

# HACKING THE SALAFI-WAHABI MOVEMENT IN MANADO - INDONESIA

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## HACKING THE SALAFI-WAHABI MOVEMENT IN MANADO - INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT:

This article aims to examine the reasoning process associated with transforming *fiqhiyyah* into *i'tiqadiyyah* by the salafi-wahabi groups in Manado, Indonesia. *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *aqidah* (faith) are different entities with *both* measured based on the science of *ushul fiqh*, and *usul al-din*, respectively. However, under the Salafi-Wahabi group, reasoning *fiqhiyyah* was transformed into *i'tiqadiyyah* through a generalistic paradigm, using an exclusive movement. The three major groups of salafi-wahabi are Wahdah Islamiyah, the Komok Luar As-Sunnah Mosque community, and several personnel from Hidayatullah. The recitation theme which is based on purification was obtained from Quran and *al-Hadith* consisting of *shahih*. Therefore, from these reasoning, the rites derived from *ijtihad* are doubted for validity in the authentic *hadith* and classified as a heresy with pervert implications. This led to a social conflict without physical contact with Muslims finding it difficult to unite with the Christian community as the majority group.

**Keywords:** Transformation, Fiqhiyyah and I'tiqadiyyah reasoning, Salafi-Wahabi, Manado, Indonesia

## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between *aqidah* (faith) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) in the Islamic dimension takes place in the concept of worship ('*ubudiyyah*) based on the word of Allah swt;

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ {الذاريات: 56}

Meaning: " *I created the jinn and humankind only that they might worship Me* " (QS. adz-Dzariyat: 56).

The "I", which shows absolute trust in God explains the concept of *aqidah*, while "worship" shows the rites that needs to be performed by humans with various qualifications and classifications.

In the context of implementation, the concepts of *aqidah* and *fiqh* are balance, and dominant. However, the historic data obtained from the middle of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century showed different results. *Fiqh* as a scientific discipline started growing and strengthened the clan (*madzhab*) of each group of Islamic societies, while the *aqidah* weakened.

Furthermore, its strengthening ability is also the implication of the increasing number of Islamic beliefs (*aqidah*) that appear and take place on the side of the authorities to become the official *mahzab* (rules) of government (Zahrah, n.d.). The entry of *aqidah* into politics, fostered its separation process with *fiqh*, and saved the ruler's judgment as a disloyal or even rebellious society.

There is a continuous spread of Islam throughout the world, and in Manado-city in Indonesia. The meaning of the *aqidah* and *fiqh* tends to reduce due to political-religious interests. This makes it easy to identify infidels, hypocrites, heresy experts, etc. This movement is subsequently known by groups called the salafi-wahabi (Salman, 2017), which pronounced *al-muwahhidun* or *ahl at-tauhid* (Algar, 2011).

The basic assumption built in the community regarding the *salafi-wahabi* movement is the enthusiasm to carry out paradigmatic transformation from *fiqhiyyah* reasoning which is human behavior by the standard of *al-ahkam al-khamsah* (*taklif* law five) to *i'tiqadiyyah* which is a guideline against sin. Therefore, those that do not behave in *fiqh* are stigmatized and labeled sinners and are classified as dwellers of hell. This article, therefore, aims to break the transformative movement of salafi-wahabi carried out in the city of Manado, a Muslim minority region in Indonesia.

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## METHODS

The research literature-based, which data are obtained from many available sources from the internet, journal, and books. Considering new topics, the availability of resources is limited and related research is not widely observed in Indonesia. The methodology used is the qualitative method which involves the collection of the previous articles and other relatable sources for the research purposes which have been summarized and interpreted into new writing based on the gathered sources. This research also collects data use interview some respondents to support secondary data. This research analyzes the reasoning process associated with transforming *fiqhiyyah* into *i'tiqadiyyah* by the salafi-wahabi groups in Manado, Indonesia.

