



RELIGIOUS MODERATION AND TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY:

Phenomena and Implications in Indonesia

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Abstract: This research analyzes Islamic transnational movements, especially the Salafi in South Sulawesi, their internalization, and implications for religious moderation. By applying qualitative methods and a phenomenological approach, this research was carried out in several key locations in South Sulawesi, namely in Makassar, Gowa, and Parepare, including Islamic boarding schools and several strategic mosques. The research reveal that the Salafi da'wah approach, which is effective and responsive to social dynamics, has gained a place in society. However, this puritanical approach faces challenges internalizing religious moderation, especially in interreligious tolerance and adaptation to local culture. Religious moderation offers a solution to create more inclusive and adaptive religious behavior, supporting harmony between religious communities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Religious Moderation, Transnational Islamic, Ideology

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Introduction

THE REVIVAL of Islamic transnationalism is a fascinating topic at the moment. This is marked by religious enthusiasm, which is becoming prominent again among Muslim communities in Indonesia¹ In line with this, discussions about religious

¹ Komaruddin Hidayat and Dadi Darmadi, "Indonesia and Two Great Narratives on Islamic Studies," *Studia Islamika*, 2019,

moderation have also become a hot topic.² One of the prominent movements is the Salafi movement. This movement managed to survive and spread to various corners of the Islamic world thanks to international support and connections, especially from the Middle East.³ This movement seeks to introduce a new concept or ideology to Indonesian Muslims who were previously more inclined towards moderate religious understanding, such as that espoused by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.

With an innovative approach, the Salafi movement has succeeded in taking root in society and influencing the religious thoughts and attitudes of the majority of Muslims in Indonesia.⁴ This movement has spread its teachings through da'wah activities involving many people and utilizing formal and non-formal educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, universities, majelis taklim, and zakat, infaq, alms and endowment institutions. Salafi doctrine is now easily accessible through various media and internet sites, expanding its social reach.

In research on the Salafi movement and the practice of religious moderation in South Sulawesi, there is a lack of detailed understanding of the interactions and mutual influences between religious movements that prioritize a return to basic Islamic

<https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v26i1.11122>; Fahlesa Munabari et al., "Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: The Caliphate, Sharia, NKRI, Democracy, and the Nation-State," *Jurnal Politik* 5, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i2.263>; Arif Rahman and Zalik Nuryana, "Islamic Identity and Transitional Democracy in Indonesia: Ideology, Public Sphere and Domination," 2019, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.8-12-2018.2283967>.

² Mirzon Daheri et al., "Strengthening Religious Moderation: Learning from the Harmony of Multireligious People in Indonesia," *Journal of Population and Social Studies* 31 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.25133/JPSSv312023.032>; Imam Subchi et al., "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims," *Religions* 13, no. 5 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13050451>.

³ Quintan Wiktorowicz, "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004>.

⁴ Zuly Qodir, Krismono, and Irwan Abdullah, "SALAFISM IN RURAL JAVA: THE STRUGGLES OF INDONESIAN ISLAM SINCE THE FALL OF THE NEW ORDER," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i2.7953>; Muhammad Ali Chozin, "Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia Chozin, M. A. (2013). Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia. Jurnal Dakwah, XIV(1), 1-25," *Jurnal Dakwah* XIV, no. 1 (2013).

teachings and moderation initiatives that advocate a more moderate and tolerant religion. So far, existing studies have tended to limit themselves to exploring these two phenomena separately,⁵ without exploring how the two movements interact, adapt, and influence the social and religious dynamics of Muslim communities in specific locations such as South Sulawesi.⁶ This suggests that more in-depth research is needed to understand how these two religious approaches impact religious identity formation, inter-religious tolerance, and social integration in diverse communities. An in-depth study in this area will likely reveal the potential for synergy or conflict between the two religious approaches and the consequences for social life and inter-religious harmony in Indonesia.

Salafism in South Sulawesi is a religious movement that aims to return the practice of Islam to the pure teachings adopted by the

⁵ On the various research topics in South Sulawesi, see, for example, Muhsin Mahfudz, "Quranic Exegesis and Religious Moderation in South Sulawesi: The Law on Blasphemy to God of Non-Muslims in Islamic Law Perspective" *Samarah Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1447-1467 <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.19250>, Lukman Arake, Ma'adul Yaqien Makkarateng, Kurniati Abidin, Elvina Baharudin, dan Muhammad Yusuf "Non-Binary Gender in Siyasah Syari'iyah Perspective: Study at Religious Universities in South Sulawesi" *Samarah Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1708-1733 <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.20152> and Abdullah, Nurhayati, Fadli Andi Natsif, Hasbi Siddik and Faturrahman "The Impact of Theological Interpretations on Divorce with Muslim Families in Makassar City, Indonesia" *Samarah Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 1 (2024): 339-360 <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i1.20621>, and Siti Zubaidah, Andi Tira, and Almusawir "Implementation of Diversion on New Examining Process of Children in Conflict with Law" *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, no. 1 (2023): 221-223 <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i1.777>

