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Selective Openness to Modernity: The Islamic Legal Methodology of Indonesian Salafis

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Abstract

This article explores the Islamic legal methodology *(manhaj)* of Indonesian Salafis in responding to modernity. Using a descriptive-analytical approach, it discovers that while their approach remains textualist and exclusive, Salafis selectively accept modern developments, such as technology and science, when not contradicting scriptural texts *(nass)*. To analyze this pattern, the

study adopts Anthony Giddens' structuration theory; emphasizing the interplay between social structure and agency. Indonesian Salafis are not passive recipients of tradition or modern change, but active agents who reinterpret religious teachings in light of contemporary realities. This selective openness allows them to maintain doctrinal purity while adapting to societal shifts. The study concludes that Salafi responses to modernity are neither wholly rigid nor fully accommodative, but represent a strategic negotiation between scriptural texts *(nass)* and change.

Keywords: Indonesian Salafi, Islamic Law, Manhaj, Modernity, Agency Theory.

A. Introduction

Islam in Indonesia continues to show its dynamic nature with the emergence of various groups that differ from and sometimes conflict with the dominant established groups. Many studies register that the 1998 Reformation induced the rise of diverse Islamic groups with various understandings and streams. These groups brought new perspectives thatenriched the Islamic discourse in Indonesia

One of the active group in the public sphere is the Salafi movement.[1] Masykuri Abdillah describes Salafism as one of the contemporary Islamic streams that has been deliberately and strategically spread worldwide. This differs from earlier Islamic streams, which generally spread naturally. Although the Islamic movements that emerged post-reformation brought "something new," Abdillah observes that they still have links to classical Islamic ideologies from the medieval period.[2]

[1] Ahmad Khoirul Fata and Moh Nor Ichwan, "Pertarungan Kuasa Dalam Wacana Islam Nusantara," *Islamica* 11, no. 2 (2017): 339–64, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2017.11.2.339-364.

[2] Masykuri Abdillah, *Islam Agama Kedamaian: Merawat Kemajemukan Dan Kerukunan Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2021), 161–62.

According to Mohammad Abu Rumman, the Salafi group views itself as the true representation of Islam. They claim to be the only ones who practice Islam correctly, comprehensively *(kaffah)*, and authentically while considering other Islamic groups as less or not fully "Islamic." For Salafis, the Islam they practice is pure, devoid of any additions, reductions, mixtures, or alterations. They believe that the early generations of Muslims *(salaf al-salih)* provide a complete and perfect methodology *(manhaj)* for understanding Islam, and thus their teachings must be followed precisely as they were.[3]

In Indonesia, the presence of the Salafi movement has sparked both support and opposition within society. There have been numerous incidents of resistance to Salafism's da'wah in several regions.[4] One reason for this opposition is the fatwas they issue which often contradict the beliefs of the mainstream Islamic groups as well as their less accommodating attitude toward the established religious practices and traditions in the community.[5] This stance is closely tied to Salafi religious understanding where

[3] Mohammad Abu Rumman, *I Am a Salafi: A Study of the Actual and Imagined Identities of Salafis* (Amman: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2014), 16.

[4] The presence of Salafism in Indonesia after the reform era has caused significant friction with contemporary Islamic movements. Several articles discuss this matter; see: Zaini Tamin AR and Riduwan, "Resistensi Dakwah Salafi Terhadap Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah Di Sidoarjo," *Sangkep: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 3, no. 1 (2020): 51–68, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v3i1.1881; Zikriadi, Muhammad Amri, and Indo Santalia, "Pemahaman Keagamaan Salafi Dan Kegaduhan Di Tengah Masyarakat Serta Solusi Penyelesaiannya," *Mushaf Journal* 2, no. 3 (2022): 288–98; Robby Karman, "Membentengi Muhammadiyah Dari Paham Salafi," klikmu.co, 2020, https://klikmu.co/membentengi-muhammadiyah-dari-paham-salafi/; Ainur Rofiq Al-Amin, "Membentengi Aswaja NU Dari Wahabi-Salafi," mualliminenamtahun.net, 2012, https://mualliminenamtahun.net/berita/membentengi-aswaja-nu-dari-wahabi-salafi; Rifki Abror Ananda, Muh. Khamdan, and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Salafisme Di Indonesia: Identitas Dan Kontestasi Ideologi Di Indonesia," *Al-Ittihad* 10, no. 2 (2024): 16–33, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61817/ittihad.v10i2.210.

[5] See Dewi Masitah, "Globalisasi Dan Benturan Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah Madzhab Al-Asy'ari Al-Maturidi Dan Salafi: Suatu Pengamatan Di Pasuruan," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 30, no. 1 (2015): 48–68; Mar'atus Sholehah, "Amaliyah Nahdlatul Ulama Perspektif Kaum Salafi (Studi Kasus Lingkungan Gladakpakem Kecamatan Sumbersari Kabupaten Jember)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember, 2018); Al-Amin, "Membentengi Aswaja NU Dari Wahabi-Salafi"; Ananda, Khamdan, and Fata, "Salafisme Di Indonesia: Identitas Dan Kontestasi Ideologi Di Indonesia"; Karman, "Membentengi Muhammadiyah Dari Paham Salafi."

their movement's orientation is toward religious purification using the *salaf al-salih* as role models.