## RESULTS

### History of Islamic *Fiqh* Orientation

The early period of Islam are reflected in Prophet Muhammad's teachings, in accordance with mandatory roles, *sunnah*, *jaiz* (allowed), *makruh* (hated), or *haram* (forbidden) amongst people. These five attributes of Islamic teachings are called *taklif* and subject to *mukallaf*. However, at that time, the understanding of the meaning of *fiqh* turned out to be "religious knowledge" as Allah's guidance in the Qur'an:

3 وَمَا كَانَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنْفِرُوا كَافَّةً فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِنْ كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ لِيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ إِذَا رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ {التوبة: 122}

Meaning: " And the believers should not all go out to fight. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion, and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware." (QS. at-Taubah:122)

This period is very short, because it only lasted for 23 years. However, it had a huge influence on the development of *fiqh*, especially through the study of the periodization and spread of Islam by the prophet Muhammad through the Makkah and Medina periods. Although both periods differ, they aim at achieving same objective.

The first *fiqh* period was Mecca, which is for 13 years when the Prophet Muhammad settled in the city and was appointed as the Prophet and messenger of Allah, before immigrating to Medina for ten years (Khalil, 2015). The focus of *fiqh* teachings is on the process of implementing (*ghars*) monotheistic values, such as faith in Allah, His prophet, doomsday and commands to have noble morals such as justice, togetherness, keeping promises and avoiding moral damage such as adultery, murder, and fraud.

The second *fiqh* period occurred after he settled in Medina till his death and was buried in the Prophetic Mosque (*Nabawi*). In this phase, the prophet focused on the practical aspects of implementing law, and synergized with the socio-culture. Ahmad Rajafi (2015) stated that this stage consists of at least three typologies, namely *tahmil* (applying the law that had been implemented in pre-Islamic times), *taghyir* (making revisions), and *tahrim* (rejecting these laws).

The dimensions of the meeting between God's law and socio-culture in society through the Prophet Muhammad's treatise show how much Islam emphasizes dialogic values. Therefore, when a person recites *Kalam* which is sacred, they need to utilize the pure mind by not prioritizing lust which tends to dilute purity. This is because lust leads to mistakes, while purity is closer to pleasure (Rajafi, 2016), also known as *ijtihad*. The emergence of *taqlid* and *jumud* (stagnant) phases which lasted from the fourth century to the end of the eighth century *hijriyyah*, led to problems (ash-Shiddieqy, 1997). Many ulemas no longer create new original works, only *shara*, *tahqiq* (and *takhshir*).

This reality shows a new tendency, which confirms the truth of *madzhab* and denies the recitation and truths of others. In addition, this means that there has been a shift in orientation or disorientation by Muslims on the *mashadir at-tasyri* '.

which initially conducted a study of religious texts that were turned into simply quoting religious texts.

This era consists of meaning and criticism because many ulemas were criticized by as-Suyuthi (n.d.) with his work *ar-Rad 'ala Akhlada ila al-Ardh*. However, the most intense criticism is from the *madzhab* of Ahmad bin Hanbal such as Ibn Taimiyah with *al-Fatawa* and Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah with *I'lam al-Muwaqqi'in 'an Rab al-'Alamin* (Schacht, 1985). This inspired and became a reference for thinkers to form a new tradition called salafi-wahabi which was coined by Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab in the Arabian Peninsula.

### Is Salafi-Wahabi Movement a "Solution"?

The name Salafi-Wahabis in Indonesia is associated with the transnational movement that originated from Saudi Arabia and established by Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab in 1745. This movement is oriented towards combating the practices of heresy (*bid'ah*), *khurafat*, *shirk*, and to the scriptural components of Qur'an and Sunnah (Bashori, 2008). Imarah provides their characteristics with the philosophy and Sufism of heresy (*bid'ah*) and *khurafat*, while opposing rational interpretation (Imarah, 1995).

The ulema used as a reference are as follows: Abu Hanifah, al-Awza'i, al-Layts bin Sa'ad, Imam Malik bin Anas, Abdullah bin al-Mubarak, Shafyan bin al-Uyainat, Imam Ash-Shafi'i, Imam Ishaq, Ahmad bin Hanbal, Imam al-Bukhari, Muslim Imam, Abu Daud, Ibn Taymiah, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, Ibn Kathir, Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab and a number of students namely Abd al-Aziz bin Bazz and Nashir ad-Din al-Albani (Imarah, 2005).

Their various views led to the main focus of the delivery of Islamic teachings to the people on monotheism, *ahl as-sunnah wa al-jama'ah*, and *al-wala 'wa al-bara'*. These three terms are conveyed by directly quoting scriptures of the Quran and corroborated by the opinions of their ulema and compared with Islamic teachings on *ijtihad* from the Prophet Muhammad.