⁶ Denny Febriansyah and Dawoud Sudqi El-Alami, "Moderate Islam Vis-a-Vis Salafism in Indonesia: An Ideological Competition," *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 29, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.29.1.7212>; Musawar et al., "Moderate Islam as a Solution to Pluralism in the Islamic World: The Experience of Indonesia," *Al-Shajarah* 2019, no. Special Issue Sharia hand Law (2019); Qodir, Krismono, and Abdullah, "SALAFISM IN RURAL JAVA: THE STRUGGLES OF INDONESIAN ISLAM SINCE THE FALL OF THE NEW ORDER"; Maghfur Ahmad, Siti Mumun Muniroh, and Shinta Nurani, "NIQAB, PROTEST MOVEMENT, AND THE SALAFIZATION OF INDONESIAN ISLAM," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i2.8195>.

early generations of Islam (Salafus Salih), namely the companions, tabi'in, and tabi'ut tabi'in. The movement emphasizes puritanism, which means cleansing Islamic teachings from the influence of local cultures or traditions that are considered heresy. Salafism developed through proselytizing in mosques, Islamic boarding schools, and universities and received support from the Middle East.

In Indonesia, the Salafi movement can be divided into three main streams. The first is the Puritanism Movement, which focuses on revitalizing the teachings of Salaf al-Shalih and encouraging thought to return to the foundations of the original religion. This movement generally received good reception from the public and other religious mass organizations and was flexible towards government policies. Second, there is the Haraki Salafi movement, which has the ambition to establish a caliphate state and implement Islamic sharia law in a formalistic manner. Third, the Salafi Jihadist movement is more aggressive and frontal in promoting its ideas and views.⁷

In South Sulawesi, the Salafi movement was encouraged by recitation activities led by Ustadz Dzulqarnain MS in Makassar. Through this initiative, Salafi teachings have spread to various South Sulawesi regions and gained a place among urban Muslim communities. Salafi recitation activities are centered at the at-Tauhid Mosque in Parepare and in several Islamic educational institutions such as the as-Sunnah Foundation and Islamic Boarding School in Makassar, as well as the Tanwirsunnah Islamic Boarding School in Gowa.⁸

In the context of discussions about moderation in Islam, it cannot be separated from interactions with the concept of

⁷ Ahmad, Muniroh, and Nurani, "NIQAB, PROTEST MOVEMENT, AND THE SALAFIZATION OF INDONESIAN ISLAM"; M Agung Pramana, "Salafi Online: Dakwah Salafi Pada Akun Instagram @dakwah_tauhid," *Idarotuna* 5, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.24014/idarotuna.v5i1.22792>; Abdul Malik, "New Variants of Ultra-Conservative Islamic Schools in Indonesia: A Study on Islamic School Endeavor with Islamic Group Movement," *Power and Education* 16, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1177/17577438231163042>.

⁸ Andi Aderus et al., "How Salafism Forms Millennials' Religious Understanding: A Case Study from an Indonesian University," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.615>.

radicalism.⁹ The central concept that is a reference in moderation is being a wasatiyah community, that is, being in a middle position that is neither excessive nor too harsh in understanding and implementing religious teachings.¹⁰ Wasatiyah thinking in Indonesia is built on three main pillars: moderation in thoughts, actions, or movements, and moderation in actions or deeds. It is an effort to strengthen the foundations of a peaceful and inclusive Islam in society.

Research on the interaction between the Salafi movement and religious moderation in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi, is fundamental because it provides a deep understanding of religious dynamics in a plural society.¹¹ This is important to prevent extremism and promote tolerance and harmony between religious communities, which is in line with the values of Pancasila. This research also enriches academic literature on Islam in Indonesia and provides insight for policymakers and religious practitioners in formulating strategies for inclusive religious dialogue and education. Thus, this study contributes directly to efforts to build a more harmonious society, reduce polarization, and strengthen the foundations of moderate and peaceful religion in Indonesia.

This research uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological method to examine the existence of transnational Islamic movements, especially Salafis, in South

⁹ Davids, "Islam, Moderation, Radicalism, and Justly Balanced Communities."

¹⁰ Lukmanul Hakim, Aziza Meria, and Sartika Suryadinata, "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Context," *Al-Albab* 12, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v12i1.2619>; Didik Hariyanto and Athoillah Islamy, "Religious Moderation in Islamic Groups in the History of the Basic Consensus of the Indonesian State," *Al-Adalah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Politik Islam* 1, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.30863/ajmpi.v1i1.3282>.

¹¹ Aderus et al., "How Salafism Forms Millennials' Religious Understanding: A Case Study from an Indonesian University"; Malik, "New Variants of Ultra-Conservative Islamic Schools in Indonesia: A Study on Islamic School Endeavor with Islamic Group Movement"; Saparudin and Emawati, "Ideological Framing, Mosques, and Conflict: Bargaining Position of the Salafi Movement in Lombok, East Indonesia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 18, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol18no1.19>; Pramana, "Salafi Online: Dakwah Salafi Pada Akun Instagram @dakwah_tauhid."