Historically, the term "Salafi" refers to a group of hadith scholars during the Abbasid Caliphate era who emphasized deep study of hadith to minimize the influence of theological discourse (*kalam*). The teachings of these hadith scholars were later formalized by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855) and continued by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), before being revived and propagated by the Wahhabi movement, a religious reform initiated by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) in Najd, Saudi Arabia.[6]

As a *manhaj* (methodology), Salafism is built on several core teachings; 1. Returning to the beliefs and practices of the first three generations of Islam, 2. Emphasis on the doctrine of *tawhid* (the oneness of God) in three aspects: *rububiyyah* (God's lordship), *uluhiyyah* (God's worship), and *asma wa sifat* (God's names and attributes), 3. The struggle to eliminate *shirk* (associating partners with God), 4. The Qur'an, hadith, and *ijma'* (consensus of scholars) as the main references for Islamic law 5. Purging *bid'ah* (religious innovations) from among Muslims, and 6. Prioritizing a textual interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith to guide Muslim life.[7]

Methodologically, the Salafi movement is considered regressive because it idealizes the past as the best model for Islam.[8] In their view, solving contemporary problems can be achieved simply by following the methods practiced by the *salaf*.[9] Therefore,

[6] Albert Hourani, *Pemikiran Liberal Di Dunia Arab*, ed. Luthfie Assyaukanie (Bandung: Mizan, 2004), 368–71; Izzuddin Washil and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Pemikiran Teologis Kaum Salafi: Studi Atas Pemikiran Kalam Ibn Taymiyah," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 19, no. 2 (2018): 315–42, https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v19i2.5548.

[7] Din Wahid, "Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia" (Uttrecth University, 2014), 21; Haedar Nashir, "Gerakan Islam Syari'at: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis Di Indonesia" (UGM, 2006), 159, 165–66; Assaf Moghadam, "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (n.d.): 46–78, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40207141.

[8] M. Misbah, "Tradisi Keilmuan Pesantren Salafi," *Ibda'* 12, no. 2 (2014).

[9] Wahid, "Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," 5–6.

this group tends to reject the use of new methods in solving issues, especially those adopted from the West.[10] This applies particularly to new legal issues that require engaging with both the Sharia texts and the social realities.[11]

However, it is important to note that the Salafis' rejection of modernity is limited to matters related to ideology. For instance, they reject modern political systems because they believe there is a hidden agenda behind them, such as the aim of separating religion from the state in modern democracy. They reject conventional economics because it contains elements of capitalism, which contradicts the spirit of Islamic teachings.[12]

Meanwhile, regarding non-ideological matters, such as the use of technology in worship or transactions (*muamalah*), Salafism tends to be more open to modernity. Salafis never reject technology, even if it comes from the West. Compared to other groups in Indonesia, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, although these two groups are known to be moderate and open to modernity, their acceptance of technology has been relatively slower compared to the Salafi group. The Salafis in Indonesia have long utilized technology to spread their teachings. It must be acknowledged that, to this day, Islamic discourse in the online world is still dominated by this group. They have websites, radio stations, and television channels that have spread across Indonesia with a very strong network.[13]

[10] Andi Aderus, "Karakteristik Pemikiran Salafi Di Tengah Aliran-Aliran Pemikiran Islam" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2010), 65–76.

[11] Thomas Eich, "Abū L-Hudā and the Alūsīs in Scholarship on Salafism: A Note on Methodology," *Die Welt Des Islams* XLIX, no. 3/4 (2009).

[12] Masykuri Abdillah, *Islam Dan Dinamika Sosial Politik Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2011), 8; Ahmad Khoirul Fata, Adnan, and Mahfud Fauzi, "From Khilafah to Modern State: The History of Islamic Political Transformation," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 22, no. 1 (2021): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i1.11793.

[13] Din Wahid and Jamhari Makruf, *Suara Salafisme: Radio Dakwah Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2017), 5; Muhammad Ali Chozin, "Strategi Dakwah Salafi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Dakwah* 14, no. 1 (2013): 1–25, https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.2013.14101.

We observe a kind of contradiction within Salafism. On one hand, they reject modernization, but on the other, they are the group that makes the most use of modern technology. Based on this, the author expects to further explore how *fiqh* is constructed in the understanding of the Salafi group in Indonesia, particularly concerning contemporary issues of science, technology, and socio-political matters. This research is limited to the *fiqh* opinions of prominent Puritan Salafi figures in Indonesia, particularly those with significant influence and strong followers, such as Abdul Hakim bin Amir Abdat, Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, Ammi Nur Baits, Khalid Basalamah, Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, and Syafiq Riza Basalamah.[14]

The main issue discussed in this writing is how the Salafi group in Indonesia understands *fiqh*, especially in relation to modernity in the fields of science, technology utilization, and contemporary socio-political issues.

B. Method

This research combines both library data and digital data in the form of videos and recordings of lectures by Salafi figures. This is done to understand how the understanding of Islamic law is applied in addressing legal issues, particularly those related to contemporary matters. This study belongs to the the category of philosophical-normative-empirical research. It is termed philosophical because it discusses Islamic legal methodology (Usul al-Fiqh). It is referred to as normative because it also discusses matters of jurisprudence, opinions, and fatwas from scholars. It is called empirical because it examines individuals' thoughts on Islamic law. A person's thought is inevitably influenced by the dialectic between the subject, shaped by social and historical realities, and the object being understood.

[14] Wahid and Makruf, *Suara Salafisme: Radio Dakwah Di Indonesia*, 332.

Thus, this paper is a literature review and adopts a descriptive-analytical approach. Data is obtained through texts and video lectures from influential Indonesian Salafi figures, such as Abdul Hakim bin Amir Abdat, Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, Khalid Basalamah, and Syafiq Riza Basalamah. As for data analysis, the author employs the content analysis method.

This study employs Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, which emphasizes the dialectical relationship between social structures and individual agency. The theory posits that while social structures constrain, influence, and guide individual behavior, individuals are not passive actors. They retain the capacity to negotiate with, resist, and even transform social structures through their actions.[15] In this context, Indonesian Salafi preachers are not positioned as passive recipients of existing religious structures or the pressures of modernity. Rather, they function as active social agents who selectively interpret, reinterpret, and reconstruct their understanding of Islam in response to modern challenges.[16]

It is within this theoretical framework that this study seeks to analyze the Salafi group's active response to contemporary issues. The Salafis can thus be seen as exercising agency within the bounds of their traditional religious structure. They utilize this agency to accept certain aspects of modernity—such as digital technology or science—that are not perceived to contradict the authoritative texts (*nass*), while simultaneously rejecting elements considered to threaten the purity of *salaf* teachings. In this way, the interaction between textual structure (*nass*) and their social practices becomes dynamic rather than stagnant.