The teachers were always happy to show their identity with Arabic symbols and religious accessories with justification that they were from the Prophet Muhammad. They were popular with their accessories such as long robes, pants over ankles (*isbal*), and beards, while women dressed in black and veiled (*nigab*). Noorhaidi noted that they were present in several cities in Indonesia, such as Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang, Bandung, Cirebon, Jakarta and Makassar (Hasan, 2008). The main notes of the three Salafi-Wahabi teachings are as follows:

1. Monotheism (*Tauhid*)

The main concept of this teaching is the purification process without using the *taqlid*, *madzhab*, *fiqh* and *aqidah*.

2. *Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*

This teaching, aims to follow the original references of the Prophet Muhammad and the salaf ash-shalih which are referred directly from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Furthermore, the teachings of *ahl as-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* sourced from Imam al-Asy'ari and al-Maturidi do not need to be followed, because it is considered problematic.

3. *Al-Wala' wa al-Bara'*

This concept is associated with loving Muslims and hating the infidels, with the aim of avoiding the propaganda of hizbiyyah (fanaticism). It is also based on hating Muslims that do not follow the teachings emphasized in the Quran and As-Sunnah scripturally and purely.

This is correlated with the three main studies, recited in the preamble (*muqaddimah*) before the *du'at* (preachers) starts their hadith sermon on heresy, which is:

...وإياكم ومحدثات الأمور فإن كل محدثة بدعة وكل بدعة ضلالة {رواه ابوا داود}

Meaning: "Stay away from the cases (religion) that are made up, because every case (religion) inventions is heresy and every heresy is perverted." (HR. Abu Dawud, n.d)

In addition, to strengthening their teachings to be easily accepted by the community, they conduct very intensive socialization activities in the form of *halaqah* or *daurah*. These teachings sometimes move from one mosque to another, establishing educational foundations and houses of *tahfidz* in several places, with the *da'wah* propaganda in the internet and print media (Chozin, 2013). Therefore, many celebrities follow their *da'wah* movement because they are lured by the slogan of returning to original teachings and sourced from the Quran. Therefore, the salafi-wahabi teachings seem to be the right solution for them.

There are several media which routinely preach Salafi-Wahhabi understandings such as Radio and TV Rodja. In addition, a leading higher education institution which is assumed to transfer Islamic values of the Salafi-Wahabi model is LIPIA (Islamic and Arabic Institute of Sciences). However, although this assumption is not perfect, many Islamic boarding schools in both in urban and suburban areas utilize this model. The *da'wah* media are known by online media users such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitter, which is accessed by millions of the millennial generation. Therefore, people search for ways to speculate the Islamic sciences in order to become a migrated (*hijrah*) figure. This is also the reason why salafi-wahabis are accepted and become a solution for the millennial generation thirsty for religious sciences, with a spirit for migrating (*hijrah*).

### **Salafi-Wahabi Movement in Manado City**

Since the presence of Islam in Manado no historic data has been found on the massive presence of the Salafi-Wahabi movement in the city. However, after the country's reformation in 1998, many alumni from the Middle East returned to Indonesia, with the spirit of transnational Islam to the Salafi-Wahabi model. Interestingly, these preachers are more dominated by immigrants, from South Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Java.

The presence of the dakwah movement is unique and varied in Salafi-wahabis in North Sulawesi. They consist of members of an Islamic community that are affiliated with other Muslim organizations. According to research findings, at least three groups were considered to be responsible in the spread of salafi propaganda in North Sulawesi as follows:

#### **1. Wahdah Islamiyah.**

This organization is located in Makassar City of South Sulawesi Province. It explicitly stated that its practices originated from the Quran and as-Sunnah in

accordance with the understanding of as-Salaf ash-Salih (*Manhaj Ahlul-sunnah Wal Jamaah*), and is engaged in the field of propaganda (*dakwah*), education, social, femininity, information, health and the environment (Wahdah, 2016).

However, its establishment into North Sulawesi was not detected early due to the serious actions of the organizations activists. This is seen from the electronic data that presents news on the first Regional Deliberation from 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> in February 2017 (Chozin, 2013), and from 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> February, 2019 (Joy, 2020).