Sulawesi and their implications for religious moderation. Data were collected through direct observation in critical locations such as Makassar, Gowa, and Parepare, including Islamic boarding schools, strategic mosques, and da'wah activities. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with the ulama and Salafi leaders and local Muslim communities involved in da'wah and educational activities. Documentation of da'wah materials and relevant written sources were also used to enrich the analysis. The data were analyzed by identifying key themes, such as the interaction between the Salafi movement, religious moderation, and adaptation to local culture. The results of this analysis are expected to provide an understanding of how Salafis influence religious thought in the region and the challenges faced in internalizing religious moderation.

To understand more about the dynamics of interaction between the Salafi movement and religious moderation in South Sulawesi, this research will ask several questions:

1. How has the Salafi movement in South Sulawesi developed and been accepted by the community?
2. How does Salafi's teaching and preaching affect religious moderation in South Sulawesi, especially in the context of interfaith tolerance and local cultural adaptation?
3. What are the challenges of internalizing religious moderation among Salafi communities in South Sulawesi?

A Portrait of the Salafi Movement in South Sulawesi

The Emergence of the Salafi Movement in South Sulawesi

The Salafi movement in South Sulawesi began to show its existence in the early 2000s. However, its seeds have appeared since the 1980s, along with the interaction between Indonesian scholars and Middle Eastern countries, especially Saudi Arabia. The movement takes a puritanical ideology that focuses on returning to the pure teachings of Islam, as practiced by the early generations of Muslims, namely the companions of the Prophet and the *tabi'in*. The movement aims to purify religious practices from the influence of local culture and innovations considered heresy or deviations from the original teachings of Islam.

In South Sulawesi, Salafi influence began to proliferate with the establishment of several Islamic educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools and da'wah foundations. Islamic boarding schools with Salafi characteristics became the center of the spread of this teaching, offering a different approach from pre-existing religious traditions, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which are more moderate and inclusive of local culture.

Key Figures of the Salafi Movement in South Sulawesi

Some important figures in the development of the Salafi movement in South Sulawesi include Ustadz Dzulqarnain Muhammad Sunusi, Ustadz Luqman Jamal, and Ustadz Mustamin Lc. These figures are generally alumni of renowned Islamic educational institutions in Saudi Arabia, such as the Islamic University of Medina and Darul Hadith Dammaj, Yemen. They brought Salafi ideology to South Sulawesi by establishing educational institutions and organizing Islamic studies in various places.

Ustadz Dzulqarnain Muhammad Sunusi is one of the most prominent figures who spread Salafi teachings in this region. He established the As-Sunnah Islamic Boarding School in Makassar, which became the center of Islamic education characterized as Salafi. In addition, through studies held regularly in mosques and Islamic educational institutions, Dzulqarnain succeeded in attracting the attention of young people, especially university students, who were thirsty for more textual and literal Islamic knowledge.

Activism and Influence in Society

The Salafi movement in South Sulawesi is known for its structured and systematic da'wah activism. Through recitations or Islamic studies circles held regularly in various mosques and campuses, the movement has attracted the attention of many people, especially the younger generation, who seek a more conservative and scripturalist understanding of Islam. These studies generally focus on Qur'anic tafsir, hadith, and fiqh, emphasizing the importance of returning to the pure practice of

Islam through the teachings of the Salafus Shalih (early generations of Islam).

In addition to public mosques, the activism of the Salafi movement also extends to various campuses in Makassar, such as Universitas Hasanuddin, Universitas Negeri Makassar, and Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin. The movement cooperates with campus organizations such as the Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK) and Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI). This shows that the Salafi movement can adapt to the social dynamics of urban society and has its appeal to students and young intellectuals.

One of the distinctive features of Salafi activism is the use of digital media and radio broadcasts to spread their teachings. Radio An-Nasihah in Makassar, for example, is one of the most effective means of spreading Salafi preaching, as it reaches listeners in remote areas. In addition, the movement also actively utilizes the Internet and social media to disseminate lectures, studies, and other Islamic content.

Places of Spread and Supporting Institutions

The spread of the Salafi movement in South Sulawesi is centered in several big cities such as Makassar, Gowa, and Parepare. In Makassar, As-Sunnah Mosque and At-Tauhid Mosque are the centers of Salafi preaching activities. These two mosques often hold Islamic studies circles attended by worshipers from various circles. In Parepare, the Salafi community also established a da'wah foundation that actively organizes offline and online recitations and halaqah.

Islamic boarding schools with a Salafi-based curriculum are also crucial for spreading this teaching. Tanwirunnah Islamic Boarding School in Gowa is one example of a boarding school founded by Ustadz Luqman Jamal. In addition to educating santri with Salafi teachings, this pesantren produces da'wah cadres who will later spread Salafi teachings to other areas.

Salafi Da'wah Strategy

According to Ustadz Lukman Jamal¹² and Ustadz Abu Farhan¹³, the goals of Salafi da'wah are divided into four leading principles. First, it educates the public about correct religious understanding through the teachings of the early generations of Islamic scholars. Second, it neutralizes and straightens out religious understandings that deviate from the original texts of the Qur'an and Sunnah, especially those that originate from heresy and disbelief. Third, the sunnah practices and traditions taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW will be revived, and the influence of customs and culture that the Prophet and the early generations of Islam did not teach will be cleansed. Fourth, the sense of brotherhood and unity among Muslims should be strengthened based on a commitment to faith and human brotherhood while respecting differences in fiqh practices originating from ijtihad.