[15] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 25–30.

[16] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 2–5.

C. Results and Discussion

According to Quintan Wictorowicz, Salafis can be classified into three; *'ilmi* (purist), *haraki* (politics), and *jihadi* (jihadist).[17] In Indonesia, the *'ilmi* variant can be found in Salafi groups that focus on education and *da'wah*. The *haraki* variant can be found in the Ihya al-Turats Foundation, and the *jihadi* variant can be found in the Laskar Jihad group.[18]

The four figures being the focus of this research are the purist category; the type of Salafi movement that is mostly free from political activity. They emphasize the movement on preaching (*da'wah*) of knowledge with the main goal of purification.[19] The purification carried out by the Salafi group does not only apply to issues of *usuli* such as in the creed (*syahadat*), but also to other issues including *fiqh*. For them, *fiqh* or Islamic law must be freed from various deviations from the texts of the Qur'an and hadith.[20]

1. The History of Salafism in Indonesia

The ideology of Salafism entered Indonesia in three waves. The first period, known as the infiltration period, began in the colonial era, starting from the early 19th century with the development of the ideology by the Padri movement in West Sumatra. Later, the rise of the national Islamic movement carried a spirit of religious purification, such as

[17] Quintan Wiktorowicz, "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 3 (2006): 208, https://doi.org/article https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004.

[18] See Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post New Order Indonesia* (New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2006); Oki Setiana Dewi and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Beragam Jalan Menjadi Salih: Model Dakwah Kelas Menengah Muslim Indonesia," *Bimas Islam* 12, no. 1 (2021): 1–32, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v14i1.325.

[19] Wahid, "Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," 3.

[20] Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Muslim Puritan: Genealogi Dan Ajaran Salafi* (Jakarta: Maktabah Darus Sunnah, 2017), 37.

Al-Irsyad, Muhammadiyah, and Persatuan Islam (Persis), as well as a call to enforce Islamic law, as championed by M. Natsir and Masyumi.[21]

The second period is the formation period, which began with the sending of students to study in the Middle East by the Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council (DDII), the establishment of LIPIA, and concluded with their return to Indonesia, where they founded various movements, including the Laskar Jihad movement. Later, Laskar Jihad was dissolved, and its proponents transitioned into the fields of scholarship, preaching (dakwah), and politics.[22]

The last period is the stabilization period, where Salafi leaders in Indonesia found stability through education and dawah activities, such as establishing various media outlets and Salafi educational institutions.

During the colonial era, the Salafi group was influenced by ideologies from Islamic scholarly centers in the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia. They adopted the understandings and methodologies developed by prominent scholars there. The pilgrimage (hajj) played a significant role in spreading Middle Eastern ideas to Indonesia at the time. An example is the Padri Movement, which emerged in Minangkabau in the 19th century. This group, led by Tuanku Nan Tuo from Koto Tuo Anggek Candung (1784–1803), was known for advocating a more conservative understanding of

[21] M. Dzikri Al Farabi, Hisyam Taufiq, and Gonda Yumitro, "Perkembangan Gerakan Keagamaan Dan Globalisasi Islam Salafi Di Indonesia," *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 6, no. 2 (2023): 104, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/politea.v6i2.4649; Oki Setiana Dewi, Ahmad Khoirul Fata, and Mahfudh Fauzi, "The Middle-Class Muslims' Responses Toward the Salafi Da'wah: A Study on Hijrah Celebrities," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 27, no. 3 (2024): 277–90, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.72138.

[22] Suhanah, "Jaringan Salafi Bogor," *Harmoni* 9, no. 36 (2010): 90; Imam Tholhah, "Gerakan Islam Salafiyah Di Indonesia," *Edukasi* 1, no. 3 (2003): 33, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v1i3.378.

Islam, emphasizing strict adherence to religious teachings, including worship, morality, and daily life practices.[23]

Salafi ideology also played a role during the Indonesian national movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Ahmad Surkati, founder of Al-Irsyad, was one of the national figures inspired by the Salafi purification movement. Similarly, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan and the Muhammadiyah movement were also influenced by this movement, though not fully aligned with Salafism. Dahlan was a reformist and Muhammadiyah is a modern organization with a salafi-reformist *(salafiyah tajdidiyah)* orientation.[24]

Another prominent figure was Ahmad Hassan, an advisor and ideological architect of the puritan Persis (Persatuan Islam) movement. Like the Salafi movement, he rejected all forms of religious innovation *(bid'ah)*, believing that perpetuating *bid'ah* would lead to stagnation in Islamic civilization. His students included national figures like Natsir, who later founded the Masyumi party. This party became one of the leading proponents of enforcing Islamic law for its adherents in Indonesia during the independence era.[25]

After Masyumi was dissolved by Soekarno, and during the New Order era that limited the activities of Islamic groups, former Masyumi leaders established DDII (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council) as a new platform. DDII focused on dakwah and social programs, such as sending preachers

[23] Suhanah, "Jaringan Salafi Bogor"; Tholhah, "Gerakan Islam Salafiyah Di Indonesia"; Oki Setiana Dewi and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Salafi Da'wah Among Hijra Celebrities," *Penamas* 36, no. 2 (2023): 180–98, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v36i2.711.

[24] Rifki Abror Ananda and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Sejarah Pembaruan Islam Di Indonesia," *Jawi* 2, no. 1 (2019): 19–40, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/jw.v2i1.4121.

