

The Role of Islamic Mass Organizations in The Cultural History of South Sulawesi, Indonesia (1905-1998)

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Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas peran organisasi masyarakat (ormas) Islam dalam sejarah perkembangan Islam di Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia, pada rentang waktu 1905 hingga 1998. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi kontribusi ormas Islam dalam membentuk kehidupan keagamaan dan dinamika sosial budaya di wilayah tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode tinjauan pustaka (literature review), melalui analisis terhadap dokumen sejarah, publikasi ilmiah, dan arsip organisasi terkait. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa kemunculan ormas Islam didorong oleh semangat patriotisme dan nasionalisme yang berkembang pada masa kolonial dan pascakolonial. Organisasi seperti Sarekat Islam, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, dan Wahdah Islamiyah memainkan peran penting dalam meningkatkan kesadaran beragama, memperkuat pembangunan masyarakat, serta mendorong kohesi sosial di Sulawesi Selatan. Masing-masing ormas memiliki strategi perjuangan yang berbeda sesuai dengan orientasi ideologis dan konteks budaya yang dihadapi, namun secara umum berkontribusi terhadap peningkatan keterlibatan masyarakat dalam ajaran Islam. Kajian ini menegaskan pentingnya peran masyarakat sipil Islam dalam membentuk identitas keagamaan dan dinamika sosial di tingkat lokal.

Kata Kunci: Organisasi Islam, Sejarah Islam Lokal, Sulawesi Selatan Indonesia, Dinamika Budaya, Masyarakat Sipil Islam

Abstract

This article explores the role of Islamic mass organizations in the historical development of Islam in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, from 1905 to 1998. The study examines how these organizations shaped the region's religious life and socio-cultural transformation. This study uses a qualitative literature review approach to analyze historical documents, scholarly publications, and organizational archives related to key Islamic organizations. The findings reveal that the emergence of Islamic mass organizations was strongly influenced by growing sentiments of patriotism and nationalism during the colonial and post-colonial periods. These organizations—Sarekat Islam, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Wahdah Islamiyah—significantly promoted religious awareness, fostered community

development, and strengthened social cohesion in South Sulawesi. Each organization followed distinct strategies based on its doctrinal orientation and cultural context, yet all contributed to increasing public engagement with Islamic teachings. This study highlights the crucial role of Islamic civil society in shaping regional religious identity and socio-political dynamics in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamic Organizations, Local Islamic History, South Sulawesi Indonesia, Cultural Dynamics, Islamic Civil Society

Introduction

Islam has exerted a strong influence in South Sulawesi since the era of the Tallo Kingdom. Historical records indicate that Islam entered the Tallo Kingdom during the reign of Karaeng Matoaya, who converted to Islam on September 22, 1605, followed by the King of Makassar, I Mangarangi Daeng Manrabi. After their conversions, the King of Tallo was given the title Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam, while the King of Makassar became Sultan Alauddin. On November 9, 1607, Sultan Alauddin declared Islam the official religion of the Makassar kingdom. The spread of Islam soon extended to neighboring kingdoms, so that by the early 1620s, nearly all kingdoms in South Sulawesi had embraced Islam.

This historical fact demonstrates that the Islamization process in South Sulawesi was closely connected to the conversion of coastal kings and royal elites. The role of the king as protector and promoter of religion was a critical factor in the development of Islam in the region. The da'wah efforts led by three Minangkabau ulama Datuk ri Tiro, Datuk Patimang, and Datuk ri Bandang employed an accommodative approach and cultural adaptation that aligned with the royal bureaucracy and local traditions. This method affirms that Islamization in South Sulawesi occurred "through the palace gate," with the king serving as the central figure and Islamic role model for his people.

By the 20th century, South Sulawesi faced new challenges with the growing dominance of Dutch colonial rule. The rise of nationalism and the struggle for independence prompted the establishment of Islamic mass organizations with diverse focuses and spheres of influence. The two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, played active roles in South Sulawesi by strengthening education, socio-religious life, and socio-political activism. NU, known for its culturally rooted Islamic traditions and emphasis on pesantren and local customs, contributed significantly to preserving religious values and building social solidarity. Muhammadiyah, advocating Islamic modernism and social reform, concentrated on modern education, health services,

and systematic, rational da'wah. Other organizations such as Sarekat Islam and Wahdah Islamiyah also emerged, enriching the dynamic landscape of Islamic organizations in South Sulawesi. These organizations played vital roles in raising religious awareness and acting as agents of socio-cultural development within the local society.

Previous studies have shown that Islamic mass organizations help shape religious identity and social cohesion locally, serving as platforms for religious education and activism that adapt to Indonesia's socio-political context. However, public perceptions of these organizations are sometimes clouded by assumptions of radicalism, with national surveys indicate that nearly half of Indonesian Muslims reject mass organizations deemed radical, including in Sulawesi. Nonetheless, Islamic organizations in Indonesia have continued to advance and contribute positively to Muslims and humanity in general. As several social theories explain, this progress is attributed to harmonious collaboration between religious scholars and government authorities.