These concepts are conveyed through methods that have been developed by the early Islamic generations, namely the tarbiyah (education) and tashfiyah (purification) methods, showing Salafi commitment to following in the footsteps of the best generations of Muslims in every aspect of their lives, including in the spread of da'wah.

In general, the method or manhaj of Salafi da'wah can be formulated as follows:

Forming a Foundation and Building Islamic Boarding Schools

The formation of foundations and Islamic boarding schools with a Salafi character is a way to exist in socializing Salafi preaching in society. Some founders even opened land and locations where there were no communities yet. start building Islamic boarding schools independently. Opening unexplored locations is considered better because it can form a community and become a prototype of a community, as was done by Ustadz Lukman Jamal, Lc, an alumnus of Madinah University, Saudi Arabia, who opened a remote location by inviting several

¹² Lukman Jamal, Wawancara Dengan Pimpinan Ponpes Tanwirsunnah, 2023.

¹³ Ustadz Ahmad Abu Farhan, "Wawancara Dengan Da'i Aktif Mesjid at-Tauhid Parepare" (2023).

communities to live at the location. The location was then equipped with educational facilities and infrastructure in the form of an Islamic boarding school named Ponpes Tanwirsunnah. Apart from Islamic boarding schools, formal Islamic elementary, middle, and high school schools were also established. The location opened by Ustadz Jamal in Gowa district is now busy. It has become one of the centers of the Salafi community in South Sulawesi after joining forces with Ustadz Dzulkarnain to form the Assunnah Foundation and Islamic boarding school in Makassar City in the 2000s.¹⁴

Several communities in Parepare also did the same thing by building a mosque and the at-Tauhid foundation in 2015 and operating it in 2016. This mosque was then transformed into offering activities in worship and recitation or halaqah. The community that participates is from the Salafi sect, and the surrounding community participates in the congregation and attends recitations and halaqah. This mosque is open to all groups, apart from being a place of worship and study. The mosque also opened a tahfidz institution called Daar Tauhid. Mesjdi at-Tauhid is more likely to hold halaqah in the context of spreading Salafi teachings. Da'wah outreach is only limited to recitation and halaqah activities, both held regularly and periodically in mosques, and also often carried out outside the mosque location by periodically inviting the Salafi community around Ajattapareng (Parepare, Pinrang, and Barru).¹⁵

Conduct studies in the form of Halaqah and Daurah

The results of observations and observations at the Makassar as-Sunnah Islamic Boarding School and the duarah activities initiated by the administrators of the at-Tauhid Parepare mosque show that, in general, the Salafi community routinely conducts studies in the form of *halaqah* and *Daurah*. *Halaqah* is held at the mosque on a regular schedule every week. The community

¹⁴ Ustadz Lukman Jamal, "Wawancara Dengan Pimpinan Ponpes Tanwirsunnah" (n.d.).

¹⁵ Ustadz Abdurrahman, "Wawancara Dengan Ketua Mesjid At-Tauhid Parepare" (2023).

present consisted of mosque congregations and residents. Halaqah activities are carried out offline and online. Online halaqah can be followed via radio broadcasts, such as an-Nasihah radio, or YouTube and Facebook channels, such as the "CERAMAH USTADZ DZULQARNAIN MS" channel.

Meanwhile, *Daurah* is rotating in each province district every six months by openly inviting communities from various regions. *Daurah* is held for two days. Usually, this activity presents Salafi leaders and senior ustadz with the opportunity to provide material. The materials taught are faith, jurisprudence, and morals. In each session, the presenter allows participants to ask questions and discuss.

The *halaqah* or recitation system is carried out weekly and monthly. The speakers come from internal ustad. Meanwhile, the participants are from the Salafi community and surrounding communities. The material taught is about Salafi teachings. The books used are generally the works of Saudi Arabian and Yemeni scholars, such as Sheikh bin Baz and Sheikh Salih Fauzan bin Fauzan.¹⁶ The material includes the Aqidah with the book of Tauhid by Fadhilah Sheikh Shalih Fauzan bin al-Fauzan—moral material with the book of Adab al-Mufrad. Regarding the books used, they follow the Sunni sect. Halaqah carried out offline, begins with an invitation distributed via social media. They stay at the foundation's Islamic boarding school mosque besides doing *halaqah*. Ustadz also often provides halaqah and recitations at mosques outside Islamic boarding schools affiliated with the Salafi sect.¹⁷

Establishing Broadcast Media

The effectiveness of Salafi da'wah is not only spread offline through *halaqah* and *duarah* activities. However, his preaching can be accessed through radio broadcasts. The Salafi principle is to utilize all means to preach. This principle is adhered to massively

¹⁶ Ustadz Ahmad Abu Farhan, "Wawancara Dengan Da'i Aktif Mesjid at-Tauhid Parepare."

