

Acomodative Infiltrative Educational Culture of Transnational *Salafi* on Zād Al-Ma'ād Pesantren in Palembang Indonesia

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Abstract

This research aimed to understand the characteristics of the pesantren's culture, which is based on transnational culture. This study utilized a mixed-methods approach, including interviews with pesantren leaders and students and participant observations within the pesantren community. The findings revealed that transnational culture within pesantren is influenced by global Islamic discourses and practices while maintaining traditional Indonesian cultural elements. Understanding these characteristics is crucial for policymakers and educators to address the evolving landscape of Islamic education in Indonesia. Further research is needed to explore the impact of transnational culture on the development of pesantren in the future. The *Salafi's* Islamic Boarding School, Zād al-Ma'ād, was chosen as the research site for that purpose. The approach employed in this research is cultural anthropology with data collection tools in documentation studies, observations, and interviews. The findings emphasize the adaptability of Salafi pesantren to local customs and traditions, showcasing a unique blend of global ideology and local practices that contribute to the movement's continued success in Indonesia. Based on qualitative analysis, the boarding school is also an agent of Islamic preaching in spreading *Salafi's* understanding and a center for the cadre of *Salafi's* preachers from a young age. The *Salafi's* network can use its program to organize various international programs.

Keywords

Culture; *Pesantren*; *Salafi*; Transnational

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1. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia has experienced rapid development (Arjiarna et al., 2021), with diverse sciences, learning systems, and distinctive educational cultures (Syafrawi, 2018), such as traditional pesantren, modern pesantren, Tahfiz pesantren, tarekat pesantren, and other pesantrens (Angriani, 2019). Each of these Pesantrens highlights the characteristics of their individual Pesantren and the rise of "salafi" trans-national Pesantren in Indonesia, particularly in Palembang. The researchers aim to uncover the cultural and philosophical aspects of the Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren, emphasizing its significance in a broader context by examining its rapid expansion. A system



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of knowledge, order or law, attire, language, student behavior, and the value system used in Pesantren are all examples of culture in this context (Fikri et al., 2021).

The Pesantrenis are viewed anthropologically as a unique cultural manifestation that is shaped by the primary person and supported by existing social structures and organizations (Huda & Khozi, 2021). This institution will also serve as a center for the preservation and development of culture, which is held to be a source of truth and goodness (Atmaja, 2020). To preserve and develop culture, aspects of culture are very much a concern and orientation of subsequent social movements (Darmawan et al., 2019). To preserve this culture, it is necessary to pay attention to the existing network (Suharto, 2018a), including the patterns of relations between 'outside society' and 'inside society' of Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren. This indicates the unique excellence of Pesantren positions within the broader context of the 'Trans-national Salafi society' (Salaebing, 2019). On the other hand, the Zād al-Ma'ād Islamic Pesantren is seen as a 'local Salafi community' in the context of its identity (Kurzman & Ernst, n.d.), Pesantrenis was seen as having its authority in determining the direction of its movement and cultural change, including efforts to accommodate the existing local culture (BAŞMISIRLI, 2017).

Many experts from both inside and outside of the country have researched *Pesantren*. Research on Pesantren has been conducted by various experts, including Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1980), Manfred Ziemek (1983), Nurcholish Madjid (1997), Mastuhu (1994), Munir (1999), Budi Sulistiyono et al. (2007), Zulkifli (1999), Munir (2011), and Nyayu Khadijah (2017). These studies provide insights into the historical and social significance of Pesantren, their role as an Islamic educational institution, and their impact on social change. Nurcholish Madjid's book, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, analyzes the challenges faced by Pesantren, such as the need to reformulate goals, value systems, and social patterns. Mastuhu's dissertation, "The Dynamics of Pesantren Education System," suggests that Pesantrens must improve themselves to reorganize the education system. Munir's thesis, "Pesantren's Education Curriculum," focuses on the curriculum's interaction with the supportive community. The Pesantren constantly interacts with the community through alumni empowerment, ensuring the community's support is controlled by the Pesantren and monitored through its alumni. Zulkifli's study on traditional Islamic traditions in Palembang highlights the continuity and change in these traditions. Munir's research on the Yasiniyah method and its implications on learners/santri's behavior reveals the unique characteristics of the Madrasat-Pesantren culture, rooted in Javanese and Sumatran cultural roots. No comprehensive study has been conducted on the "Salafi" Pesantren culture in Palembang City, rooted in transnational influences. This research holds significance as it unveils the emergence of "Salafi" Pesantrens in Palembang City, representing a new educational trend with roots in Middle Eastern traditions.