Resource Mobilization Theory clarifies how social organizations, including religious groups, grow and act effectively by leveraging social networks, funding, and legitimacy. In South Sulawesi, Islamic organizations have mobilized community support, religious leadership, and political connections to reinforce their social and religious roles. Social Identity Theory emphasizes how individuals develop their identities based on group membership. Islamic organizations provide important spaces for people to build and strengthen their religious identities, enhancing social cohesion and group solidarity. Additionally, the approach of Minangkabau ulama, who applied cultural accommodation and adaptation in their da'wah, aligns with Acculturation Theory, which explains cultural mixing and adjustment processes in society. This explains how Islamization harmoniously blended with local culture and traditions.

This study aims to identify and analyze the contribution of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Wahdah Islamiyah, and Sarekat Islam in the formation of the religious identity of the South Sulawesi community, including their roles in education, religion, and social matters. This study specifically aims to examine each organization's historical role and development in the local context of South Sulawesi, including the background of its emergence, the spread of its influence, and forms of adaptation to the socio-cultural conditions of the local community. Trace the forms of da'wah activities and community development carried out by each organization, including da'wah strategies, teaching

materials developed, and approaches in shaping the community's understanding and religious practices. Analyze the extent to which the existence and activities of the Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Wahdah Islamiyah, and Sarekat Islam organizations shape the religious identity of the South Sulawesi community, both in terms of religious thought, worship practices, religious attitudes, and cross-group social relations.

Provide theoretical and practical contributions to understanding the role of Islamic mass organizations in constructing religious identity at the local level and provide strategic recommendations for strengthening the role of inclusive, contextual, and constructive religion amid a pluralistic society. This study contributes a deep understanding of the contributions of Islamic organizations, especially NU, Muhammadiyah, Wahdah Islamiyah, and Sarekat Islam, to social-religious development and cultural dynamics in South Sulawesi throughout the 20th century. It explains how these organizations employed diverse struggle strategies suited to ideological and cultural contexts while addressing colonial and post-colonial challenges. Finally, this research is an important reference for local Islamic studies and civil society development grounded in religious and cultural values.

Resource Mobilization Theory, as explained by McCarthy and Zald (1977), states that the success of a social movement or organization largely depends on its ability to mobilize available resources, such as human resources, networks, information, and financial resources. NU and Muhammadiyah have successfully built a network of educational institutions, social services, and economic empowerment for the community. Wahdah Islamiyah, although relatively new, has also shown its capability to establish educational institutions and community-based da'wah networks. The ability of these organizations to access and manage resources is a key factor in maintaining their existence and expanding their influence in South Sulawesi society.

Several studies show that mass Islamic organizations play an important role in the formation of the religious identity of society. According to Hefner (2000), organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah serve as spaces for religious expression and arenas for forming values, norms, and social structures that reflect a distinct Indonesian Islamic identity. Meanwhile, Fealy and White (2008) explain that Islamic organizations often function as agents of social transformation and education, contributing to internalizing Islamic values in society. Research by Azra (2002) also emphasizes the importance of the networks of scholars and Islamic educational institutions in building a local religious identity, yet still connected to the discourse of global Islam. In South Sulawesi, this role is

evident in the local dynamics of organizations such as Wahdah Islamiyah, which combine the spirit of purification with a systematic and community-based approach to da'wah.

Based on this background, the formulation of the problem in this study is how the contribution of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Wahdah Islamiyah, and Sarekat Islam in shaping the religious identity of the people of South Sulawesi, as well as how the da'wah strategy and socio-cultural adaptation they used in facing local dynamics from 1905 to 1998. This study attempts to provide analytical answers by showing that the role of these four organizations lies not only in disseminating Islamic teachings but also in strengthening social cohesion, education, and contextual religious values through approaches adapted to local social, political, and cultural realities.

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature study method to examine the role of Islamic community organizations in shaping religious life and socio-cultural dynamics in South Sulawesi in the period 1905 to 1998. Data were collected from relevant secondary and primary sources, such as historical documents, scientific works, and other academic publications.

The source selection criteria were based on thematic relevance to the research focus, source credibility, reliable academic publications, and the time limit between 1905 and 1998 to maintain consistency of historical context. The documents selected include official reports, historical manuscripts, and scholarly works discussing Islam's development in South Sulawesi during this time.