¹⁷ Ustadz Lukman Jamal, "Wawancara Dengan Pimpinan Ponpes Tanwirsunnah."

in communicating and preaching to the community. Da'wah messages must reach whenever and wherever the community is active—establishment of broadcast media in the form of radio and television broadcasts. In general, radio and television broadcasts are available in several provincial districts. For the Makassar and surrounding areas, you can access an-Nasihah radio broadcasts on 88.2 FM with broadcast locations on Jl. Wedge Shape No. 8 Makassar, South Sulawesi. Meanwhile, television media can be accessed via Rodja TV, whose broadcasts reach major cities in Indonesia.

The material content broadcast via radio and television is in the form of lectures, questions and answers about Islam, tafsir, fiqh, aqidah, muamalah, tajwid, hadith, Islamic history, and hearing the reading of the Koran and explanations of its interpretation. Material content is sometimes adjusted to suit time and issue developments. For example, if you are in the holy month of Ramadan, the live broadcasting ustadz will discuss the obligations and virtues of fasting Ramadan. However, generally, the ustadz deliver lecture material by referring to the opinions of scholars from Saudi Arabia and Yemen, such as Sheikh bin Baz, Sheikh Fauzan bin Fauzan, Sheikh al-Bani, and Sheikh al-Shan'ani.¹⁸

Spread of Da'wah via the Internet

Along with the development of information technology, the Internet makes it easy to access information anytime and anywhere, both written and broadcast live and delayed. The Salafi community also uses the Internet as a medium for da'wah, such as creating a personal website and blog. Some spread da'wah through social media networks like Facebook, Twitter, and mailing lists. The ustadz realize that da'wah must reach all groups, including parents, adults, and young people. Therefore, using Internet media in preaching is an effective way to respond to advances in digital technology. The public can access Salafi preaching materials via smartphone anytime and anywhere.

¹⁸ Ustadz Lukman Jamal.

The Salafi community created a website to post and socialize the work of Salafi scholars, both Middle Eastern and Indonesian scholars. Website addresses that can be visited, such as <https://kampungsunnah.wordpress.com>, www.muslim.or.id, www.almanhaj.or.id. The Assunnah Makassar Islamic Boarding School and the Tanwirsunnah Islamic Boarding School do not have a website address, but information about both can be accessed via Google and Facebook. Meanwhile, the blog that can be visited is from Ustadz Dzulqarnain, and the address is <https://dzulqarnain.net>. This blog contains features, namely lesson features (video, audio, and writing), book features (reviews, selected material), sermon features (video, audio, writing), paper features, jawaw question features, and Al-Qur' features (*asmaul husna* and reflections on verses of the Koran).

Publication and Publishing Institutions

Written publication is a means of spreading thoughts and ideas. The Salafi community also uses this method to spread its message. Scientific writings, translations of works by Middle Eastern scholars, lecture articles, popular scientific articles, and magazines are published through print and paperless media in the form of books, magazines, and bulletins online on websites and blogs.

Scientific literacy about Islam originating from the Koran and Sunnah is one of the da'wah programs that can be accessed regularly and subscribed to, such as the as-Sunnah magazine in paperless form, which can be accessed via <https://majalahassunnah.id/>. This literacy concept targets millennials and Gen Z, making it easy to access via smartphone, tablet, and laptop. Meanwhile, Islamic books by Salafi authors predominantly write about Islamic issues published by publishers such as Pustaka as-Sunnah, Pustaka Azzam, Maktabah Salafy Press, and Pustaka al-Kautsar.¹⁹

The Salafi community in South Sulawesi is increasingly dynamic and developing. The concept of da'wah offered by echoing back to the Sunnah or returning to religious practice as

¹⁹ Ustadz Lukman Jamal.

taught and practiced by the early generations of Islam can be accepted by the Muslim community of South Sulawesi. Salafi's ideas and thoughts are spread through foundations and Islamic boarding schools through recitation and prayer activities.

The da'wah model that has been developed can be seen from several aspects, namely, first, the issue of purifying beliefs through the concept of monotheism taught by Salafis has grown massively; its influence has given rise to awareness of practicing religion among the public.²⁰ Including millennials who adopt the concept of hijrah and study religious teachings as an escape from the emptiness of the soul amidst modern life.²¹ The rise of studies, halaqah, and duarah on public campuses in Makassar is a phenomenon of Salafi ideas and ideas being accepted among the Z gang and millennials. Salafis make massive use of the Internet in order to offer Salafi literacy among millennials whose access to information is predominantly via the Internet.²² The concept of purification of monotheism and faith initiated by Salafis has influenced and provided changes in the attitudes and behavior of some people. The Salafi community is also growing every year.

Second, to better organize and institutionalize Salafi ideas and ideas, the Salafi community builds formal and non-formal educational foundations and institutions. Educational institutions are one means of institutionalizing Salafi teachings effectively and efficiently. Sources of funding for its development were obtained through donors from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, in addition to community participation through zakat, infaq and waqf (ziswa) funds.²³ Salafi educational institutions influence people's

²⁰ Slamet Muliono, Andi Suwarko, and Zaky Ismail Ismail, "Gerakan Salafi Dan Deradikalisasi Islam Di Indonesia," *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 9, no. 2 (2019): 244–66, <https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v9i2.1207>.