[25] Dainori, "Kontroversi Pemikiran Hukum Ahmad Hassan Dalam Sejarah Pemikiran Hukum Islam Di Indonesia," *Kariman* 7, no. 1 (2019): 141–60, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.52185/kariman.v7i1.108; Pepen Irpan Fauzan, Ahmad Khoirul Fata, and Gun Gun Abdul Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis Atas Persatuan Islam," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 19, no. 2 (2020): 247–78.

to rural areas and engaging with students, the middle class, bureaucrats, and the military. In education, the institution also sent Indonesian students to the Middle East, many of whom later became Salafi preachers in Indonesia.[26]

The number of Salafi preachers in Indonesia increased with the establishment of LIPIA (Islamic and Arabic College) in Jakarta, founded by the Muslim World League (Rabithah Alam Islami). LIPIA is closely associated with the Salafi group and promotes the Salafi approach in teaching and research on Islamic studies and the Arabic language.[27] Many alumni from the Middle East and LIPIA vigorously preached the Salafi manhaj in Indonesia. Supported by substantial funding from the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia, they successfully established various Islamic educational foundations. The Maluku conflict in the early Indonesian reform era led to a division within the Indonesian Salafi movement. Those who joined Laskar Jihad became jihadi, those who were active in politics became haraki, while those focused on non-political dakwah activities became 'ilmi.[28] Some of the prominent 'ilmi Salafi figures include Abdul Hakim bin Amir Abdat, Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, Khalid Basalamah, and Syafiq Riza Basalamah.

[26] Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *Negara Pancasila Vis a Vis Negara Islam: Pemikiran Politik M Natsir Dan M Isa Anshary (1945-1960)* (Garut: STAIPI Garut Press, 2019); Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *Dari Masyumi Ke Dewan Dakwah: Transformasi Gerakan Dakwah-Politik Di Indonesia* (Garut: STAIPI Press, 2023); Safiin, "Gerakan Dakwah M. Natsir Lewat Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia [DDII]," *Sosio-Politica* 1, no. 2 (2012): 114–20.

[27] See Fauzan, *Dari Masyumi Ke Dewan Dakwah: Transformasi Gerakan Dakwah-Politik Di Indonesia*; Jajang Jahroni, "The Narratives of Islamic School Students: Contesting Salafism in a Saudi-Wahabi Educational Institutions in Contemporary Jakarta," *Ulumuna* 24, no. 1 (2020): 77–104, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v24i1.386.

[28] Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post New Order Indonesia*, 61; Din Wahid, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis: Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad* (Jakarta: Rumah Kitab, 2017).

2. The Construct of Indonesian Salafi's Fiqh

One of the main characteristics of Salafi is the idealization of the past. Based on one hadith stating that the best period is the period of the Prophet and his companions and *tabi'un (*the successors of the companions), the Salafi group then named them as *al-salaf al-salih* who are worthy of being emulated. The name Salafi was then interpreted as someone who follows the example of their predecessors. [29]

Unlike Al-Buti who states that Salaf is a historical phase full of blessings,[30] the Salafi group considers that Salaf is a *Manhaj,*a straight and clear way of life in religion as understood by the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. *Manhaj*, which in this case is different from *aqidah*,is applied in all aspects of Islam, concerning *aqidah*, worship, *mu'amalat*, and law. This is different from *aqidah* that only discusses matters of Islamic faith. [31]

The next characteristic of Salafi is the purification movement and the spirit of returning to the Quran and hadith. This purification, or usually called the puritan movement, emerged because the adherents strongly thought that they had to defend the historical continuity. They emphasize the originality of a particular idea, concept or teaching, so that it should not be contaminated by other influences such as the influence of western culture, corrupt attitudes, and symbols obtained from the local culture. Accordingly, they want to purify the Islamic teachings as per when Islam was first revealed. [32]

[29] Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, *Mulia Dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Jakarta: Pustaka at-Taqwa, 2012), 15.

[30] Muhammad Sa'id Ramadan al-Buti, *Al-Salafiyah: Marhalah Zamaniyah Mubarakah La Mazhab Islami* (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1990), 18.

[31] Jamal Ibn Furaihan, *Al-Ajwibah Al-Mufīdah 'an As'Ilati Manāhij Al-Jadīdah* (Dār al-Manhāj 1424) 24.

[32] Aysegul Baykan, "Perempuan Antara Fundamentalisme Dan Modernitas," in *Teori-*

The understanding of Islamic law practiced by the Salafi group in Indonesia is based on the school of thought (mazhab) of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal, further developed by Ibn Taymiyya, and advocated by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahab until it finally spread throughout the world. Although the Salafis firmly stated that they did not want to form a school of thought, there are many methodologies or fatwas in the field of *fiqh* from these three figures that the group have been using as a guide. [33]

In understanding the Quran, the Salafi group tends to adopt a textualist approach, which refers to a strong emphasis on the literal text of the Quran and an attempt to understand and apply its verses literally. This understanding is based on the belief that the Quran is the perfect word of God, therefore, does not require additional interpretation. [34]

According to the group, Islamic law must always be subject to the text. This is the reason why they are often referred to as a literalist group. Besides, the hadith and opinions of the Prophet Muhammad's companions have a central role. In addition, the Salafi group is also diligent in classifying hadith with the principle of prioritizing hadiths that have a trusted chain of transmitters and paying attention to the circumstances and characteristics of the narrators. They rely on scientific studies to test the authenticity of hadiths and use scientific methods such as the science of hadith, the science of the chain of transmitters, and the science of hadith texts to critically assess hadiths.[35] Even in many examples

Teori Sosiologi Modernitas Posmodernitas, ed. Bryan Turner (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 229–32.

[33] Muhammad Sa'id Ramadan al-Buti, *Al-Salafiyah: Marhalah Zamaniyah Mubarakah La Mazhab Islami*, 108.

[34] Asriaty, "Tekstualisme Pemikiran Hukum Islam (Sebuah Kritik)," *Mazahib: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 11, no. 1 (2013), https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v11i1.112; Dewi and Fata, "Salafi Da'wah Among Hijra Celebrities."