The data analysis technique was carried out in stages with the following steps: Theme identification was conducted through an in-depth reading of the collected literature. Initial themes were determined based on the research focus: organizational contributions, da'wah strategies, cultural adaptation, and socio-religious influences. Next, data coding was done by grouping information according to these themes. Each document was systematically analyzed to extract data on the organization's role, da'wah methods, and socio-cultural dynamics. Then, Contextual and historical interpretation was carried out by placing the data in South Sulawesi's time frame and socio-political conditions during the research period. This interpretation refers to the understanding of local history and socio-cultural dynamics that influence the development of Islamic organizations.

In this study, source triangulation was also carried out in several ways. For example, data were compared between documents from various sources, such as organizational archives with historical documents and academic works, to identify conformity and differences in information. An inter-author approach was used to compare perspectives from different authors or sources to obtain a more holistic picture and reduce subjective bias.

Research Finding

a. The History of the Introduction and Development of Islam in South Sulawesi

Geographically, South Sulawesi is one of the provinces in Indonesia with its capital in Makassar. South Sulawesi, which is located in the southern part of Sulawesi Island, formerly called Ujung Pandang, is located between 119°24'17'38" East Longitude and 5°8'6'19" South Latitude, which borders Maros Regency to the North, Maros Regency to the East, Gowa Regency to the south, and Makassar Strait to the West. In its history, South Sulawesi has had various famous local kingdoms, including the Kingdom of Gowa and the Kingdom of Tallo. When these two kingdoms united to form the Makassar Kingdom, it triggered the rapid development of Islam in South Sulawesi. At the same time, the Kingdom of Makassar (Gowa-Tallo) reached the peak of its glory in the 17th century AD (Sulistyo, 2014).

The history of the development of Islam in South Sulawesi is influenced by the first factor, namely the interaction between the population and Muslim merchants from Malaysia. The event occurred around the XVII century, and a powerful relationship was established from this interaction process. Even the Kingdom of Gowa provided several facilities to the merchants. The second factor is that, in addition to electricity through trade, Islam is present in South Sulawesi by spreading through three figures, namely Dato Ri Bandang, Dato Pattimang, and Dato Ri Tiro. The three scholars immediately spread Islam through the local kingdom. First, they Islamized the King, and then, from this King, who became a role model for his people, they also chose Islam. Starting from this, it became the peak momentum of Islam's spread in the first half of the 16th to 17th centuries. It achieved glory in the political and economic fields in the Kingdom of Makassar, Gowa-Tallo (Raja, 2011).

Entering the era of colonialism, the development of Islam is also increasingly rapid. The 20th century began a movement to uphold Islam for the glory of Islam as an idea and the glory of the ummah that could be realized by using organizations as a tool of struggle (Padmo, 2007). The idea of renewal had emerged before the 20th century, which coincided with the return of scholars who had studied in Mecca at the same time as the development

of the Wahhabi movement that wanted to purify the implementation of Islamic teachings. The emerging movement started with individual efforts, such as opening a surau or madrasas, publishing a magazine, establishing social and religious organizations, and shifting to political organizations (Padmo, 2007).

Factors for the Spread of Islam

The view that developed among the Bugis and Makasar people of South Sulawesi states that Islam first came to this region in the early 17th century. Islam was introduced by a muballig from Minang Kabau, West Sumatra, which was still under the rule of the Sultanate of Aceh. Regarding this, Mattulada in his book *History of the People and Culture of South Sulawesi*, mentions that a scholar from Central Minangkabau, West Sumatra, named Abdul Kadir Khatib Tunggal arrived at Tallo harbor in 1605 on a boat. Arriving on the shore, he performed a prayer that astonished the people. He declared his intention to come to the King. The King of Tallo, who heard the news, immediately rushed to the beach to meet the strange man.

On the way to the beach, at the gate of Tallo's palace grounds, the King met an older man who asked about the purpose of the King's trip. The older man then wrote something on the thumbnail of the King of Tallo and sent greetings to the strange man on the beach. When the King met the strange man on the beach, who was not Abdul Kadir Khatib Tunggal, he conveyed the older man's greetings. Then, about the writing on the thumbnail of the King of Tallo, it turned out to be an inscription with the words "Surah al-Fatiha". Khatib Tunggal stated that the older man who met the King was the incarnation of the Prophet Muhammad. Furthermore, from that story, the people of Makassar named the incarnation of the Prophet Muhammad.

At least several factors made Makassar the destination of this migration. First, before Makassar became a significant commercial power in the 16th-17th centuries, a Portuguese traveler named Tome Pires, who visited Malacca and Java in 1512-1515, reported on the bustling harbor of Makassar, the capital of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom. He found the Bugis-Makassar people to be skillful traders using large, well-shaped trading boats (Corteseo in Mattulada, 1976). He also noted that the port of Makassar exchanged rice, foodstuffs, and gold for Gujarati, Bengali, and Coromandel textiles. Ships from Makassar sailed to Java, Malacca, Borneo, Siam, and everywhere between Pahang and Siam (Sutherland et al., 2004). Tome Pires' account indicates that in the 15th century, Makassar was quite active in trading with

other parts of the archipelago and beyond. However, the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo, which in the 17th century was known as the Sultanate of Makassar, only emerged as an influential kingdom at the end of the 16th century.