²¹ Mila Nabila Zahara, Dadan Wildan, and Siti Komariah, "Gerakan Hijrah: Pencarian Identitas Untuk Muslim Milenial Di Era Digital," *Indonesian Journal of Sociology, Education, and Development* 2, no. 1 (2020): 52–65, <https://doi.org/10.52483/ijsed.v2i1.21>.

²² Asep Muhammad Iqbal, *Internet Dan Gerakan Salafi Di Indonesia (Sebuah Kajian Awal)*, I (Yogyakarta: Diandra Kreatif, 2019).

²³ Muhammad Ali Chozin, "Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia Chozin, M. A. (2013). Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Dakwah*, XIV(1), 1–25," *Jurnal Dakwah* XIV, no. 1 (2013): 1–25.

perspective on the realities of world life, giving rise to awareness based on religious values in social life.²⁴

Third, the proliferation of publications and publishing institutions. Salafis considers that massive da'wah literacy can be carried out through publications and publishing media. Data shows that in 2005, one-third of the approximately 10,000 books published each year were related to Islamic books, with print figures reaching 5000-10,000 copies.²⁵ The growth of publishing institutions has increased yearly; in 2011, 300 institutions publishing Salafi works participated in the Islamic Book Fair in Jakarta.²⁶ Apart from publishing institutions, which are a means of literacy for Salafi ideas, internet media, television and radio broadcasts, and social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, are media for socializing Salafi preaching. This da'wah targets millennials who, based on data on the number of millennials who accessed the Internet in 2016, reached 59.9 million people, generally interested in Islamic studies, such as fiqh and muamalah.²⁷ The massive broadcast media and social media used to disseminate Salafi da'wah have had an impact on increasing the number of followers; at the same time, its existence is increasingly accepted in society, especially the Salafi movement, which promotes puritanism and ideas.²⁸ This movement will enrich the conception and practice of religious teachings. It can become a new choice for the millennial generation and urban circles looking for religious identity amidst the hustle and bustle of modernization and the hedonistic life of metropolitan cities.

²⁴ Krismono Krismono, "Salafisme Di Indonesia : Ideologi, Politik Negara, Dan Fragmentasi," *Millah* 16, no. 2 (2017): 173–202, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art2>.

²⁵ Chozin, "Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia" Chozin, M. A. (2013). *Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia*. Jurnal Dakwah, XIV(1), 1–25."

²⁶ Chozin, "Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia" Chozin, M. A. (2013). *Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia*. Jurnal Dakwah, XIV(1), 1–25."

²⁷ Muammar Bakry et al., "How to Attract Millennials? Indonesian Sharia Banking Opportunities," *WSEAS Transactions on Business and Economics* 18 (2021): 376–85, <https://doi.org/10.37394/23207.2021.18.38>.

²⁸ Abdul Jamil Wahab, "Reading New Phenomenons Salafi Movements On Solo," *Dialog* 42, no. 2 (2019): 221–36.

The Concept of Religious Moderation in the Salafi Movement

Muamalah is an essential aspect of Islam that concerns social interaction between individuals in various aspects of daily life. This includes laws that regulate interactions between humans, both fellow Muslims and non-Muslims. In Salafi teachings, muamalah is based on several main principles, including the principles of al-Wala wa al-Bara and the principles of Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar.²⁹

The principle of al-Wala wa al-Bara has essential meaning in the context of muamalah. Al-Wala, which means love, support, and help, shows that Muslims must love and support fellow Muslims. Meanwhile, al-Bara, which means distancing oneself, demeaning or criticizing, teaches that a Muslim must guard himself against interactions that could disturb his faith and beliefs, especially in relationships with non-Muslims, except in world affairs that are not related to the faith.

Salafis also implement the principles of al-Wala and al-Bara in the context of the state and nation, where every citizen is expected to obey the legitimate government. Ustadz Dzulqarnain MS emphasized this compliance³⁰, who explained that compliance with the government includes two aspects: *adaul amanah*, namely upholding the mandate or trust in the government as a form of protection and comfort for the community; and *alwafa bil ahdu*, which means commitment to a bond or agreement. As citizens who choose their leaders through a democratic process, citizens must commit to this choice and support government policies, as long as these policies do not lead to immorality. These principles underline the importance of obeying and being loyal to the government within the framework of compliance with Islamic law, as long as it does not conflict with religious principles and teachings.

In the Salafi understanding, the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* principle does not imply giving each individual absolute authority

²⁹ Idlofi Idlofi and Ahmad Rezy Meidina, "Konsep Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar Dalam Tafsir Al-Munir Karya Wahbah Al-Zuhaili," *Jurnal Dirosah Islamiyah* 5, no. 3 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.47467/jdi.v5i3.3219>.