2. METHODS

A cultural anthropological method was employed in this research. The research subjects, totaling 40 informants, were selected based on their roles within the foundation, Pesantren, and related areas in Palembang. These included the founders, leaders, students, teaching staff, education staff, dormitory supervisor, school/madrasa principal, kitchen administrator, security officer of Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren, as well as parents/guardians of students, and those responsible for dormitory/cottage management. Data collection involved a combination of written documentation, direct observations, and structured interviews. The primary methods to gather information were written records, on-site observations, and in-depth interviews. A rigorous and comprehensive data analysis approach was implemented from the outset of data collection in the field. This involves organizing, coding, and holistically interpreting the data to identify patterns and themes. The data analysis process also included cross-referencing information from different sources to ensure accuracy and consistency in the findings. This thorough analysis uncovered key insights and trends, shedding light on the various aspects of life at Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren. The findings from the data analysis were instrumental in informing recommendations for

improvements and enhancements in the educational and living environment of the institution. Overall, the rigorous data analysis process served as a valuable tool in understanding the dynamics and challenges faced by the community at Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren.

The holistic qualitative analysis encompassed condensing data, presenting key findings, and validating the results through triangulation and member checking. This iterative process ensured the reliability and validity of the analysis. The recommendations were comprehensive and well-rounded by incorporating feedback from various stakeholders and ensuring that all perspectives were considered. The data-driven approach also helped identify areas of strength that could be further leveraged to create a more supportive and enriching environment for all community members. Moving forward, the institution can use the insights gained from this analysis to implement targeted interventions and initiatives that will ultimately contribute to the overall success and well-being of the Pesantren community.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Cultural Characteristics of the Trans-national Pesantren Ma'had Zād al-Ma'ād, Palembang

The culture of the Ma'had Zād al-Ma'ād Trans-national Islamic *Pesantren* has a complexity that contains elements of culture proposed by L. Cronk (1999), namely the system of knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and all other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Abdulla, 2018). The legal order applied in *pesantren* is a system of norms or rules, also known as customs, as expressed by Philip Mayer, namely *kindship or domestic institutions* (Mayer, 2013). The change in culture, i.e., from Middle Eastern culture to a characteristic of *pesantren* culture, is due to human nature that develops life, encouraging the culture that surrounds it to change as well as stated by Julian Haynes Steward in his theory, "*Theory of Culture Change*." (Steward, 1972).

The Pesantren's curriculum system combines two types of knowledge: non-religious sciences (human knowledge) and Islamic religious sciences (revealed knowledge). Non-religious sciences included civic education, Indonesian language, mathematics, natural sciences, and arts & culture, as defined by the Minister of Religion Affairs's regulation number 13 of 2014 in article 28, paragraphs 1 and 2. The Islamic religious sciences in this *Pesantren* include themes in line with the Minister of Religion Affairs's rule number 13 of 2014 and subjects by *Salafi's* curriculum. The Qur'ānic sciences, *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīṭ*, *Tawḥīd*, *Fiqh*, Ethic, Islamic History, and Arabic are among the subjects covered by PMA number 13 of 2014. *Manhaj*, *farā'id*, and *da'wah* have been added to this *Pesantren* unit.