[35] MA Al-Atawneh, *Wahabbī Islam Facing the Challenges of Modernity; Dār Al-Ifta> in*

they prefer hadiths even though their level is weak compared to using *qiyas* - the process of deductive analogy in which the teachings of the hadith are compared and contrasted with those of the Quran, in order to apply a known injunction (*Nass*) to a new circumstance and create a new injunction.[36]

Some Salafi groups have a more skeptical approach to the concept of consensus of the Islamic community on a point of Islamic law (*ijma'*). They may doubt the validity of *ijma'* claimed by some scholars. They also require strong and clear evidence to accept the existence of *ijma'* in a legal matter. They tend to prioritize the Quran and hadith as the main sources in legal decision-making. An example was shown by Ibn Taymiyyah to criticize *ijma'* that had been agreed upon by previous scholars.[37] He also criticized the concept of *ijma' sukuti* as in the case of decision made by Caliph Umar ibn Khattab which was ignored by other companions.[38] For Salafis, the authority of *ijma'* is limited to the scholars of the salaf or the early generation of Muslims that they considered to have the most authentic and reliable understanding of Islamic teachings. Accordingly, *ijma'* that occurred after the salaf generation should be treated with skepticism or even needing further analysis. [39]

Salafi groups are more skeptical by considering *qiya*s as a more controversial or less preferred method, and are more careful in applying it. They consider *qiyas* as a method

the Modern Saudi State (Brill 2000) 77.

[36] Marzuki, "Ahmad Ibn Hanbal: Pemikiran Fikih Dan Ushul Fikihnya," *Jurnal Hunafa* 2, no. 2 (2005): 107, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v2i2.303.107-118.

[37] Muhammad Syaikhon, "Pemikiran Hukum Islam Ibn Taimiyah," *Jurnal Lisan Al-Hal* 7, no. 2 (2015): 339, https://doi.org/10.35316/lisanalhal.v9i2.95.

[38] Mohammad Atho Mudzhar, *Membaca Gelombang Ijtihad: Antara Tradisi Dan Liberasi* (Jakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 1998), 84.

[39] Henri Lauziere, *The Making of Salafism: Islamic Reform in The Twentieth Century* (Washington: Columbia University Press, 2016), 29.

that is more often used in the context of *fiqh* than in the clearly established sharia law. Even Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal was more inclined to use *hadith mursal* (the terminology relating to the authenticity of a hadith, which means that the narrator between the successor and the Prophet Muhammad is omitted from a given chain of transmitter) or *da'if* rather than using *qiyas*.[40]

In addition to using the four main sources of law that have been agreed upon by all scholars, the Salafi group often uses some principles of *al-mukhtalaf fih,* which are controversial and not used by some scholars. First, *al-maslahah al-mursalah* which is used to address the issue of *al-siyasah al-syar'iyah* such as increasing the punishment for someone who drinks alcohol during the day in the month of Ramadan, as well as the sunnah for homeowners to give permission for homeless people to stay in their homes. Abu Zahrah said that basically *al-maslahah al-mursalah* is a chapter on *qiyas* that has been expanded in meaning for the purpose of public interest.[41]

Second, *istihsan*, which is used by turning from *qiyas jali* (clear) to *qiyas khafi* (vague) but is strengthened by certain conditions such as emergencies. Third, *al-zari'ah*, which means intermediary. It denoted that when the sharia recommends doing something, it also recommends doing something that leads to it (the intermediary) and vice versa. Fourth, *istishab* states that the existing situation remains/ does not change, unless there is clear evidence showing changes. *Istishab* is used where there is previous legal certainty and there is no clear evidence or indication of

[40] Ihsan Nul Hakim, "Pemikiran Ushul Fiqih Ibnu Qudamah: Kajian Atas Beberapa Masalah Fiqih Dalam Kitab Al-Kafi Fi Fiqh Al-Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal," *Al-Istinbath* 1, no. 1 (2016): 82, https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v1i1.76.

[41] Muhammad Abu Zahrah, *Tarīḥ Al-Mazāhib Al-Islāmī Fī Al-Siyāsah Wa Al-'Aqīdah Wa Tarīḥ Al-Mazāhib Al-Fiqhiyyah* (Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī) 17.

the change. The last method commonly used is *maqasid al-syari'ah* that emphasizes the importance of understanding the true meaning and purpose behind religious commands. It emphasizes that Islamic laws are not merely formal regulations, but have deeper moral and spiritual purposes that are important to pay attention to. [42]

3. The Indonesian Salafi Responses to Contemporary Issues

The Salafi stance on the use of technology can vary depending on the context and impact of that technology. Generally, Salafi scholars recognize and accept advancements in science and technology as positive, as long as their use aligns with Islamic principles and does not violate Sharia law. They view technology as a tool that can be used for the good of humanity and to facilitate the practice of worship. For example, the use of technology in communication, transportation, healthcare, and other areas can help improve the quality of life.

However, Salafi scholars also emphasize the importance of ensuring that the use of technology is in accordance with Islamic values and principles. They encourage Muslims to consider the social, moral, and ethical impacts of the technologies they use. If a technology brings negative consequences, such as causing environmental damage, inciting immorality, or violating religious norms, they prohibit its use.

Furthermore, regarding the use of digital technology and social media, Salafi scholars stress the importance of

[42] Rizal Darwis, "Pemikiran Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyah Terhadap Paradigma Perubahan Hukum," *Adzkiya* 5, no. 1 (2017): 71, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.32332/adzkiya.v5i1.1006.

maintaining etiquette and ethics when interacting online. They encourage avoiding slander, gossip (ghibah), spreading false news (hoaxes), and other negative behaviors that contradict Islamic teachings. Overall, Salafi scholars tend to accept and support the use of technology that aligns with Islamic values and does not violate Sharia law. They emphasize the importance of maintaining good manners, ethics, and positive impacts in the use of technology, while steering clear of negative effects that may contravene religious teachings.[43]

a) Virtual Da'wah

Da'wah through virtual media such as videos is one form of utilizing technology to convey religious messages. Although some consider it *haram* (forbidden), Salafi scholars generally recognize the potential and benefits of video media as a means to disseminate Islamic teachings to a broader audience. They view da'wah as an important duty in Islam to convey the message of truth to humanity. If the use of video media can expand the reach of da'wah and help deliver messages effectively, then it is deemed acceptable. However, in conducting da'wah through video, Salafi scholars emphasize the importance of adhering to Islamic principles. [44]

Salafi scholars stress that when engaging in da'wah through video, several factors must be

[43] Ayang Utriza Yakin, "Salafi Dakwah and The Disemination of Islamic Purification: A Case Study of the Radio of Rodja," *Ulumuna* 22, no. 2 (2018): 221, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i2.335.