Secondly, there was an existing relationship between the people of South Sulawesi and the Malay areas in the western part of the archipelago because the people of South Sulawesi had been known as ocean travelers and were recorded to have stopped, even settled in various regions in the archipelago. Of the various areas recorded as having been visited, the Malay Peninsula was one of the locations that became the destination of the South Sulawesi people. As a strategic area in terms of trade, this area became the destination of many traders from various regions. The existence of Malacca and Islamic rule in Aceh became a marketplace where transactions took place for traders.

Thirdly, Makassar, which is located in the eastern part of the archipelago, became a migration destination because the islands in the western part of the archipelago, such as Java and Sumatra, had been successfully Islamized, so they moved to the eastern part of the archipelago to spread Islam. This migration plays an important role because its impact makes Makassar inhabited by Islamic communities, which indirectly spread Islam in Makassar through marriage with the local population—according to the ancient manuscript of Lontara Pattoriolong, a community of Malay traders from Campa, Pattani, Johor and Minangkabau built a Muslim settlement in Mangallekana near Sumba Opu, the seat of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom. They even built a mosque near the Sumba Opu fort (Sewang, 2005). This was possible because Nakhoda Bonang, a Malay community leader, came to the King of Gowa-Tallo and asked to be allowed to settle and requested that privileges be given to the Malays of Pahang, Campa, Pattani, Johor, and Minangkabau who were already settled in Makassar (Utomo, 2011). This indicates that Islam had entered the South Sulawesi region in the 16th-17th centuries before being officially adopted by the kingdoms of South Sulawesi one by one.

The Role of the Scholars

In the first period of Islamic development in South Sulawesi, Islamization was marked by the conversion of rulers or kings in coastal areas or port cities to Islam. This was followed by their role as patrons in developing Islamic broadcasting centers in their respective regions. Likewise, the acceleration of the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi was greatly supported by the approach system and da'wah methods carried out by three Minangkabau preachers, namely Datuk Ri Tiro, Datuk Patimang, and Datuk Ri Bandang. They used an accommodative approach and structural and cultural adaptation, namely through the

bureaucratic structure of the King, as well as the customs and traditions of the local community. This confirms that Islamization in South Sulawesi was through the palace door.

Meanwhile, the presence of Bugis scholars in the role of Islamization in South Sulawesi after the three Minangkabau preachers, there was no information about this until the emergence of a great scholar famous in Bugis and Makassar history, namely Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari, a figure who can be classified as a Bugis and Makassar scholar who had an important role in the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi until the 20th century. Two periods have lost track of the history of Islamization in South Sulawesi. The first is the period starting from the first acceptance of Islam by the people of South Sulawesi until the emergence of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari. The second is the period after the departure of Sheikh Yusuf until the transition to the 20th century. Sheikh Yusuf had written works or books that could be read by the Bugis-Makassar community.

Sheikh Yusuf also returned his students to Bugis-Makassar to teach Islam, especially about Sufism. Some of the names of Sheikh Yusuf's disciples are Sheikh Nurud Din Abdul Fattah, Abdul Basyir al Darirul Khalwati, and Abdul Kadir Daeng Majannang (Lubis, 1997). They succeeded in teaching and spreading the teachings of the Khalwatiyah order developed by Sheikh Yusuf, which later spread widely in the South Sulawesi area. The process of spreading the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf's Khalwatiyah order in the next period was always in the hands of the Bugis-Makassar elite. This emphasizes that the transformation of Islamic teachings played by Sheikh Yusuf focused more on teaching the Khalwatiyah Order to the Bugis-Makassar community through the works or books he wrote, both in Bugis, Makassar, and Arabic. The Tarikat Khlwatiyah has developed so rapidly that, according to the Indonesianist on Islam, Van Bruinessen, it has taken firm root in the Bugis-Makassar community, and is one of the main factors that has colored the style of Islam in South Sulawesi throughout its history.

Dynamics of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom

After embracing Islam, there was a desire of Sultan Alauddin (1593-1639) and his mangkubum Sultan Abdullah Awalul Islam to spread Islam to all corners of the country, including neighboring kingdoms, and the kings of the country by the Islamic law that he received. In the context of the mission of spreading Islam throughout the land of South Sulawesi, the first step taken by the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom in spreading Islam was by peaceful means, namely sending gifts through envoys to several small kingdoms around the Gowa-

Tallo Kingdom to accept Islam.