The rules or legislations governing this Pesantren are written down as law articles. The regulations and disciplines of the student (*Santri*) have six chapters. Santri guidelines are for students' daily activities. Four items are included in Chapter III, which covers the details of various rules. There are two articles in Chapter IV about violations and kinds of violations. Chapter V has four topics on punishment, forms, and criteria for punishment. In conclusion, Chapter VI has one article (Document of Zaadul Ma'ad Pesantren 2021). The students follow the regulations or laws, and their behavior includes greeting students, teachers, guests, staff, and the community around the boarding school. They are kind, polite, and respectful toward both pesantren residents and people outside. Student's greetings, which include the words *aḥī* for males and *uḥī* for females (observation on September 18, 2021). This is meant as a way of honoring the elders and loving the younger. Kissing the hands of teachers or the senior *santri* is not required in *Pesantren* students' behavior (Akhiruddin, 2021). In wearing clothes, Pesantren has a distinct style controlled by the student's dress code. Female students must wear veils, socks, and gloves in public locations. At the same time, male students are demanded to wear non-Islamic pants, materials, and robes that are *isbal* (not longer than the ankles) in *santri* activities, both inside and outside of the classroom (documentation and observation on September 18, 2021).

The *pesantren's* residents use Indonesian as a medium of instruction in the learning process, both

in non-religious and Islamic religious sciences. (A. Fitriansyah, personal communication, 14 September 2021). The *pesantren*'s learning activities, athletics, arts, and recreational activities have a special character. Educators in this *Pesantren* participate in solitary, group, and *murāja'at* (repeating rote) learning exercises. This *pesantren* also has a unique character in the selection process for new student admission, i.e., interviewing prospective students and their parents. Among the sports activities of *santri* in this *pesantren* are archery, swimming, and football. *Haṭṭ*, *Ṭilāwaṭ al-Qur'ān*, and *Muḥāḍaraṭ* are some of the arts programs designed for the students. Computers for male and female students, culinary, sewing, and catering programs are among the extra-curricular activities offered at this *Pesantren* (I. Hajar, personal communication, 16 September 2021; *The Providing Social Services of Zād Al-Ma'ād Pesantren to the Community*, 2021).

The punishments that apply in this *Pesantren* have been altered to comply with applicable government legislation; nonetheless, punishments in the form of beatings as a form of Islamic religious teachings, such as beatings on the palms, continue to apply. *Pesantren*'s value system prioritizes punishment and honors or awards for students who excel. The type of achievement is varied, such as the ability to do work ahead of schedule. Students who memorize brief *āyāt* or verses of the al-Qur'ān can surpass their duties and receive rewards such as coaching money, books, or coaching from more experienced teachers/ *ustād*, vacation facilities, and so on (A. Dzar, personal communication, 7 September 2021). The purpose of cultural change is to maintain order among its members caused by the invention, diffusion, loss of cultural elements, and acculturation (Liebkind & Kosonen, 2020). In this case, acculturation does not occur in the *pesantren* culture of Ma'had Zād al-Ma'ād. Still, the change takes the form of an infiltrative- accommodative, accommodating the rules in the Regulation of the Minister of Religion and infiltrating the Salafi manhaj's content in the learning materials. Accommodative and infiltrative are the strategies of the Salafi as agents of preserving their traditions from their parent traditions to remote areas of the archipelago and change as coadaptation in maintaining their existence in society. The role is basically a form of the function of the agent of continuity and change, as proposed by Fram & Weiler (Weiler & Lomotey, 2022; Weiler & Stanley, 2023).

The Cultural Philosophy of the Trans-national Salafi Pesantren, Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren, Palembang

The knowledge system at the *pesantren* is a truth based on the Qur'an and al-ḥadīṭ (A. Fitriansyah, personal communication, 14 September 2021). This is a common tradition in Salafi's tradition (Evstatiev, 2021; Poljarevic, 2016). The hallmark of the Trans-National "Salafi" *pesantren* is that it focuses more on educating students so that they have a good and straight understanding of Islam in all aspects, especially in matters of *aqidah*, worship, morals, and *manhaj* with standards according to Allah's and Prophet Muhammad orders and based on the understanding of the best generations. In the *pesantren*, education is also regarded as an important thing and fundamental to give education on the right '*aqīdat*, build strong beliefs, adhere to straight and worship according to the demands of the Prophet (pbuh) as well as *mu'āmalat* and socialize by Islamic religious law as taught by the Prophet (pbuh) and practiced by the companions and the pious of the early generation (*salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Students' behavior includes daily religious activities, social life, and towards themselves. The religious behavior of the students is the behavior of the students in carrying out worship activities, prayer activities, or fasting.