[44] See Dewi and Fata, "Salafi Da'wah Among Hijra Celebrities"; Khalid Basalamah, "Memanfaatkan Media Sosial Untuk Menuntut Ilmu & Berdakwah," Khalid Basalamah Official, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Io8UrsE3F7k; Firanda Andirja, "Hukum Foto Dan Video," Tanya Jawab Islam, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=73X5C4pRX10.

considered, including: First, consistency with religious teachings. This means that da'wah videos should align with authentic Islamic teachings and not deviate from religious values; Second, caution in appearance, meaning Salafi scholars emphasize the need to maintain modesty and present oneself appropriately, displaying good behavior in da'wah videos; Third, the content of da'wah videos must be of high quality, informative, educational, and able to convey religious messages clearly and concisely. In delivering da'wah, Salafi scholars highlight the importance of maintaining ethics, decorum, and avoiding provocative or divisive tones or content. Last, attention must be paid to Sharia law, ensuring that the production, distribution, and use of da'wah videos do not violate Sharia principles, including copyright, privacy, and the prohibition of using music or images that contravene Islamic regulations. [45]

Salafi scholars stress that preaching through videos should consider several factors; First, the consistency with religious teachings. This means that the content of the preaching video must align with authentic Islamic teachings and not deviate from religious values; Second, caution in appearance, meaning that Salafi scholars highlight the need to maintain modesty and present oneself appropriately, demonstrating good behavior in the preaching video; Third, it should also be noted that the content of the

[45] Khalid Basalamah, "Hukum Video Mutlak Haram ??," Deen Assalam, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TIS-ZsDLUaQ; Andirja, "Hukum Foto Dan Video"; Basalamah, "Memanfaatkan Media Sosial Untuk Menuntut Ilmu & Berdakwah"; Syafiq Riza Basalamah, "Adab Bermedia Sosial," Yufid TV, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0wFgDg4FPn0; Syafiq Riza Basalamah, "Ketahuilah Adab Bermedia Sosial," Video Sunnah Official, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKPTwySAc-0.

preaching video must be of high quality, informative, educational, and capable of conveying the religious message clearly and straightforwardly. In delivering preaching, Salafi scholars emphasize the importance of maintaining ethics, politeness, and avoiding provocative tones or content that may lead to division. Lastly, attention must be paid to Sharia law, ensuring that the techniques for producing, distributing, and using preaching videos do not violate Sharia principles, including copyright, privacy, and prohibitions against using music or images that contradict Islamic regulations.[46]

The issues surrounding preaching through visual media, whether videos or television broadcast, stem from the understanding of a hadith that states that angels will not enter a house containing images. Scholars then reached a consensus (ijma') that the images deemed haram are those that meet five criteria: they must be images of humans or animals (living creatures), they cannot be images that prevent the subject from being alive, such as half-body images, they must not be in a revered place, they must cast shadows in the eye's view, and they must not be exclusively intended for girls' toys.[47] This contrasts with the opinion of Shaykh al-Sha'rawi, who does not see any issue with placing images in a house because for him, the prohibition lies in venerating or glorifying the image.[48]

[46] Basalamah, "Hukum Video Mutlak Haram ??"; Andirja, "Hukum Foto Dan Video"; Basalamah, "Memanfaatkan Media Sosial Untuk Menuntut Ilmu & Berdakwah"; Basalamah, "Adab Bermedia Sosial"; Basalamah, "Ketahuilah Adab Bermedia Sosial."

[47] Sayyid Alawi al-Maliki al-Hasani, *Majmu' Fatawa wa al-Rasail* (Kairo: Da>r al-Kutub al-Islamiyyah, 2010), h. 213

[48] Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, *Mawsuah Fatawa Al-Sha'rawi* (Cairo: Da>r al-Kutub al-Isla>miyah, 2009), 591.

This hadith has also caused distress for Ibn Baz, who explicitly prohibited photography and videography. He was also reluctant to appear on television or record videos as it would result in a visual representation of himself. He was concerned about the issues surrounding videos, TV broadcasts, and cinema (films), which he believed were becoming increasingly dangerous.[49] However, he ultimately suggested that if the video holds benefits, it is permissible to produce, broadcast, and disseminate it. Especially for videos containing academic seminars or lectures, it is permissible to spread them for their benefits to increase. Provided that the videos do not contain anything that violates Sharia rules.[50]

According to us researchers, the decision made by Ibn Baz in this instance is somewhat different from the norm because he considers the issue of maslahat (public interest). As is commonly known, the Salafi group does not take maslahah mursalah into account when determining a ruling. They strictly adhere to the texts of the Quran and hadith. In this case, there is a clear hadith that prohibits making images, but that hadith can be disregarded due to considerations of *maslahat* (loss).

b) Immunization and Vaccination

The Salafi opinion on immunization and vaccination can vary depending on the views of

[49] Syaikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, "Fatwa Terkait Hukum Gambar," @hukumgambar, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5PYLL42DK34.

[50] Syaikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz, "Berdakwah Dengan Video," Shahih Fiqih, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=phrJ_fhyOiQ.

individual Salafi scholars. Generally, scholars and Islamic organizations support vaccination as a means to maintain health and prevent the spread of diseases. The majority of Salafi figures in Indonesia also agree with this viewpoint. In one of his studies, Syafiq Riza Basalamah outlined the reasons supporting this position, those are: [51]

First, the principle of health and safety. In Islam, preserving the health and safety of oneself and the community is considered a priority. Vaccination can help protect individuals and communities from diseases that could cause harm to health. Second, the principle of preventing the spread of disease, where Islam encourages efforts to prevent the spread of diseases that may endanger the public. Through vaccination, an individual can prevent the transmission of diseases to others, particularly vulnerable groups such as children, the elderly, and individuals with weakened immune systems. The concept of maslahat (public interest) also serves as a consideration in addressing this issue, where Islamic law prioritizes the common good and welfare of society. In this regard, vaccination is viewed as a beneficial effort for both individuals and the community as a whole.

