



Transnational Salafi Education and Its Consequences for Multicultural Harmony in Indonesia

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Abstract

The increasing influence of Salafi ideology in educational institutions, often brings textual interpretations of Islamic teachings, thus affecting the dynamics of religious diversity in a multicultural society. The main focus of this research is how transnational Salafi education affects the mindset, religious attitudes, and social relations between religious communities in Indonesia. This article aims to analyze transnational Salafi education and its impact on multireligious harmony in Indonesia. This study used a qualitative method with a literature study approach. Data was collected through searching sources from the internet, academic books, and scientific journals related to Salafi education and multireligious harmony. The analysis process was carried out thematically to identify patterns of influence of Salafi education on interreligious relations in Indonesia. The results of the study showed that transnational Salafi education tended to influence the exclusive mindset of some students, which could hinder interfaith communication. However, there were also Salafi educational institutions that have begun to adopt a moderate approach to teaching, thus contributing positively to social relations. This article emphasizes the importance of strengthening the value of inclusivity in the religious

education curriculum to maintain harmony in the midst of Indonesia's diversity. This research provides new insights into the challenges and opportunities of Salafi education in building multireligious harmony in Indonesia.

Keywords: Education, Salafi, Transnational, Multicultural

A. Introduction

Indonesia, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, is known for its rich diversity, both in terms of ethnicity, culture, and religion. Transnational *Salafi* education, rooted in *Puritan* Islamic teachings with an emphasis on literal understanding of religious texts, has grown rapidly in Indonesia through the support of international institutions. This approach tends to ignore the more inclusive local traditions of Islam in the archipelago, so it can trigger tensions with other religious groups and fellow Muslims who hold more moderate views. As a result, this educational pattern has the potential to weaken multireligious harmony in Indonesia by giving rise to a narrative of exclusivism that reduces space for dialogue and tolerance across faiths (Sangkot Sirait, 2024).

Salafi as an ideological and transnational phenomenon has developed rapidly in various parts of the world, including in Indonesia. This movement gained momentum through a network of education, da'wah, and financial support from Middle Eastern countries. *Salafi*-affiliated educational institutions often play a key role in spreading this ideology. *Salafi* education emphasizes a literal interpretation of the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah, which is often contrasted with the more contextual and moderate approach that developed in the Islamic tradition of the archipelago. The influence of *Salafi* ideology in these educational institutions has affected the dynamics of religion in multicultural societies, creating new challenges in interfaith relations and social harmony (Prasetyo, 2022).

A literature review shows that the *Salafi* phenomenon is not new, but the intensity of its spread in the modern era is increasingly attracting the attention of researchers. The studies conducted by Meijer (2009) and Wiktorowicz (2006) describe *Salafi* as a diverse movement, consisting of various sects such as *puritans*, politics, and jihadis. In Indonesia, research from Hasan (2006) reveals how *Salafi* gained a foothold through education, da'wah, and the publication of religious books. Another study by Bruinessen (2013) observed that *Salafi* education often creates social segmentation in society due to the emphasis of this ideology on the superiority of their beliefs compared to other groups (Siti Masruroh, 2023).

Relevant basic concepts and theories to discuss this problem include the theory of mobilization of transnational ideologies and the theory of social harmony in the context of a multicultural society. First, the theory of transnational mobilization explains how certain ideologies can spread across national borders through networks of education, da'wah, and media. This concept is relevant to understanding how *Salafi*, as a transnational movement, has succeeded in instilling its influence in Indonesian educational institutions. Second, the theory of social harmony explains the importance of social cohesion in a multicultural society. According to Putnam (2007), diversity can be a strength or a threat depending on how interactions between individuals and groups are managed. In the Indonesian context, the existence of ideologies that tend to be exclusive can challenge social harmony which has long been the foundation of national stability (Dannur, 2021).

This study will examine how *Salafi* education is embraced and implemented in Indonesia, as well as how this ideology influences religious views and practices in society. In addition, this paper will explore how *Salafi* education contributes to social conflicts and harmonization efforts. Through a qualitative approach, the study aims to provide in-depth insights into the role of *Salafi* education in Indonesia's multicultural and multireligious context and offer policy recommendations to manage its impacts constructively.

Previous research has shown that *Salafi* education often emphasizes the purification of Islamic teachings and the rejection of local religious practices that are considered heretical (Falah, 2022). This article will examine the literature on the development of *Salafi* education in Indonesia, including support from Middle Eastern countries, as well as how this ideology interacts with the cultural and religious diversity in Indonesia (Puspitasari, 2023).