³⁰ "Dzulqarnain MS, 'Pimpinan Ponpes As-Sunnah Makassar,'" 2023.

to change evil without following legal procedures. Therefore, the responsibility to prevent evil falls under the government's authority. In the practice of da'wah, the concept of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar is applied by conveying and inviting others to do good and avoid evil. Changing a person's attitudes and behavior is not the preacher's authority but is the responsibility of parties with legal authority in the related field. Salafi teachings advocate a moderate approach in amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, where each individual is not allowed to impose his will on others or take actions outside his authority to judge others.

Furthermore, the Salafi community strongly emphasizes the principle of obedience to the government. They follow government policies related to faith, worship, and muamalah as long as they do not lead to immorality. The concept of the caliphate as a government system is not seen as a necessity that must be implemented in Indonesia. Even the implementation of Sharia law is not the main political agenda. The Salafi community accepts the modern government system and recognizes Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state. A democratically elected government with legitimate authority, which provides protection and guarantees for citizens to practice their religious beliefs without fear or interference, is considered obligatory to obey. This is part of the consequences of the ba'iat or oath of allegiance to the government. Salafis reject and do not teach Khawarij principles that justify rebellion against a legitimate and authoritative government.

Salafi da'wah is oriented towards purifying and cleansing the Muslim faith from all forms of khurafat and animism, emphasizing that the commitment of monotheism to Allah is an essential basis for a Muslim. In the context of worship, Salafis consider that worship is a manifestation of a servant's obedience to his Khaliq, so that worship must be free from elements of heresy and fully comply with the teachings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Salafus Salih and the early generations of Islam were used as the primary reference in worship practices, rejecting creeds and worship practices contaminated with customs and traditions, such as birthday celebrations, barazanji, shuro, and various Islamic holiday celebrations associated with tradition.

Regarding muamalah, Salafi's views cover broad aspects and follow current developments, so they are open to change and social dynamics. The concept of muamalah is focused on providing mutual benefits and avoiding harm, making the Salafi community open to anyone who wants to establish muamalah relationships in world affairs that bring mutual benefits and act fairly. Salafis draw strict boundaries in muamalah, which are related to belief and monotheism, considering that tolerance can be applied in the worldly and material aspects of muamalah, which provide mutual benefits. Muamalah, which can lead to the weakening of the aqeedah and the rejection of monotheism, shows the Salafi principle of maintaining the integrity of the aqeedah in every aspect of social interaction.

According to Ustadz Malingkay Ilyas, a pioneer of religious moderation from the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, South Sulawesi, the Salafi community tends to show a closed attitude and adheres to the principle of exclusivism. Activities that contain elements of religious moderate³¹on rarely receive participation from this community. Even when they participate, they usually only send delegations without making significant contributions to discussions or decision-making related to implementing moderation programs in their communities.

Salafi school of thought is rooted in returning to the purity of Islamic teachings practiced by the early generations of Muslims, namely the Friends and Tabi'in. Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal initiated this movement to return to pure teachings (164-241 H/780-855 AD) as a response to the spread of rational Mu'tazilah thought during his time. The ideas expressed by Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal were then continued and developed by the next generation, including Ahmad ibn Taymiyah (1263-1328) and Muhammad ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyah (1292-1350 AD), strengthening the foundation of Salafi thought in practicing and maintain the purity of Islamic teachings.³²

³¹ Malingkay Ilyas, Wawancara Dengan Pelopor Moderasi Beragama Kemenag Sulsel, 2023.

³² Mehmet TAŞDELEN, "Critical Approach to Neo-Salafism in the Context of Jihādī Salafism," *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.33931/dergiabant.1062504>; Wiktorowicz, "Anatomy of

In Indonesia, freedom of religion is recognized as a human right, as confirmed in Article 29, paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the state guarantees the freedom of every resident to embrace religion and worship according to their religion and beliefs. This constitutional guarantee emphasizes the state's role in guaranteeing its citizens' human rights to practice religious teachings in accordance with their beliefs. However, to maintain the harmonization of religious life, policies are needed to ensure that every religious adherent can live in harmony and respect each other, inter- and intra-religious. Imam al-Juwayni emphasized the need for government strategies and policies to maintain religious diversity and social unity in a multicultural and multi-ethnic society.³³ The policy of religious moderation is an effort to maintain Indonesia's cultural diversity as a valuable heritage. In this context, Islamic law also recognizes custom as a source of law, indicating the importance of integrating traditional values into religious practice.

The Salafi movement, which carries the idea of puritanism, has received sympathy and acceptance from the government, partly because this Salafist approach is considered more moderate in social interaction with society and the surrounding community.³⁴ The ideas promoted by Salafism are generally not political and do not threaten the status quo, making them easier to accept within the existing socio-political structure. However, there are significant differences in teachings with Islamic mass organizations (ormas) that previously existed in Indonesia, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU teaches Sunni Islam by adhering to *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah*, with an adaptive

the Salafi Movement"; Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development."

³³ Frank Griffel, "Law and Politics under the Abbasids: An Intellectual Portrait of al-Juwayni. By SOHAIRA Z. M. SIDDIQUI," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.7817/jaos.142.2.2022.r0033>.