In addition to these two reasons, Salafi groups also emphasize the importance of obedience to *ulil amri* (authorities) or the government, which has initiated immunization and vaccination programs. For them, government regulations stating that vaccination is mandatory could result in sin for community members

[51] Syafiq Riza Basalamah, "Pro Vaksin Atau Anti Vaksin?," Syafiq Riza Basalamah Official, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-DXPVS1-aE.

who do not fulfill this obligation. [52] Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal applies the principles of istihalah, istihlak, and darurah to permit vaccination. [53]

Next, in response to concerns that vaccines may be derived from swine extracts or other impure substances, Salafi scholars in Indonesia continue to permit vaccination, even if it comes from pig enzymes or components of other impure materials. The arguments used in this context are the same as those applied to permit vaccination; istihlal, istihlak, and darurah. Istihlal refers to the transformation of an impure substance that is haram into something halal, such as alcoholic beverages that naturally become vinegar. Istihlak is the dissolution of the criteria of a substance that was originally impure, subsequently becoming pure due to a change in condition, such as a small amount of impure water collected to reach 2 qullah, which could change its status to pure if there are no indications of impurity within it (no odor, taste, or appearance of impurity). Finally, the principle that conditions of emergency can render something haram permissible. [54]

Using these three principles, Salafi scholars conclude that even if the vaccine or immunization is derived from impure substances, it remains permissible to use it given the emergency conditions that necessitate such measures, such as outbreaks of dangerous diseases or others.

[52] See "Ustadz Khalid Basalamah Ikut Vaksin," Khalid Basalamah Official, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3CMtMZjp5E.

[53] Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Kaidah Fikih Memahami Hukum Vaksinasi," rumaysho.com, 2013, https://rumaysho.com/3541-kaedah-fikih-memahami-hukum-vaksinasi.html.

[54] Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Hukum Vaksinasi Dari Enzim Babi," rumaysho.com, 2011.

c) e-Commerce Transactions and the Muamalah of the Dropshipping System

Salafi scholars view e-commerce transactions based on general Sharia principles in business and trade. They emphasize the importance of fairness, honesty, and adherence to Islamic principles in every transaction, including e-commerce. [55] One key rule in online transactions is the prohibition of *gharar* (deception). Khalid Basalamah clearly states that *gharar*, lying, or cheating is prohibited in both online and conventional transactions. He warns online sellers to avoid any haram methods in online transactions. [56]

Regarding dropshipping, Salafi scholars are hesitant to declare this type of contract halal because there is a clear prohibition in hadith against selling items that one does not own. [57] Dropshipping refers to a sales method in which the retailer does not own the products but simply forwards the buyer's order to the actual supplier. The supplier is often an official store or another marketplace. For example, a retailer might open a shop on Lazada, but when an order is placed, the retailer forwards the order to Tokopedia, where there is a price difference or a free shipping promotion. The retailer only provides product descriptions and images for the sale.

[55] Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Hukum Jual Beli Online Dan Penjelasan Rincinya," rumaysho.com, 2020; Syafiq Riza Basalamah, "Hukum Jual Beli Online," Media Dakwah, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kytCdClXuIU; Muhammad Arifin Badri, "Bincang Santai: Hukum Toko Online (Jual Beli Online)," Yufid TV, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TDBsrCAhA0.

[56] Khalid Basalamah, "Hukum Jual Beli Online," Inspirasi Akhirat, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVujx1pBJIg.

[57] Tuasikal, "Hukum Jual Beli Online Dan Penjelasan Rincinya"; Badri, "Bincang Santai: Hukum Toko Online (Jual Beli Online)"; Basalamah, "Hukum Jual Beli Online."

Salafi scholars struggle to classify this contract under traditional muamalah contracts as explained by classical Salafi scholars. When attempting to categorize dropshipping as *samsarah* (brokerage), it does not fit, because *samsarah* requires that the selling price be agreed upon between the buyer and seller, and the broker receives a commission. In dropshipping, the dropshipper sets the price and earns not a commission but the difference between the supplier's price and the price set by the dropshipper, or through promotional deals such as free shipping. [58]

Another possibility is categorizing it as a *salam* contract (pre-order). A *salam* contract is one in which the buyer places an order with specific product details, and the seller agrees to deliver the goods within a specified time frame. However, in a *salam* contract, payment must be made in advance in full. Therefore, dropshipping could be valid if paid in full upfront but not if using cash on delivery (COD) or payment upon receipt. There is also the suggestion that dropshipping could be categorized as a *wakalah* (agency) contract or a *murabaha* (cost-plus sale) contract, where the profit is mutually agreed upon by the seller and buyer. However, several criteria still do not align perfectly with these contracts.[59]

Given that Salafi scholars are committed to the purification of Islam, drawing directly from the Qur'an and hadith, they tend to rule that dropshipping is impermissible because of the hadith prohibiting the sale of items not yet owned by the seller. Khalid

[58] Tuasikal, "Hukum Jual Beli Online Dan Penjelasan Rincinya"; Badri, "Bincang Santai: Hukum Toko Online (Jual Beli Online)."

[59] Ṣāliḥ Al-Fawzan, *Al-Mulakhaṣ Al-Fiqh* (al-Dār al-'Alamiyyah 2010) 238.