The Bugis kingdoms rejected the invitation for several reasons. Firstly, the Bugis kingdoms regarded the invitation as a justification for the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom to control the kingdoms in Bugis land. The second reason for the rejection was ignorance of the teachings of Islam itself, which was feared to disrupt the existing social order. The Bugis kingdoms found it difficult to abandon the custom of eating pork, drinking palm wine, cockfighting, gambling, having multiple wives, and so on. In addition, the rejection of Islam by the Bugis kingdoms was due to a lack of information and explanations about Islam, which caused the Bugis kingdoms not to understand Islam thoroughly and considered the invitation to be a political hegemony that the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom wanted to launch, so in the end, the Bugis kingdoms adamantly rejected the call.

This rejection caused the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom to take another path. It was forced to declare the politics of Islamization by declaring war on the Bugis kingdoms known as Musu Selleng. Sultan Alauddin called for war against the three kingdoms gathered in the Tellumpocoe alliance because the three Bugis kingdoms violated the previously agreed-upon agreement. Sultan Alauddin considered that Islam was a good way that must be spread. In contrast, the obligation to spread goodness was stated in an agreement among the kingdoms on the South Sulawesi peninsula, including the kingdoms gathered in the Tellumpocoe alliance. Sultan Alauddin considered Islam a new religion that could bring good if it were spread. However, the three Bugis kingdoms refused unnaturally, so the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo considered it harassment. As a result, the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom, which previously had good intentions to spread Islam, then defended its honor as the most influential kingdom in South Sulawesi by fighting the Bugis kingdoms that had harassed it.

The defeat of the Kingdoms of Soppeng and Wajo weakened the Tellumpocoe alliance as two members could no longer assist if attacked by other kingdoms. Although the allied kingdoms of the Kingdom of Bone had submitted to the Kingdom of Gowa, the attitude of the Kingdom of Bone towards the call of the Kingdom of Gowa to accept Islam remained ignored. The rejection was more motivated by the attitude and view of the Kingdom of Bone towards the call of the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo, which was considered a political expansion of territory and influence in the Bugis land area. The war by the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo against the Kingdom of Bone was caused by the attitude of the 12th Bone king La Tenri Pale, the Ade' Pitue council in the Kingdom of Bone which decided everything about the running of the government system in the Kingdom of Bone, and the officials from the Kingdom of Bone who

both refused to embrace Islam. This started when Sultan Alauddin came to the inauguration of La Tenri Ruwa as the 11th king of Bone in 1611 AD.

After the inauguration, Sultan Alauddin invited the Bone Kingdom to embrace Islam. La Tenri Ruwa, as the King of Bone, gladly accepted the invitation, accepting Islam as the official religion of the Bone Kingdom. Thus, the Kingdom of Gowa Tallo held two roles simultaneously, namely as a political power center and a trade center. These two interrelated matters made the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo hold hegemony and ensure peace and security in Sulawesi, particularly in eastern Indonesian waters. This allowed the development of trade in Makassar, so that when there were more traders in Makassar, the kingdom's income would increase and could then be used to build the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom to become stronger.

Religious Culture, Local Wisdom and Community Responses to Islamic Organizations in South Sulawesi

South Sulawesi, with its capital city of Makassar, is geographically located in the southern part of Sulawesi Island has long played a significant role in spreading Islam in Eastern Indonesia. Historically, this region was home to influential local kingdoms, particularly the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo, which later united to form the Makassar Kingdom. This political unification in the 17th century marked a turning point in the development of Islam, coinciding with the peak of the Makassar Kingdom's influence in both political and economic domains (Sulistyo, 2014).

The initial introduction of Islam to South Sulawesi can be traced to commercial interactions between local populations and Malay Muslim traders in the early 17th century. This trade-based engagement created a conducive environment for religious exchange, further supported by the kingdom's policies that facilitated Islamic influence. Furthermore, three prominent Islamic scholars—Dato ri Bandang, Dato Pattimang, and Dato ri Tiro—were pivotal in institutionalizing Islam within the royal courts. By converting the local rulers first, they established a top-down model of Islamization, which significantly accelerated the acceptance of Islam among the broader population (Raja, 2011).

The Muslim society of South Sulawesi developed within a rich cultural framework that integrated Islamic teachings with local wisdom. Central to this synthesis were indigenous values such as *siri'* (honor, dignity), *pesse* (empathy, compassion), and *lempu'* (honesty and integrity), which became deeply intertwined with Islamic ethical teachings. These values guided individual behavior and reinforced communal harmony and social responsibility,

resonating with the Islamic principles of ukhuwah, amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, and justice. Islam in South Sulawesi did not replace local traditions but transformed and enriched them, giving birth to a unique religious culture. Ceremonies such as maulid nabi, barzanji readings, communal prayers during harvests (maccera), and Islamic-influenced rites of passage became standard practices that blended Islamic devotion with regional customs. Mosques served not only as religious centers but also as hubs of education, social gathering, and conflict resolution, traditionally held by adat institutions, thereby reflecting the dynamic integration of Islam with local structures.