This city has experienced a good presence in the community, with its leader, one of the deputy priests at the Ahmad Yani Grand Mosque. Manado is also a regular preacher in several government offices, state-owned enterprises (BUMN) with private or *tazkir* activities (recitation).

In the spirit of purification, there is a difference between a regional head and a branch head of Manado city. Since January 2016, the Wahdah Islamiyah Manado Facebook page (2020) has emphasized on the purification of monotheism, with a friendly delivery and few jokes, thereby, making it more interesting.

The implication of da'wah was quite systematic, for example, one of the interviewed Civil Servants (PNS) stated that in the past they used to carry out mainstream Islamic rites, such as *tahlilan*, *diba* 'or *barzanji*, however, after following routine recitations, everything changed. Therefore, they feel disturbed when these rites are performed by a group of people.

Interestingly, there is a preacher and leader of an Islamic organization that adheres to the Syafi'iyah madzhab. This completely changes the teachings of Wahdah and also influences to the use of hijrah. The preacher's wife is motivated by migrating and believes on the use of niqab for Muslimah, with the daughter studying at Wahdah Islamiyah education outside North Sulawesi Province.

## **2. As-Sunnah Komok Luar Mosque, Manado City.**

The mosque came into existence due to the relocation of the Fastabiqul Khairat Mosque to a densely populated settlement in Komok Luar, Manado. This led to the daily recitation by the Salafi-Wahabi group. However, the mosque is currently known by the community as the As-Sunnah, with a number of santri living inside it studying and memorizing the Quran (Muhdiana, 2020).

The main patron driving the study was al-Ustadz Adnan Abdul Majid Mampa, Yemeni alumni from South Sulawesi and a direct student of Shaykh Muqbil bin Hadi bin Qayidah al-Hamdany al-Wadi'i al-Khilaly, a Salafi-wahabi figure in Yemen. According to research, when Adnan, is traced to the internet some freelance writings are affiliated with the salafi-wahabi movement. Some people even refer him as "The Swordsman" due to his struggle in minority areas with various challenges (Mukhtar, 2017).

Adnan routinely conducts studies at the mosque, followed by settling students and sympathizers. At the end of each *Maghrib* prayer and *isya* on monotheism, *tafsir* was translated to direct reference from Arabic books. Furthermore, after the dawn study, Quran was memorized by both students and the congregation from outside the as-Sunnah Mosque (Muhdiana, 2020).

Although these studies were attended by many people, it did not mean that all the congregations were salafi-wahabi members. This is because there are many variants of the Salafi-Wahabi ideology in the world, which further led to the



creation of the Tuminting region a preacher from Jakarta. Therefore, assuming the followers do not possess a single view of Islamic teachings, the external parties find it different, such as Al-Khairat and Nahdlatul Ulama.

In the context of locus and socio-cultural religions, the Komok region has basically been known as the center of traditional Islamic community which is affiliated with the Al-Khairat organization from Palu or Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) from Banten. Al-Khairat left historical evidence in schools and many of his alumni are now Islamic leaders in North Sulawesi. In 1888, Arsyad Thawil a student from Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani was exiled to Manado.

Subsequently, in the early 2000s, Adnan's da'wah was considered disturbing and unsettling for the surrounding community with long-standing Islamic traditions. Adnan often gave examples of Islamic practices that had been living in the community and were labeled as heresy that were never practiced by the Prophet Muhammad. The well-known religious propositions that are used by the community are called baseless because they are considered to be of *dha'if* quality (weak) or *maudhu'* (fake) (n.n, 2019).

Furthermore, a good number of Adnan's students participated in Friday prayers, with the content of their sermon not separated from the discussion on purification to the teachings of the Quran and authentic hadith, such as not weak (*dha'if*) and false (*maudhu'*).

Although Adnan became an honorable figure as a propagator of salafi-wahabi preaching in the city of Manado, he was reluctant to affiliate or even become the leader of an Islamic mass organization with the same vision. This happened because he did not want to be affected by the reciprocation effect when there were funds received from people or even from a government that was likely to doubt its original source (Muhdiana, 2020). This strength added to the admiration and enthusiasm of the students and sympathizers to continuously attend and follow their studies, even outside Manado, such as Kotamubagu and Gorontalo Province once every month.