Basalamah strictly and unequivocally deems dropshipping haram, as it involves *gharar* (deception).

d) Cryptocurrency

A Salafi preacher named Ammi Nur Baits explained that cryptocurrency cannot be considered money because it does not meet the three conditions: relatively stable value, the ability to store wealth, and the ability to be used in buying and selling transactions. Of these three conditions, cryptocurrency only fulfills the second, while the first and third are not met. Additionally, cryptocurrency cannot be considered an investment instrument because there is no physical asset or underlying value. Therefore, Baits likens cryptocurrency to gambling and considers it haram. [60]

e) Virtual Worship

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government implemented restrictions on gatherings and promoted physical distancing to curb the spread of the virus. This led to the idea of conducting virtual Jumat (Friday) prayers and Tarawih in congregation, proposed by Rolan Gunawan (Deputy Chair of LBM PWNU DKI Jakarta) and Usman Hamid (Director of Amnesty International Indonesia). [61]

In response it, Salafi scholars stated that conducting congregational prayers via media such as

[60] Ammi Nur Baits, "Hukum Cryptocurrency," Surabaya Mengaji, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C34Umf7hBr8.

[61] Nurhadi Sucahyo, "Salat Jumat Virtual: Berjamaah Tanpa Berkerumun," VOA Indonesia, 2021, https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/salat-jumat-virtual-berjamaah-tanpa-berkerumun/5925156.html.

TV, radio, or livestreaming is not permissible because there must be a physical connection between the imam and the congregation. Regarding this matter, Sheikh Uthaymeen said: "It is not permissible for someone to follow an imam through TV or radio because congregational prayer requires *ittiba'* (following), which means the imam and the congregation must be in the same place." Ibn Baz also stated: "As for congregational prayer, following an imam whose voice is heard through TV or radio or who is seen on TV cannot be validly followed." [62]

Nur Baits explained that in cases of illness or a pandemic, concessions (*rukhṣah*) are granted, allowing people to forgo Friday prayers or congregational prayers in the mosque. [63] Regarding the hadith that states a person who misses three consecutive Friday prayers will have their heart sealed by Allah, Baits clarified that this only applies to those who do not have a valid *shar'i* excuse. [64]

This opinion is echoed by other Salafi scholars, including Firanda Andirja,[65] Syafiq Riza Basalamah,[66] Abduh Tuasikal, [67] and Abdul Hakim bin Amir Abdat.[68]

[62] Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah bin Baz, '*Ḥukm Al-Ṣalāt Khalfa Al-Tilfāz Aw Miḍyā''* (*binbaz.org.sa*) <https://binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/7949/>.

[63] Ammi Nur Baits, "Hukum Shalat Berjamaah Ketika Pandemi," anb channel, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKOT7T7j_9w&t=28s.

[64] Ammi Nur Baits, "Hukum Tiga Kali Tidak Shalat Jumat Karena Pandemi," anb channel, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlPROpZNkIQ&t=19s.

[65] Firanda Andirja, "Tidak Shalat Jumat Dan Shalat Berjamaah Dimasjid Karena Virus Corona," Media Islam Network, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ULC0P7VigCE.

[66] Syafiq Riza Basalamah, "Bolehkah Tidak Sholat Berjamaah Karena Virus Corona?," SAP Channel, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2QMRxGrVpHA.

[67] Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Uzur Tidak Menghadiri Shalat Berjamaah Di Masjid," rumaysho.com, 2021, https://rumaysho.com/26682-uzur-tidak-menghadiri-shalat-berjamaah-di-masjid.html; Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Hukum Shalat Berjamaah Ke Masjid Di Masa 'New Normal', Apakah Harus?," rumaysho.com, 2021, https://rumaysho.com/24691-hukum-shalat-berjamaah-ke-masjid-di-masa-new-normal-apakah-harus.html.

[68] Abdul Hakim bin Amir Abdat, "Hukum Shalat Berjama'ah Dan Jum'ah Saat

According to Tuasikal, the COVID-19 pandemic is considered an emergency situation that permits Muslims not to perform Friday prayers. The principle of "avoiding harm takes precedence over obtaining benefits" is applied here.[69] When the pandemic subsides and the government implements a "new normal," Tuasikal allows Friday prayers under the following conditions:

1) Health protocols must be followed, including maintaining physical distance, and mosque officials should provide additional space for the congregation, such as in the mosque hall or courtyard, to avoid crowding inside the mosque.
2) If this is not possible, Friday prayers can be performed in shifts in one mosque. This option should only be implemented if the mosque officials are truly unable to provide additional space.[70]

However, for those who remain concerned about the pandemic, it is permissible for them not to perform Friday prayers.[71]

D. Conclusion

Although often portrayed as a puritanical group emphasizing strict textual adherence to the Qur'an and Hadith, the Salafi movement in Indonesia is not as rigid or exclusive as commonly

Pandemi," Institut Tazkiyatun Nufus, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pPvZKSC-t6k.

[69] Tuasikal, "Uzur Tidak Menghadiri Shalat Berjamaah Di Masjid."

[70] Tuasikal, "Hukum Shalat Berjamaah Ke Masjid Di Masa 'New Normal', Apakah Harus?"

[71] Tuasikal.

assumed. The preceding discussion illustrates that Indonesian Salafis demonstrate a considerable degree of responsiveness to societal developments and contemporary challenges. Rather than existing in isolation from social realities, they actively engage with them. This engagement reflects a position of non-alienation from broader societal dynamics and can be seen in their interpretations and stances, many of which align with the fatwas of mainstream Indonesian scholars.

Viewed through the perspective of Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, these Salafi actors are not merely passive recipients of religious textual structures or external modern pressures. Instead, they act as agents who possess the capacity to interpret, negotiate, and reconstruct their religious understanding in light of contemporary contexts. Their agency is evident in the way they selectively appropriate elements of modernity—such as science, technology, and legal reasoning (e.g., *maslahah, mafsadah, darurat*)—without departing from the core textual frameworks *(nass)* that define Salafi orthodoxy.

This dynamic interplay between structure and agency allows the Indonesian Salafi movement to remain adaptable within a changing sociocultural landscape. While they maintain doctrinal fidelity, they also exhibit a flexible legal methodology that enables them to respond to modern issues with a balance of textual loyalty and pragmatic reasoning. This confirms that the Salafi group in Indonesia operates not as a static entity, but as an active agent negotiating its place within modern Muslim society.

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