The social behavior of students is the behavior or actions of students in interacting with other people. During this research, the researchers got the students' hospitality in interacting, greeting, and shaking hands. The smiles they spread amongst each other seemed reassuring to each individual. Even though they believe that the Salafi is the most correct, the Salafi community still gives a good welcome to other communities; this is part of the image to get social affirmation. The clothes worn by the students of the *pesantren* have two meanings. First, clothes must cover the *nakedness* of both men and women. Second, the clothes that cover the nakedness do not resemble clothes worn by Jews (i.e., clothes that do not extend the ankles). Furthermore, the prescribed clothes are not supposed to be described as *zuhd* in a literal sense and appear "tattered" in contrast to what is appropriate. Meanwhile, women are strongly advised to wear clothes that cover their entire body with thick and dark materials, particularly black,

except when performing prayer, in which white clothes are suggested. The significance and substance of clothes are intended to actualize authentic Islamic teachings in terms of dressing. It shows that women's clothing is considered the most powerful symbol to confirm the Salafi identity, so there is no process of coadaptation to local culture (Sunesti et al., 2018).

The *pesantren* has certain words that have special meanings. When students welcome their teachers or education personnel, use the word '*ustād*.' When students use the words *aḥī* or *uḥtī* to welcome one another, it implies a respectful attitude. It is a greeting often used daily and conveys the value of respect. In general, there is a different greeting that the local students call. The greetings for male students are *mas*, *kang*, and *cak*, and the greetings for female students are *mba* and *neng* (Khotimah & Nurmahyati, 2020). The nature and purpose of *santri* activities in sports, arts, and extracurricular activities are carried out by the *santri* to increase their potential, founded on the principles of Salafi-style Islamic beliefs. Regarding applying Islamic values in sports, *santri* should not wear short pants for sports such as football; instead, pants that cover the *nakedness* must be worn. Sports are not activities that take up much time or are excessively timed. Hence, sports at this *pesantren* can be considered "Islamic."

The implementation of system values in the *Zād al-Ma'ād* is regarded as a kind of worship ('*Ibādāt*). This is because it was based on an intention to imitate and practice the Prophet's (pbuh) advice, which his companions practiced. *Tawḥīd* (belief system), *ṣarī'at* (religious law), and moral values are the value systems that are firmly held and maintained (ethics). These are sacred values with unique qualities, in line with *Salafi's* motto, "confirming *Tawḥīd* and spreading *sunnah*." (Abdullah & Mohamed Osman, 2018; Rajafi et al., 2020; Syamsir et al., 2021). In the framework of *Zād al-Ma'ād pesantren*, *tawḥīd's* truth values are to believe in Allah; there is no one like Him. All *Salafi followers must still have* this belief in their children and apply it in their daily lives. On the other hand, people who support the *Zād al-Ma'ād pesantren* are labeled as heretics if they follow other belief systems (Sinani, 2022; Tabroni, n.d.). Related to this value system, the *Salafis* must avoid heresy about the understanding of divinity (I. Hajar, personal communication, 16 September 2021). To ensure this, *Pesantren* only teaches selected *tawḥīd* books, which are written by *Salafi* scholars who are believed to have a straight understanding as taught by the Prophet (pbuh), his companions, and the pious early generation (*salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). The values of *tawḥīd* are *tawḥīd ulūhiyya*, *tawḥīd rubūbiyya* and, *tawḥīd asmā' and ṣifāt*. The *Salafi* believe that the Prophet (pbuh) gave an example in all areas of life; therefore, imitating him is worship. As a result, all daily practices ('*amaliyat*') should adhere to what the Prophet and his companions, as well as the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, have taught and exemplified, both in terms of charity and worship. All things that the Prophet does not teach, as well as his companions, are considered heresy (*bid'at*), even though such practices appear to be consistent with Islamic principles (Gazali et al., 2023; Hidayah et al., 2024). In different contexts, this becomes an obstacle to realizing a multicultural culture.