### **3. Hidayatullah.**

Hidayatullah was founded in 1972, as an educational and social organization in the form of an Islamic boarding school led by Abdullah Said in Karang Bugis, East Kalimantan. It was transformed by its successors into an Islamic organization in 2000 with its Head Office domiciled in Jakarta (Hidayatullah, 2020). Specifically, the *manhaj* movement is in the form of cultivation of *tauhid* awareness (surah al-'Alaq), fostering the *fikrah* (ideology) and morals of the Qur'ani (surah al-Qalam), which enhances the spiritual quality or tarbiyah Ruhiyyah (surah al-Muzammil), of the *dakwah* movement (surah al-Mudatsir), and realize the whole Islam / kaffah (surah al-Fatihah) (Hidayatullah, 2020).

The beginning of Hidayatullah's presence in North Sulawesi was preceded by a grant from the educational institution Nurul Islam in Tomohon which was founded by Muhammad Salim Basalamah in 1989 and fostered by Abdul Kadir Abdullah and Abdurrahman Muhammad. From Tomohon, the Hidayatullah organization movement spread to several areas in North Sulawesi, such as in Manado, Kotamubagu, Bolaang Mongondow, Bitung, and other areas in North Sulawesi Province (Arifin, 2020).



The third group is unique, because it identified salafi-wahabi as an organization with its polarization built up in the community as part of its movement (Rusli, 2019). The examples that are commonly used as references are some of the practices of Hidayatullah members that do not harden the recitation of bismillah when reading al-fatihah at dawn (*qunut*), and do not participate in *tahlilan* as well as *marhabanan* activities.

Scientifically, Hidayatullah are imperfect because it is not supported by data and authentic facts on their salafi nature. According to one of the North Sulawesi (Arifin, 2020) regional officials, organizational ties, *harakah* (movements) and *fikrah* (ideologies) are in accordance with salafi-wahabi. Its management is diverse, with some affiliated with salafi management, *aswaja an-nahdliyyah*, etc. However, due to a personal rite in the mainstream salafi-wahabi was utilized.

The statement of the informant correlated with the facts of the field, where one of the Hidayatullah stated that mosques close to the Manado IAIN Campus did not influence the thought and salafi-wahabi movement of the existing students. This is because the mosque is not visited by many outside communities and students. Based on these observations, Hidayatullah as an Islamic community organization in North Sulawesi cannot be classified as a salafi-wahabi movement, however the personnel within the organization may be affiliated with its propaganda.

## DISCUSSIONS

### Transformation of Fiqhiyyah Reason into I'tiqadiyyah

In general, fiqh is usually defined as "The knowledge of the branches and practice of shari'ah laws about human actions, formulated from detailed propositions." (Arifin, 2020) However, this definition no longer summarizes the requirements of *jami* 'and *mani*', when viewed from the universality of law. Rajafi stated that it is knowledge of the laws of human action achieved through *ijtihad*." (Rajafi, 2015)

Aqidah is defined as the "beliefs, on the existence of God and the basis of Islamic religion." (Baiquni, 1996, pp. 31) The main principle of this study is related to divinity, prophecy (prophet), supernatural attributes such as *qadha* 'and *qadar*, doomsday, heaven and hell, etc. These are discussed through the proposition of *naqliyah* (al-Qur'an and al-Hadith) and *aqliyah* (human rationalization) (Baiquni, 1996, pp. 47).

Based on the considerations as summarized in the two definitions, the paradigm built by Muslims is in accordance with the five pillars of Islam. It means that in the scientific level, there is a distinction between fiqh and creed, with varying reference tools. Fiqh is achieved from the science of *usul al-fiqh*, while creed is referred to and achieved from the science of *usul al-din*.

Similar principles are used in withdrawing the main proposition from Qur'an and As-Sunnah. However, the difference lies in the processed products of reason, where *usul al-fiqh* implements *ijtihad* as the hadith on Mu'adz bin Jabal. This therefore, triggers four great *Imams*, namely Abu Hanifa, Malik, Shafi'i and Ahmad bin Hanbal that formed the Madzhab Hanafi, Maliki, Madzhab Syafi'i, and Hanbali, respectively. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah (1423) asserted that Imam Ahmad bin

Hanbal was the leader of the *ahl as- Sunnah* and *Hadith* in accordance with the next generation of follower.