Religious leadership was embodied by tokoh adat and tokoh agama, who held complementary authority in guiding the community. Their roles illustrate how the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi was neither coercive nor displacing, but rather adaptive and dialogical, negotiating space within the socio-cultural fabric. This cultural religiosity fostered a strong collective Islamic identity that valued orthodoxy and tolerance. When Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and later Wahdah Islamiyah emerged in the early 20th century, the community broadly welcomed them as vehicles for religious renewal, education, and social service. Although their ideological orientations varied, these organizations found resonance within local Muslim communities, particularly because they adapted to existing cultural values while offering structured religious guidance.

The community's positive response is reflected through active participation in various religious and social activities, support for educational institutions established by Islamic organizations, and increasingly intense involvement in religious discourse and civic activities. Since the beginning of the 20th century, several Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and later Wahdah Islamiyah began to grow and gain an important place in the religious social structure of Indonesian Muslim society. Despite having different ideological backgrounds and religious approaches, these three organizations gained wide acceptance from the community due to their real contributions in da'wah, education, and social welfare.

This acceptance cannot be separated from the ability of these organizations to build harmonious relations with local communities through contextual and adaptive approaches. They not only bring a discourse of renewal in the fields of religion and education, but also show sensitivity to cultural values and local religious practices that have taken root in the people's lives. This inclusive attitude is realized through respect for local Islamic traditions, a deep understanding of the community's social needs, and the ability to accommodate local

wisdom as part of da'wah and empowerment strategies. Thus, these organizations function as agents of religious renewal and catalysts in sustainable social transformation. Their role in shaping a religious identity that is moderate, science-oriented, and in line with national values makes their existence relevant in facing the challenges of the times and the dynamics of society.

The Role of Islamic Community Organizations (ORMAS) in South Sulawesi

The emergence of Islamic organizations in Indonesia was primarily driven by rising patriotism and nationalism, as well as responses to the challenges faced by Indonesians towards the end of the 19th century. These challenges eventually led to the nation's decline under Dutch colonial policies. During the Dutch East Indies era, Islamic mass organizations were established in several phases: first, Islamic da'wah (missionary activities); second, educational development; and third, strengthening the community's economy (Hayati, 2018). These three efforts enabled the Islamic movement to flourish despite political restrictions and bans imposed by the colonial government.

The anti-colonial struggle led by Islamic organizations in Indonesia significantly influenced the development of Islam in South Sulawesi. According to Van Bruinessen, Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), often utilized transnational movements to reduce religious authorities' control and to mobilize communities. In South Sulawesi, various national and local Islamic organizations played important roles in this context (Wahid, 2014).

Islamic Union (Sarekat Islam)

The idea of establishing the Sarekat Dagang Islam (Islamic Trade Union) arose as a response to the economic pressure and unfair trade practices faced by indigenous Javanese traders under Dutch colonial rule, particularly from Chinese intermediaries who dominated the trade of essential materials such as woven fabrics, dyes, and candles. This situation prompted indigenous traders to strengthen themselves and resist these exploitative practices (Muryanti, 2006).

Sarekat Dagang Islam was founded by Haji Samanhudi with assistance from R.M. Tirtoadisuryo in Surakarta in September 1906. Despite many obstacles, including prohibitions on public meetings, the colonial government officially recognized it in 1911. Besides Samanhudi, Cokroaminoto was a key figure who proposed expanding the union beyond trade

to become a broader Islamic organization. This vision led to the transformation from Sarekat Dagang Islam into Sarekat Islam.

Between 1913 and 1921, Sarekat Islam in South Sulawesi developed a stable organizational structure that addressed political, economic, and religious issues. Annual meetings functioned as national congresses focusing on Islamic nationalism. Datuk Suppa Andi Abdullah Bau Massepe was a prominent local leader who was crucial to the organization's regional activities.

Furthermore, H.O.S. Cokroaminoto collaborated with Petta Barru to expand Sarekat Islam's influence in South Sulawesi, inviting Datuk Suppa Andi Abdullah Bau Massepe to join the struggle. According to the South Sulawesi Sarekat Islam da'wah bulletin, the organization's principles included: 1) Islam as the foundation of the organization's struggle. 2) Populism is the basis for organizational assembly. 3) Socio-economic principles aimed at improving the welfare of generally impoverished communities.

Adaption and Development of Islamic Civilization by Sarekat Islam in South Sulawesi

Sarekat Islam did not merely function as a trade union but also as a significant agent in the socio-religious transformation and the development of Islamic civilization in South Sulawesi. In adapting to the local context, Sarekat Islam integrated Islamic values with the region's existing cultural and social structures. This strategic adaptation allowed the organization to resonate deeply with the people of South Sulawesi, who were rooted in a tradition that combined indigenous wisdom with Islamic teachings.