The textual approach adopted by *Salafi* education has significant implications for the understanding of people's religiosity. The emphasis on literal interpretation often ignores Indonesia's diverse social, cultural, and historical contexts. As a result, polarization has emerged in society, where groups influenced by *Salafi* ideology tend to adopt an exclusive attitude toward other groups. This situation can affect interfaith relations, threaten harmony, and create potential conflicts in the future.

B. Method

This research uses a type of library research. Collecting data from various literature requires planned and systematic steps to ensure that the information

obtained is relevant and credible. First, identify keywords related to the topic, to search for literature through platforms such as Google Scholar, digital libraries, and journal repositories. Additionally, access relevant books through physical or digital libraries, and be sure to utilize bibliographies in that literature as additional reference sources. After the literature is collected, classify the data based on themes, such as the concept of transnational Salafi education, its history and spread, and its impact on interreligious harmony in Indonesia. To analyze article data, content analysis is first carried out, then comparing perspectives from various sources to understand patterns or contradictions that arise. Use qualitative approaches, such as narrative or discursive analysis, to explore how transnational Salafi education is understood and implemented in Indonesia and its impact on multireligious harmony (Asmendri, 2020).

C. Results and Discussion

In the Al-Qur'an, Surah Al-Hujurat verse 49 Allah said:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

It means: "O man, indeed We created you from a man and a woman and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous among you. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Knowing."

This verse emphasizes the importance of knowing and respecting each other's differences as part of God's plan. This was an argument to maintain harmony in diversity.

In the hadith it was also explained that.

عَنْ أَبِي عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: الْمُسْلِمُ أَخُو الْمُسْلِمِ لَا يَظْلِمُهُ وَلَا يَخْذُلُهُ وَلَا يُسْلِمُهُ

Meaning: Narrated from Ibn Umar, he said: "The Prophet PBUH said: A Muslim is another Muslim brother. Therefore, do not despise and underestimate it and do not hurt it." (HR. Ahmad, Bukhaari and Muslim). (Ramsil Huda Hasibuan, 2024)

This hadith emphasized brotherhood in Islam which should be the basis for relations between Muslims, including in the context of cultural differences and views. KH. Hasyim Muzadi. He once stated that the application of Islamic teachings had to pay attention to the local socio-cultural context and not impose views that were too rigid or not in accordance with local wisdom. (Dahlan, 2016) Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) emphasized the importance of a friendly and inclusive Islam that could coexist with cultural diversity in Indonesia (Muammar, 2022).

1. *Salafi* Education

a. Definition of Salafism

Salafism was a movement in Islam that sought to revive the way of religion practiced by the early generation of Islam, namely the "*Salaf al-Salih*" (the first three generations of Muslims, namely the Companions of the Prophet, *tabi'in*, and *tabi'ut tabi'in*). (Eliza, 2015) Salafism focused on the purification of Islamic practices and beliefs, with a strong emphasis on monotheism (monotheism) and shunning innovations in worship and beliefs that were considered to deviate from the original teachings. (Zamzami, 2017)

The term "*Salafi*" was derived from the Arabic word "*Salaf*," which literally meant predecessor or ancestor. In the Islamic context, "*Salaf*" referred to the early generation of Muslims, especially the first three generations after the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who was known as "*Salafus Salih*" or "pious predecessor." This generation included the Companions of the Prophet, *Tabi'in* (the generation that follows the Companions), and *Tabi'ut Tabi'in* (the generation that follows the *Tabi'in*). (Effendi, 2024)

The increasing influence of *Salafi* ideology in Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia presents complex challenges for the dynamics of religion in a multicultural society. The textual approach that was characteristic of *Salafi* often emphasized the purification of religious teachings by referring to a literal understanding of Islamic texts. This could result in interpretations that tended to be exclusive, which had the potential to reduce the space for dialogue between religious groups. One of the main consequences of strengthening *Salafi* ideology was the existence of polarization in society. In the context of education, a curriculum influenced by this ideology could narrow students' understanding of

religious and cultural diversity. In fact, Indonesia as a country with a high religious and cultural plurality required an inclusive educational approach and respected differences. However, it should be noted that not all *Salafi* educational institutions had a homogeneous approach. Some of them began to adapt to the local context and tried to balance *Salafi* teachings with national values. Therefore, it was important for policymakers, educators, and the public to jointly develop strategies that were able to minimize the negative impact of *Salafi* ideology on multireligious harmony. Interfaith dialogue, curriculum revision, and increasing religious literacy were strategic steps that could be taken to maintain social harmony in the midst of Indonesia's diversity (Syuhudi, 2023)