Salafi's da'wah is not only for non-Muslims but also for Muslims who are perceived to be stuck in heresy (*bid'at*). The *Salafis* indeed recognize that preaching to Muslims who are enslaved by heresy (*bid'at*) is more difficult, and therefore, they frequently face enormous obstacles from them. This might lead to "hostility" between the *Salafi* and other Muslim communities (Gazali et al., 2023). As a result, the *Salafi* must remain consistent and patient to succeed in their *da'wah*. Morality is an essential thing of Islam for the *Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren*. According to him, one of the apostolic duties of the Prophet Muhammad was to improve human character. According to the *Salafis*, moral perfection is an essential component of Islamic perfection. However, in reality, people's moral conditions, especially Muslims, are still far from the ideal state of morality desired by the Prophet. As a result, teaching, instilling, and preaching morals consistent with the Prophet's teachings and practiced by his companions, scholars, and *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* is an important aspect of the *salafi's da'wah*. To achieve this objective, all *Salafists* must follow the moral texts authored by *Salafi* intellectuals (Wagemakers, 2016).

The Cultural Urgency of the Salafi Pesantren of Zād al-Ma'ād in the Contemporary Islamic Context

The transnational Salafi *pesantren* serves as an agent for transmitting Salafi's teachings and values,

which were before centered in the Middle East and later spread to the entire world, including the Malay-Indonesian world. Although this pesantren is located in Palembang, its sustainability value is mostly influenced by the Middle East culture (Suharto, 2018b). The second role played by pesantren is as an agent of change. The *pesantren* have the responsibility and power to adjust to the ideals strongly held by its main tradition (*salafi wahabi*). Several components of culture have changed or at least served as a model of transnational cultural coadaptation with local and national cultures depending on specific considerations, allowing them to survive and exist in society. Adopting the Islamic national education system as an educational model implemented in this pesantren is one of the change tactics in accomadating trans-national *Salafi* Islamic culture (Naupal, 2019)

Regarding the cultural side of the *Pesantren*, it seeks to build a transnational cultural identity that includes knowledge systems, clothing, language, law & order, traditions, and value systems that are included as local culture in the Middle East to be part of the Indonesian local culture. Thus, there is a cultural exchange between local Indonesians and local Middle Eastern cultures which are global cultures, to be known to each other by people who previously had no cultural contact. This is a characteristic of modern salary groups. (Ali, 2019). Another technique used by the pesantren is to use advent technology such as radio, YouTube channels, and other social media to create a trans-national culture that can be used all over the world by anybody as the media for the community to accommodate or embrace *Salafi* culture, which is the main teaching of this society. Thus, Palembang's culture, formerly a local culture, has become part of the global culture through the effort of *Pesantren* of Zād al-Ma'ād. This is linked to the worldwide role of the *Salafi* network (Abdullah & Mohamed Osman, 2018).

Initially, the local community held As'ariyya' school in 'aqīda', Šafi'iyya' school in fiqh, and Ġazaliyya' in Sufism. With the presence of the *Salafi* community, specifically Wahabiyya' in 'aqīda', Hanbaliyya' in fiqh, and Usaiminiyya' in ethics, then the community's valuables and religious viewpoints expand and diversify. *Salafi* preachers, particularly preachers from Zād al-Ma'ād Pesantren, Palembang, were responsible for this shift. International events are frequently held in Palembang city. (Al Droushi, 2020). There is open engagement between the *Salafi* community and the local community, and even though it occurs in certain aspects, it is still linked to the global community. The constant interaction of society's elements has resulted in a reciprocity process in which *Salafi* and non-*Salafi* have mutual needs and profits. The emergence of *Salafi* education units, *Salafi* communication media, and *Salafi* proportion institutions, among other things, became crucial means for transformation. In larger societies, the *Salafi* group appears to play a part in numerous facets of social life that benefit themselves and the community (Faist, 2010).