Through its activities, Sarekat Islam promoted Islamic education, social welfare, and political awareness, strengthening Islamic identity in the region. The organization established schools and religious study groups (*pengajian*) that helped spread Islamic knowledge among the masses, fostering a sense of unity and religious consciousness. Moreover, Sarekat Islam was crucial in encouraging social justice and economic empowerment for the local Muslim community. By addressing socio-economic issues such as poverty and unfair trade practices, the organization helped improve the living conditions of many Indonesians, thus reflecting Islam's comprehensive approach to social welfare.

In South Sulawesi, Sarekat Islam's efforts complemented the existing Islamic cultural values like *siri'* (honor), *pesse* (compassion), and *lempu'* (integrity), enhancing a unique Islamic civilization that harmonized faith and local customs. This process also helped mobilize local Muslims in the broader national struggle against colonialism and laid the foundation for further regional Islamic movements and organizations. Sarekat Dagang Islam was founded to

respond to economic exploitation under colonial policies. By transforming into Sarekat Islam, the organization expanded its scope to embrace broader religious, political, and economic agendas. This transformation illustrates how indigenous elites mobilized religious and economic grievances to form a collective identity, in line with Resource Mobilization Theory's tenets, especially in leveraging organizational networks and charismatic leadership (e.g., Cokroaminoto) to drive large-scale mobilization. Annual congresses and structured politico-religious frameworks highlight conscious efforts to consolidate and formalize mobilization structures in response to systemic inequalities.

In South Sulawesi, local leaders such as Datuk Suppa Andi Abdullah Bau Massepe played a central role in contextualizing the movement within local cultural and religious frameworks. This reflects how social movements adapt national discourses into local contexts a key tenet in Political Process Theory and the framing perspective. Integrating Islamic values with regional principles such as *Siri*, *pesse*, and *lempu* allowed Sarekat Islam to construct a culturally resonant Islamic identity, fostering legitimacy and mass support.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

The idea of forming the *jamiyyah* emerged initially from the *Tashwirul Afkar* discussion forum, founded by Kiai Wahab in 1924 in Surabaya (Ulum & Wahid, 2019). The forum, which means "portrait of thought," was established to reflect Kiai Wahab's and other *kiais*' concerns regarding the challenges Muslims face regarding religious practice, education, and politics. After participants agreed to form a *jamiyyah*, Kiai Wahab sought blessings from other scholars.

Historically, before the formal establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) had already formed organizations such as Nahdlatul Wathon (National Awakening, 1916). Due to colonialism, these *pesantren* scholars prioritized a national awakening beyond narrow Islamic groups, focusing on the struggle for independence. Nahdlatul Wathon was the center of this independence movement, further strengthened by the establishment of Nahdlatul Tujjar (Merchant Awakening), an initiative to build economic independence amid colonial oppression. Nahdlatul Tujjar was a practical economic struggle alongside Nahdlatul Wathon's national struggle.

Nahdlatul Ulama has consistently been at the forefront of Islamic moderation in Indonesia, promoting a balanced and fair understanding of Islamic teachings. In carrying out *tawasuth* (moderation) and *i'tidal* (balance), NU employs three main approaches: 1) *Fiqh al-*

Ahkam, which involves the application of Islamic law for communities prepared to implement sharia; 2) Fiqh al-Da'wah, which focuses on religious propagation and community coaching. 3) Fiqh al-Siyasah relates to NU's engagement in national and political affairs. The role of NU at the central level has also profoundly influenced the development of Islam in South Sulawesi. At the early stages of independence, NU's efforts included strengthening *aqidah* (faith) and worship, alongside advancing religious perceptions in social, educational, and economic fields. NU's struggle against Dutch colonialism was a cultural struggle aimed at independence—prominent NU figures such as Wahid Hasyim and KH. Masykur, a BPUPKI member, played a significant role (Goncing, 2015).

After Indonesia's independence proclamation, most Islamic organizations, including NU, supported the formation of Masyumi as a political party. However, due to internal conflicts, NU left Masyumi in 1950 and became an autonomous political party in 1952. During the Old Order era (1960–1966), NU positioned itself as a force against communism by establishing organizations such as Banser (Barisan Ansor Serbaguna), Lesbumi (Muslim Cultural Arts Institute), and Pertanu (NU Farmers Association). On October 5, 1965, NU demanded the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

In the New Order era under President Soeharto, NU's activities split between politically motivated factions aligned with the NU Party and social movements focused on *da'wah* and community development. A tug-of-war ensued between NU social organizations and the PPP, a party formed by a merger that included NU. Furthermore, Nahdlatul Ulama in South Sulawesi has been adaptive in integrating Islamic teachings with local wisdom by applying its core principles of *tawassuth* (moderation), *i'tidal* (balance), and *tasamuh* (tolerance). This approach helps harmonize Islamic values with indigenous cultural practices, reinforcing social cohesion and preventing religious conflict. Such a methodological approach has enabled NU to sustain its relevance in the socio-cultural fabric of South Sulawesi.