Based on the principle of madzhab Hanbali which focuses on the *hadith*, the salafi-wahabi includes always studies the *hadith* from original sources such as Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim in every *halaqah* or knowledge *daurah*. Therefore, in the end they started to be "allergic" to studies based on the scientific products of the ulema madzhab and reinforced the importance of referencing books associated with *hadith*.

The implementation of science based on *hadith* is subsequently co-opted to the quality standards of *shahih*, while the quality of *hasan* and *dha'if*, are rejected with the simplification of the choice of assessors of the quality of hadith (hadith experts) on ulema. This is in line with al-Albani and Muqbil movements, while *fiqh* studies were based on hadith to Bin Baz and Shaleh bin Fauzan, with pure and non-pure Islamic movements.

The implication is clearly seen at the level of religious practice, where salafi-wahabi groups are more generalist in thinking therefore, the distinction between *fiqh* and *aqidah* is not visible, therefore, *fiqhiyyah* and *i'tiqadiyyah* reasoning are used to judge their thinking standards. As an example of what happened in the city of Manado, those that carried out religious activities such as reciting *arwah/spirits*, *tahlilan* in the first seven days after death, a night on the forty days, and one hundred days to a year ( *haul*) after death, and reading *maulids* (*barzanji* or *diba'*). Furthermore, it was conducted during the *akikah* (birth) ceremony and *badaka* (the night before the marriage contract), with no reward for what has been carried out by Allah Almighty. This rationalization shows thinking disability (*qiyas fasid*) because it cannot distinguish between creations of law (*ijtihad*) without basis (*bid'ah*). For this reason, Hashim Asy'ari explained the difference between *fiqhiyyah* and *i'tiqadiyyah* reasoning by quoting Shaykh Zaruq on the heresy which means a renewal of a case in a religion that resembles religion itself, (Asy'ari, 2011) even though it is not from religion. The standard has its original basis, therefore, it is not called a *bid'ah* and contrary to the *imams* (leader) and *ulema ahl as-sunnah wa al-jama'ah*. A *ushul* is accepted assuming it is based on a measured law of (*wajib*), *sunna*, *haram*, *makruh*, *khilaf aula*, and *mubah* (Asy'ari, 2011).

The transformation of reasoning *fiqhiyyah* into *i'tiqadiyyah* has led to social conflicts in the community of Manado. Although it is not in the context of physical contact, the psywar between those that supported the contra still continues till date. Moreover, at this time the label of radical Islam is also being pinned on the group and continues to "haunt" their existence in society, especially due to the viral demonstration 212 in Jakarta and by evaluating Indonesia to become the *Khilafah Islamiyyah*. In February 2018, there was a rejection from a group of masses over the planned arrival of Felix Siauw to Manado in March, because it was considered radical and capable of dividing Indonesia (Yusuf, 2018). Finally, the act of transforming *fiqhiyyah* reasoning into *i'tiqadiyyah* by the salafi-wahabi group in Manado is difficult due to the presence of the Christian community as the majority religion.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the Salafi-Wahabi movement was established in the city of Manado after the reformation of alumni from the Middle East and brought the teachings of Transnational Islam. However, its existence was problematic when viewed as a city with a minority Muslim population. Furthermore, they have the ability to build relationships with Christians, with the existence of a salafi-wahabi group that is considered troubling.

Based on the observation, there are at least three groups categorized as salafi-wahabi in the city of Manado, namely Wahdah Islamiyah Islamic Community Organization, As-Sunnah Study Community at Komok Luar As-Sunnah Mosque, and the management of Hidayatullah. The interpersonal work relationships of each group have provided an influence in society thus being able to change one's paradigm from cultural society to salafi-wahabi.

The paradigm that is built is generalist, not partial, however, the movement is exclusive, therefore, the reasoning of *fiqhiyyah* has been transformed into *i'tiqadiyyah*. According to the concept, all actions based on Islam needs to be sourced from the Qur'an and al-Hadith. Furthermore, in accordance with their consideration as heresy, the narration of *ijtihad* of the ulema was eliminated with this spirit which was directly referred from the books of *hadith* which were *mu'tabar* with a standard assessment of the scientific tendencies of the salafi-wahabi movement, such as al-Albani, Muqbil, Bin Baz, and Shaleh bin Fauzan.

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