Furthermore, the *da'wah* regeneration program aims to train *salafi* da'wah interpreters to fill religious events in mosques, prayer rooms, and other public gatherings throughout the community. They have also transformed various mosques in State-owned enterprises, regional-owned enterprises, and government buildings into hubs for promoting their beliefs to speed up the expansion of the *Salafi* Islamic heritage. The *pesantren* accommodates national policies to strengthen the existence of its transnational mission. The *Salafi* people have taken a role in various social institutions, including religious groups and institutions such as the 'ulamā' community, *da'wah* community, and other social communities. Meanwhile, Indonesian *salafis* began to create schools (*Sekolah Dasar* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.; *Sekolah Menengah Atas* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.; *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.; *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.), *madrasa's* (*Madrasah Aliyah* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.; *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.; *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.), *pesantren* (*Pondok Pesantren* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.), and universities affiliated with formal and non-formal educational institutions that were governed by the community and affiliated with the government by national policy (*Perguruan Tinggi* | *SekolahSunnah.Com*, n.d.) (Asrori, 2022; Bakti, 2018).

Mutual needs and advantages are fundamental premises of global community connections that people must keep to get a force for international peace. Working together effectively will have positive consequences in various areas. (Banjarani, 2020) (Tomalin et al., 2019). (Nguyen & Zeichner, 2021). (Xu

& Zhang, 2021). Residents who are lazy in studying, working, or pursuing their needs are eventually inspired to participate actively in various aspects of life. The presence of a global community amid their community forces the Salafi community to compete and try their best to achieve the best thing (A. Fitriansyah, personal communication, 14 September 2021). Indonesian *da'wah* preachers worked to introduce the tradition of Salafi's doctrine, initially preaching from *langgar* (prayer room) to *langgar*, from mosque to mosque, and recently from social media like YouTube channel, Facebook, Instagram, and so forth. This is because such media is distributed in the country and globally. Hence, information exchange becomes a priority (The Information Exchange of Zād Al-Ma'ād Pesantren, 2021).

Information exchange is often examined in contrast to earn accurate information. Information seekers find This difficult to understand (Apuke & Omar, 2021). This is also difficult to block; many conflict cases draw the public's attention, which leads to anarchy. Consequently, it potentially can raise group antipathy or anti-social attitudes. Globalization is also inseparable from the world economic system; the true goal of globalization is to build developing countries into developed countries (Bao & Wang, 2019). Economic products previously unknown to other nations, then through local conservation agents, Indonesian products can be introduced to the global community through their *Salafi* network. (Cantwell & Molero, 2003; Ahmad et al., 2020) On the other hand, *Salafi* agents outside of Indonesia can introduce their products to local and national communities, especially in Palembang.

Middle Eastern products such as robes (Grant et al., 2019), veils (Palma, 2019), foods of Middle Eastern specialties (Vandenplas et al., 2019), date palm (Ben Khalfallah et al., 2021), some herbal medicines (Dimple et al., 2018), such as olive oil, are now easier to obtain. This is, of course, partly the role played by the *Salafi* network. The Indonesian foods (culinary) for Indonesian people can be found in the Middle East easily. This is the result of the endeavor of the agents of preservation and change from the global community (Pramiyanti et al., 2022). On empowering the community's economy, *Pesantren* collects public funds as capital for the people's economic development, which is claimed to be a model of star-based economic development. The funds were collected from the community, such as students' contributions to educational services; some also come from the *jama'ah* of several assemblies, such as *infaq*, *zakāt*, alms, grants, and *waqf*. These funds are given in personal names, on behalf of groups, or through distribution from certain donors. According to information from several administrators of *Pesantren*, the donors came from the surrounding community, the *Salafi* community, and abroad, especially the Middle East. The forms of economic development of the people which are claimed to be star's-based businesses are the construction of clinics, the construction of health services, shops, and business services, the construction of *syar'i* public cemeteries, the establishment of *Salafi* educational institutions, the establishment of the *Rodja Darussalam* radio station and the development of *Salafi* proportion content on the YouTube channel (A. Aflaha, personal communication, 9 September 2021).