This movement was also known for its rejection of innovation (heresy) in religion that had no basis in sacred texts. *Bid'ah* referred to new practices or beliefs introduced into religion after the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the early generations, which were considered to have no basis in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. The *Salafis* sought to abstain from all forms of heresy and emphasized strict adherence to the teachings and practices taught by Salafus Salih (Wijaya, 2023). Here were some examples of evidence of the spread of Salafism in Indonesia through education, media, and financial assistance from Gulf countries:

b. Education

Salafism spread through educational institutions established or supported by *Salafi* groups, both at the Islamic Boarding School and university levels. Examples:

- 1) **Salafi Educational Institutions**, islamic boarding schools such as the Al-Irsyad Islamic Boarding School in Salatiga, which were known to hold Salafism. These Islamic boarding schools were often supported by organizations or individuals from Gulf countries.
- 2) **Study Scholarships to the Middle East**, many Indonesian students got scholarships from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, or other Gulf countries to study at universities such as the Islamic University of Medina. After returning home, they often brought *Salafi* ideology and taught it in society.

c. Media

Salafism also spreaded through the media, both print, electronic, and digital. Relevant examples include:

- 1) **Publishing Salafi Books and Literature**, books by *Salafi* scholars, such as Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, were translated and distributed free of charge in Indonesia, often funded by institutions from the Middle East.
- 2) **Television and Radio Channels**, for example, Rodja TV and Radio Rodja, often carried lectures and content containing the teachings of Salafism. This channel had a great influence in spreading *Salafi* in Indonesia.
- 3) **Digital Platforms**, many *Salafi da'wah* content was distributed through social media, YouTube, and websites, often using resources provided by international institutions.

d. Financial Assistance from the Gulf States

Financial assistance played an important role in strengthening the *Salafi* network in Indonesia. Examples:

- 1) **Mosque Construction Funding**, many mosques in Indonesia, especially in urban areas, were built with the help of funds from Saudi Arabia or Gulf-based philanthropic organizations. These mosques were often the center of *Salafi da'wah*.
- 2) **Da'wah and Social Institutions**, organizations such as Rabithah Al-Alam Al-Islami (World Muslim League) provide funds to support *da'wah* and social activities, including seminars, scientist (*dai*) training, and the dissemination of the Al-Qur'an.
- 3) **Humanitarian Programs**, in disaster situations, such as the 2004 Aceh tsunami, institutions from the Gulf countries provided humanitarian assistance accompanied by *Salafist da'wah*. The spread of Salafism used various strategic channels to reach the wider community in Indonesia, although its influence had also caused various responses, both for and against, from various circles in the country.

2. Salafi Education in Indonesia

Salafi education in Indonesia focuses on the application of Salafi teachings in the educational curriculum. Salafi educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools and a traditional Islamic school, played a key role in spreading this ideology (Nasution, 2020). These institutions typically received financial support from organizations and individuals in the Middle East that had affiliations with the Salafi movement as mentioned above.

Salafi education in Indonesia had characteristics of implementing Salafi teachings strictly in its curriculum. Islamic boarding schools and a traditional Islamic school that adopted this approach often had a strong focus on the study of religious texts, such as the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, and the works of Salafi scholars. This education also emphasized the purification of faith, namely avoiding religious practices that were considered heresy or not in accordance with Salafi teachings (Hidayat, 2023).

3. Transnational Salafi Education

Transnational *Salafi* education refers to educational currents that adopted Salafi ideology from the Middle East, especially from Saudi Arabia. This education was supported by foreign funding and often used curricula and methodologies based on the views of prominent Salafi scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab. (Muharir, 2022)

This movement aimed to "purify" Islam by rejecting local traditions that were considered heresy (innovation in religion) and returning to Islamic teachings that were considered authentic. As a result, transnational Salafi education was often rigid and less accommodating to cultural diversity and a more contextual interpretation of Islam.

In the context of Indonesia's multicultural society, transnational Salafi education could pose its own challenges. Exclusivity developed in Salafi education, such as rejection of local traditions and cultures that were considered un-Islamic, could trigger social friction. (Pransiska, 2018) This had the potential to threaten harmony between groups of different cultures, ethnicities, and beliefs in Indonesian society.

