanji* or reading the Surah Yasin in the congregation or calling the cleric or the *imam* praying for the celebration of thanksgiving in question. *Salafī*'s view of the thanksgiving program is very different because gratitude does not need to use the book Barzanji in expressing it, even such things are considered heresy or those deeds are deeds that are considered exaggerating because there is no connection between the book and the feeling thanksgiving. *Salafī* removes many prayers and practices to be able to reach Allah (*tawassul*).

The presence of *Salafī* has shifted the view, and the *Barzanji* and *Yasinan* groups of people have left the tradition because they understand it as a heresy.

  b. Wedding tradition

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[28]This mosque is a great mosque that should be open for use by anyone, including by Salafi followers who often try to make it a place of recitation. It's just rejected by the committee based on the advice of a number of worshipers who feel uncomfortable. Interview with Abdul Wahid as a manager of Masjid Al-Kautsar Kendari, March 11, 2016.

[29]Interview with Abdul Wahid as a manager of Masjid Al-Kautsar Kendari, March 11, 2016.

The Kendari wedding tradition is open to many tribes, where the community is given the freedom to use their respective traditions, even though Islamic Sharia is still applied in the process of being approved. The Tolaki, Buton, Bugis, Muna, and others respect and understand each other's customs as long as they do not burden both parties. In this tradition there are many things are different from the traditions of the era of the Prophet Muhammad and the companions of the Prophet. These differences underlie the emergence of a negative response from adherents of the *salafī* sect in Kendari.

The tradition of reciting the Qur'an and the arrangement of the position of the bride and the invited guests at a wedding reception are examples of things highlighted by *Salafī*. The tradition that has taken root in the Kendari community is claimed to violate the teachings of Islam, so it needs to be revised. So, some followers and new worshipers of ICM and other *salafīs* immediately changed their traditions and followed the teachings of *Salafī* by abolishing events such as reciting the verses of the Qur'an and reconstructing the reception model as well as the old tradition. *Salafis* in Kendari try to dismantle the tradition even though it is cultural acculturation with Islam because it is part of the purification of the religion they are holding.

c. *Istigāṡah* tradition

The Islamic community (especially NU followers) in Kendari has an *istigāṡah* tradition of gathering together in congregations involving clerics and religious teachers who are considered to have more abilities than ordinary people. The community joined in to follow, which became the guidance of the *istigāṡah*. The people of Kendari call it differently, sometimes using *tabligh akbar* or *pengajian akbar*, but for *salafī* it is not permissible to do *istigāṡah* because such things do not have a basis on the Qur'an and Sunnah. Moreover, the *istigāṡah* tradition is a tradition of followers of the *tarekat* which always sends various prayers to the founders and their *murshids*. *Salafī*'s view of what the *Sufis* and *murshids* do is a very far-reaching heresy because they still believe in *tawassul* so that the *istigāṡah* tradition always sends these various prayers as deviations. *Salafī*'s view from the outset is to put back the purification of the faith by assuming that the person who had died had not been exaggerated, let alone be overly prayed for and this would have been too long if it had caused the person who treated those who had died too long.

d. Shari'a property free from *riba* (usury)

The housing business in Kendari City has experienced rapid progress in recent years. Housing development is synonymous with cooperation with conventional banks in funding. The anti-usury group firmly refused to use conventional bank funding and tried to find a non-usury alternative called sharia banks. The use of funds from sharia banks underlie the term 'perumahan syariah'[30]

ICM also gives influence to the people of Kendari because its followers held housing with no usury credit, so it is claimed to be based on Sharia which has not been done by other groups. Housing loans that they have built as many as

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[30]Egi Arvian Firmansyah and Deru R Indika, 'Kredit Pemilikan Rumah Syariah Tanpa Bank: Studi di Jawa Barat', *Jurnal Manajemen Teori dan Terapan | Journal of Theory and Applied Management*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (2017), p. 223.

approximately 20 housing units are welcomed by pilgrims who are indeed looking for non-usury housing alternatives. The anti-usury community thinks that *shari'a* housing (perumahan syariah) that has existed so far using Shari'a banks as a funding base is still considered still contain usury, so the best alternative is housing without going through bank financing. The congregation of the ICM *salafī* takes this alternative with a voluntary system, where among them they become donors and built special housing and run their credit system independently which is different from the banking system, both conventional and sharia.

The useless house program developed by ICM and its congregation received good responses from the Muslim community which proved to be overwhelmed by the supply of units due to a large number of worshipers interested in ordering the housing. This became a way for ICM to spread understanding and attract the sympathy of the Kendari Muslim community. The program that continues to be developed has formed a separate social segregation in the Kendari community because socially they live with fellow *Salafīs* and are limited in association with other groups.

E. *Conclusion*

Salafī, as a new religious understanding in Indonesia, has significant implications for the socio-religious change of the Kendari community. The idea of *salafī* which has initially been simple was spread through educational institutions and community organizations such as the Pesantren Minhajussunnah and Wahdah Islamiyah, developing significantly with the presence of the Islamic Center Muadz bin Jabal (ICM) which massively spread the understanding of *salafī*. The typology of the Wahdah Islamiyah *salafī* movement is included in the *'purist tanzimi'* category, while the ICM and Minhajussunnah *salafī* movements are included in the *'purist cooperationist'* category. ICM has a special and great potential, which is financial support from Saudi Arabian donors that are used to develop infrastructure and professional education programs so that they quickly gain sympathy from the public. The adherents of the *salafī* have only shifted from religious ideas and organizations that existed before while leaving behind some practices and their socio-religious culture. The program *barzanji*, *shalawatan*, *istigāsah*, the ritual of marriage is abandoned, including the fashion style changing to the character *salafī* and social segregation among other Muslims. Even the property and finance fields were also affected, such as the presence of special Sharia-labeled housing. This confirms that religious understanding influences the social life of the community.

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