³⁴ Benny Baskara, "Islamic Puritanism Movements in Indonesia as Transnational Movements," *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v2i1.103>; Haedar Nashir et al., "Islam in Indonesia: From Puritanism to Enlightening Religion in the Case of Muhammadiyah," *Asia Life Sciences* 28, no. 1 (2019).

attitude towards culture and traditions by sharia. Meanwhile, Salafis take a textualistic approach and adhere to puritanism in religious teachings, rejecting integration with tradition and culture.

Salafi da'wah often rejects acculturation and developing cultural values, including local traditions that contain elements of animism in the celebration of Islamic holidays, marriages, and pilgrimages.³⁵ They used the doctrine of heresy to mark religious practices integrated with local culture and traditions as heretical. This rejection is part of the concept of Islamic purification from practices that were never taught or practiced by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the early generations of Islam. The characteristics of radicalism-fundamentalism include the rejection of plurality, which is considered a wrong understanding of the holy book, and the rejection of the hermeneutic approach to holy texts because it is considered to interpret the Koran based on personal opinion.

The internalization of the concept of Islamic moderation in Indonesia has experienced various challenges, especially among the Salafi community. Adapting to local culture and tolerance towards followers of other religions is challenging for this community to accept. For Salafis, tolerance is only interpreted as recognition of the existence of different beliefs, but in social practice, they tend to reject interaction with other religious communities in social life.³⁶ Obedience to the government is considered mandatory as long as the head of state is Muslim.

³⁵ Muhammad Zainal Abidin, "DINAMIKA GERAKAN SALAFI DAN PARADOKS KOSMOPOLITANISME ISLAM: PROBLEMA TERMINOLOGIS, SEJARAH DAN AJARAN," *TASHWIR* 10, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.18592/jt.v10i1.7280>; Muhyar et al., "Critique on Salafism and It is Significance for Indonesian Islamic Moderation: Study on Khaled Abou El-Fadhl's Thought," *Mazahib Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 22, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v22i2.7046>.

³⁶ Fanani and Iswanto, "Critique on Salafibism and It is Significance for Indonesian Islamic Moderation: Study on Khaled Abou El-Fadhl's Thought"; Hasse Jubba et al., "The Contestation between Conservative and Moderate Muslims in Promoting Islamic Moderatism in Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2116162>; Subchi et al., "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims."

However, differing views regarding the election process challenge Western-style democratic systems and patterns.

Culturally, Islam in Indonesia tends to be moderate, both in its teachings and practice.³⁷ Therefore, continuous efforts are needed to develop and internalize Islamic moderation in Indonesian society, which is rich in cultural and ethnic diversity. Islamic moderation developed in Indonesia can be an alternative solution amidst the emergence of transnational ideologies that promote radicalism and extremism in religion.³⁸ The practice of religious teachings that are harmonious, adaptive, and inclusive of all religious communities in Indonesia must continue to be promoted.

Conclusion

The Salafi movement in South Sulawesi has developed characteristics different from those of other regions in Indonesia, especially regarding their response to local culture and social context. The movement emerged in a society with a strong heritage of moderate Islamic traditions, such as those embraced by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and other Islamic organizations. traditions, such as those embraced by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The main focus of Salafism in South Sulawesi is the purification of Islamic teachings through the rejection of elements of local culture that are considered to be *khilafat* and *bid'ah*, such as the tradition of grave pilgrimage, *maulid* celebrations, and other traditional rituals that are considered incompatible with the Islamic teachings. other traditional rituals that are considered incompatible with the pure teachings of Islam.

³⁷ Inayatillah, Kamaruddin, and M. Anzaikhan, "The History of Moderate Islam in Indonesia and Its Influence on the Content of National Education," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 17, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol17no2.17>; Abon Ronaldi, Arief Subhan, and Arif Zamhari, "Indonesian Islam: History, Characteristics and Global Contribution," *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v9i1.213>.

³⁸ Musawar et al., "Moderate Islam as a Solution to Pluralism in the Islamic World: The Experience of Indonesia"; Ade Jamarudin et al., "TEXTUAL-SKRIPITUAL GROUP PARADIGM AGAINST THE CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC WASATIYAH: A CASE STUDY OF THE ISLAM DEFENDER FRONT (FPI) IN INDONESIA," *Hudan Lin Naas: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 3, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.28944/hudanlinnaas.v3i1.635>.

Influential figures such as Ustadz Dzulqarnain Muhammad Sunusi and Ustadz Luqman Jamal were essential in spreading Salafi teachings, especially in big cities such as Makassar, Parepare, and Gowa. Through the establishment of Salafi-characterized pesantren such as Pesantren As-Sunnah and Tanwirsunnah, the movement not only focused on religious education but also strengthened their da'wah among the younger generation, especially university students. Modern media, such as radio and the Internet, became the main tools for spreading their da'wah, making them more readily accepted by those seeking a more literal and textual understanding of religion.

The Salafi movement in South Sulawesi has attracted followers, especially from the youth, but faces challenges in reconciling puritanical teachings with the diversity of local culture. The rigid approach often clashes with the inclusiveness of South Sulawesi society. The main challenge is maintaining the purity of the teachings while respecting South Sulawesi's cultural and social diversity.

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