4. Some of the main characteristics of Salafi education in Indonesia include

a. Faith-based curriculum

The Salafi educational curriculum emphasized an in-depth study of the Al-Qur'an and Hadith, as well as classical books in religious science (Rohimah, 2020). As follows: One form of Salafi education curriculum was to focus on teaching the Al-Qur'an with an emphasis on tahfidz (memorizing the Al-Qur'an) and tafsir, accompanied by an in-depth study of Hadith using books such as Saheeh Bukhari and Saheeh Muslim. In addition, this curriculum included the study of Aqidah based on books such as the Book of Tawhid by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, as

well as fiqh learning using classical references such as *Bulughul Maram*. This approach was usually complemented by reinforcement of the Arabic language as a tool for understanding the original texts. Another example, of the basic stage of the Al-Qur'an: Memorization of the Al-Qur'an (the target of memorization was 30 juz at the end of this stage). Then in the middle stage, memorization and understanding of basic interpretations such as *Tafsir Al-Jalalain* were carried out, and in the final stage, in-depth interpretation was carried out using books such as *Tafsir Ibn Katsir*.

- 1) **Emphasis on faith**, *Salafi* education focused heavily on the purification of faith (belief) and worship in accordance with the teachings of the *salafs*. (Nurdiyanto, 2023)
- 2) **Application of Islamic law**, There was a strong push to apply Islamic law (sharia) in daily life, both individually and in the community.
- 3) **Use of Arabic**, Arabic was taught intensively because it was considered the language of the Al-Qur'an and Hadith, and it was important to understand religious texts directly. (Kamila, 2023).

5. Teaching Methodology

Teaching methodologies in *Salafi* education tended to be traditional and textual. Some of the methods that were often used include: (Khuailid, 2019) Memorization (*tahfiz*), *Dars* and *Takrir*, *Mudzakarah*, *Talaqqi*; Face-to-face teaching with scholars or teachers to get an in-depth explanation of religious teachings. (Hafid, Questioning the Salafi Movement in Indonesia (Pro-Cons of Salafi Da'wah Methods, 2020).

6. International Network

The spread of *Salafi* education in Indonesia could not be separated from the international network that supported this movement. Financial support from organizations and individuals in the Middle East, especially from countries such as Saudi Arabia, was indeed one of the factors that helped the continuity and development of *Salafi* educational institutions in Indonesia (Mochamad Thoyyib, 2018).

7. The Influence of Salafi Education on Religious Identity

Salafi education had a significant role in shaping the religious identity of individuals and groups. The *Salafi* school, which emphasized a return to Islamic practices that were considered pure and original as in the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions, had a distinctive view of various aspects of religious life (Jailani, 2023). *Salafi* education, which was often implemented through schools, a traditional Islamic school, and Islamic boarding schools, influenced the views, attitudes, and religious practices of its followers.

8. Social Dynamics and Conflicts in *Salafi* Education

Salafi education was often a source of social tension due to its conservative approach, emphasis on gender segregation, and rejection of local cultural influences that were considered un-Islamic. The conflicts often arose when Salafi values conflict with local traditions or a more socially and culturally inclusive national education system (Topan, 2024). These dynamics complicated interactions between groups in society, widened the gap between Salafi assemblies and other groups, and debated the role of religion in the public sphere. In the context of social dynamics and conflicts related to Salafi education, there were several cases that could be analyzed:

a. Religious and Identity Polarization

Salafi education often emphasized conservative and literalist interpretations of Islam, which could reinforce identity differences between Salafi and non-Salafi groups. This could trigger religious polarization in society, where Salafi groups might feel superior or exclusive to others. One concrete example of religious polarization due to Salafi education occurred at the Grand Mosque of Kota Harapan Indah, Bekasi. There was a dispute between residents of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Salafi groups regarding the management of the mosque. Salafi groups, with a conservative interpretation of Islam, sought to take over the management of mosques, which were previously managed by Nahdlatul Ulama residents. These disputes create tension and division among worshippers, reflecting how differing interpretations of religion could spark conflicts within local communities. (Mahmudah, 2017).

b. Tensions Between Groups: In some contexts

Salafi education could reinforce differences between Muslim groups of differing views (such as between *Salafists* and non-*Salafis*, or between *Salafists* and *Sufis*). These tensions could escalate into open conflict, especially in places where *Salafis* had strong political or social influence. (Iqbal, 2013)

c. Conflict with State Authority:

Salafi education often emphasized local autonomy in religious practice and often rejected state authority or institutions that were considered un-Islamic. This could lead to conflicts with governments or state institutions that sought to regulate or supervise religious activities. (Jurdi, 2013)

d. Challenges to Multiculturalism

Salafi education tended to emphasize the unity of Muslims in religious practices and social views, which could challenge the values of multiculturalism and tolerance for differences in the wider society. Social dynamics and conflicts in *Salafi* education refer to various interactions, processes, and changes in society related to education run by the *Salafi* school. Some factors that could cause social tension between groups in this context include, differentiation of identity, ideology and values, social alienation, and perception of government and authority. (Rosyid, 2018).

9. Impact and Efforts to Harmonize Multiculturalism in *Salafi* Education

In Indonesia, where there were diverse cultures and religions, *Salafi* education could pose a challenge to multicultural harmonization because of its focus on a conservative and often exclusive understanding of Islamic interpretations. *Salafi* education in Indonesia highlights certain aspects that affect multicultural harmonization, especially in the context of education. (Mahmudah, Transmission of Fundamentalism Ideology in Education, 2017)

10. Indicators of Multicultural Life in the Context of *Salafi* Education in Indonesia

Salafi education, known for its theatrical and puritanical theological and ideological orientation, had a significant influence on multicultural life in Indonesia. In the context of multiculturalism, the main indicators that could be

identified include tolerance, inclusivity, interreligious dialogue, and adaptation to local diversity. Salafi education could contribute to the formation of this attitude of diversity, but it also had certain challenges that needed to be managed wisely. (Saputera, 2021)

a. Tolerance for Diversity of Beliefs

Tolerance was a key indicator of multicultural life that reflects the ability of an individual or group to accept the existence of other religions or beliefs. In *Salafi* education, the doctrine of faith and religious purification was often the basis for shaping attitudes toward other groups. However, *Salafi* educational institutions that were able to understand Indonesia's socio-cultural context could teach the values of tolerance through an approach that did not sacrifice the principles of Islamic teachings but still respected the diversity of people's beliefs. (Ilhami, 2023)

b. Inclusivity in Social Interaction

The second indicator was inclusivity, which was the extent to which individuals or groups were able to open themselves up to interact with other communities. Locally based *Salafi* education in Indonesia had the opportunity to encourage inclusivity by utilizing the values of local wisdom. In practice, this could be realized through collaborative programs that involve interfaith communities in social activities, such as humanitarian or educational activities (Rijal, 2016).

c. Interfaith Dialogue and Understanding

Interfaith dialogue was an essential element in multicultural life, which allowed for understanding and respect for differences. In the context of *Salafi* education, although the main focus was on strengthening the faith, dialogue could be encouraged through a curriculum that included an insight into the history of interfaith relations in Indonesia. This understanding of history could help build mutual respect and prevent based on differences of faith (Fathurrozi, 2023).

d. Adaptation to Local Diversity

Adaptation to local diversity reflects the ability to understand and appreciate local traditions and cultures. *Salafi* education that was able to adapt to the local context without sacrificing the core principles of its teachings could be a bridge to creating social harmony. This approach required teachers who had a deep understanding of the local context and were able to deliver the teachings with a wise approach (Luthfiah, 2024).

Salafi education in Indonesia could be part of the solution to promoting a peaceful multicultural life if it was able to manage its ideological challenges. By encouraging the values of tolerance, inclusivity, dialogue, and adaptation to diversity, *Salafi* education could contribute positively to multireligious harmony in Indonesia.

D. Conclusion

Transnational *Salafi* education has a significant impact on multicultural dynamics in Indonesia. While it offers in-depth religious knowledge, its exclusive and conservative approach could pose challenges to social harmony. This educational practice tends to emphasize conservative and often exclusive interpretations of Islam, prioritizing a literal understanding of religious texts and limiting more inclusive and pluralistic interpretations.

Consequently, people affected by Transnational *Salafi* education tend to have a more rigid perspective on cultural and religious plurality in Indonesia. This could result in tensions between religious communities and the potential to undermine the social harmony that has long been a hallmark of Indonesia.

In terms of policy, there needs to be a balanced approach between maintaining religious freedom and encouraging tolerance and respect for cultural diversity in Indonesia. The government and related institutions need to play an active role in managing and formulating educational strategies that promote inclusivity and interfaith dialogue, to strengthen multicultural harmony in Indonesia society

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