The traditional businesses thriving in the community then expanded their services based on *šar'ī* norms. The establishment can see it of several shops sell 'Islamic' and '*šar'ī*' goods such as fashion, robes, *syar'i* head-scarves, scented oil, *butbut* oil, and others (The Economic Enterprises of Zād Al-Ma'ād Pesantren, 2021). The *Salafis* have opened up new economic domains that can be exploited as sources of capital for the *Salafi* movement as the world has become more globalized and information technology has advanced (Gendron, 2016). The social activities and *da'wah* of the *Salafis* can also be regarded as economic activities since they benefit from them. The *da'is* of *Salafis* earn honoraria while they are involved in any event, and frequently, they bring their community to such an event to conduct business. Businesses that provide community services also charge fees at various levels of tariffs set by the community (The Providing Social Services of Zād Al-Ma'ād Pesantren to the Community, 2021). The *Salafis* of Palembang, particularly in the *Zād al-Ma'ād* pesantren, appear to be astute enough to find the economic change in the community that did not exist at the time of the Prophet (pbuh) and his companions, such as the funeral industry which is known as *šar'ī* Public Cemetery Park'. To participate in this initiative, the community must pay a set amount to obtain a specific land area for burying family members. This is a

new commercial and economic activity among the *Salafi* (R. Andespa, personal communication, 13 September 2021).

Politics is not a priority for *Salafi*. They were more concerned about forming a Muslim society based on genuine Islamic teachings by the al-Qur'ān and *al-Ḥadīṭ*. From the beginning, the Islamic paradigm, which is the cornerstone for living together in a religiously heterogeneous society, has been constructed on a historical normative foundation. If there are obstacles, it does not mean that Islam's basic doctrines are intolerant and exclusionary, but rather than the historical-economic-political backdrop that surrounds the Muslim population in diverse regions is more determinant and conditioned (Chaplin, 2018). The intimate relationship between religious devotees is significantly more colored by competition for control of economic resources, political power, and power hegemony rather than the content of the ethical teachings of religion itself (Yilmaz & Morieson, 2021).

On the one hand, *Pesantren* confirms a truth system based on a scientific paradigm and recognizes the validity of religious teachings based on revelation. The *pesantren* recognizes science's true worth by teaching the secular (non-religious) sciences. It is proved by *pesantren*'s effort to open computer courses, skills, and football sports; explicitly, there is no al-Qur'ān or al-ḥadīṭ which specifies it, but it held. While the inclusion of religious sciences, such as *Arabic/ Imlā'*, *Ḥadīṭ*, *Tahfīz*, and *Tahsīn*, classes in the curriculum of *Pesantrens* demonstrates the acceptance of the true value of revelation or religious teachings in the curriculum of *Zād al-Ma'ād* *pesantren*. For the *Salafi*, Islam has the concepts of *zakāt*, alms, *infāq*, and others that should be able to bring prosperity, resulting in Islam's development as *dīn al-rahā'*. In this context, the nation's cultural heritage refers to the cultural inheritance resulting from comprehending life's fundamental teachings.

4. CONCLUSION

The cultural characteristics of the *Zād al-Ma'ād* trans-national *pesantren* in Palembang, which include knowledge systems, rules/laws, clothing, language, santri behavior, traditions, and value systems are forms of continuity and change in trans-national *salafi* traditions that accommodate the culture to maintain the existence of the *salafi* movement in Indonesia. The *Salafi trans-national pesantren, Zād al-Ma'ād*, is an agent of *da'wah* in the spread of *salafi* understanding and, at the same time, as a center for a cadre of *Salafi da'i* from a young age as well as a coadaptation of the internationalization program of *Salafi* understanding through formal Islamic religious education. The *Salafi network* can be utilized through its programs to organize international programs, especially in the Middle East, with a culture-based approach. The trans-national *Salafi pesantren, Zād al-Ma'ād*, adopts the formal religious *Dīniyyaṭ* Education system as the main aspect to maintain its existence and includes *Salafi-Wahabi* materials in the curriculum content of the *pesantren* as an effort to spread *Salafi-Wahhabi* ideology in Indonesia. Thus, there is an acomodative-ilfiltrative process in the trans-national *salafi Zād al-Ma'ād pesantren* Palembang.

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