Additionally, *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) affiliated with NU in South Sulawesi have played a critical role as religious education and social guidance centers, preserving *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* traditions while encouraging community empowerment and education. These *pesantren* act as vital nodes for maintaining religious moderation and transmitting local Islamic values. In facing contemporary challenges such as modernization, religious pluralism, and social issues, NU in South Sulawesi actively engages in interfaith dialogue and promotes social solidarity. Its commitment to peaceful coexistence and inclusive Islamic teachings continues to strengthen its role as a unifying social and religious force.

Strategies and Approaches in South Sulawesi

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) implemented several adaptive and inclusive strategies rooted in local culture and community dynamics to expand its influence and develop Islamic civilization in South Sulawesi. Religious doctrines and socio-cultural contexts shaped these strategies. First, NU applied a cultural accommodation strategy, integrating local values such as *Siri* (honor), *pesse* (compassion), and *Tempus* (integrity) into its religious teachings. This made Islamic messages more acceptable and relatable to local communities (Sulistyo, 2014). For example, NU preachers often incorporated Bugis-Makassar proverbs and wisdom during sermons to promote Islamic ethics without appearing confrontational or foreign.

Second, NU promoted community-based Islamic education, including establishing *madrasah diniyah*, *pengajian* circles, and traditional *pesantren*. These institutions provided Islamic knowledge in a culturally sensitive way and became centers of religious and civic learning (Ulum & Wahid, 2019). Education focused on ritual matters and addressed social justice, ethics, and economic awareness.

Third, NU engaged in collaborative *dakwah* (religious outreach) with *tokoh masyarakat* (local leaders), village elders, and traditional figures. This approach allowed NU to act not as an outsider but as part of the local social fabric. Through this grassroots engagement, NU built trust and legitimacy (Goncing, 2015).

Fourth, NU employed flexible political positioning. During the colonial and early independence periods, NU positioned itself as a religious and political force through participation in *Masyumi*, and later established its party in 1952. However, after 1984, NU returned to its *khittah* (founding vision) as a social-religious organization, focusing on education and societal development. This strategic shift allowed NU to maintain relevance in changing political environments (Ulum & Wahid, 2019). Finally, NU also developed ideological resilience by countering radical ideologies such as communism. In the 1960s, NU in South Sulawesi contributed to the national anti-communist movement by organizing *Banser* (a paramilitary youth wing) and cultural organizations such as *Lesbumi* (Muslim Cultural Arts Institute), which promoted Islamic arts and traditional culture (Goncing, 2015).

These approaches illustrate that NU's development in South Sulawesi was not merely a top-down dissemination of Islamic doctrine, but a dynamic, adaptive, and dialogical process of civilization-building rooted in Islamic principles and local wisdom. Nahdlatul Ulama applies several strategic approaches and methodologies to develop Islamic civilization and

address social challenges in South Sulawesi. These strategies reflect NU's commitment to moderation, social cohesion, and community empowerment:

a) Tawasuth (Moderation) and I'tidal (Balance)

NU consistently promotes a moderate understanding of Islam, avoiding extremes and fostering a balanced religious practice. This is done through educational programs in pesantrens (Islamic boarding schools), mosque activities, and community outreach, ensuring Islamic teachings remain relevant and inclusive in a pluralistic society.

b) Fiqh al-Ahkam (Legal Jurisprudence)

NU develops and implements Islamic law progressively according to the community's readiness, providing practical legal guidance that respects local contexts and traditions. This juridical approach is flexible and dynamic, allowing Islamic law to coexist harmoniously with national laws and cultural values in South Sulawesi.

c) Fiqh al-Da'wah (Religious Propagation and Education)

The organization conducts da'wah through religious education, social services, and spiritual coaching. This approach strengthens faith (aqidah) and religious practices while also addressing socio-economic issues, aiming to improve the welfare of Muslim communities.

d) Fiqh al-Siyasah (Political Engagement)

NU strategically participates in political processes to protect religious freedoms and promote policies aligned with Islamic ethics and social justice. This approach includes involvement in national and local governance and forming affiliated organizations like Banser for community security and social order.

e) Cultural Integration and Local Wisdom Adaptation

NU adopts a culturally sensitive strategy by integrating Islamic values with South Sulawesi's local customs and traditions. This approach helps minimize conflicts between religious teachings and indigenous practices, fostering mutual respect and social harmony.

f) Community Empowerment and Social Development

NU promotes education, economic independence, and social welfare programs through social institutions such as pesantren. This bottom-up approach empowers rural communities by enhancing knowledge, skills, and economic resilience.

g) Interfaith Dialogue and Religious Tolerance

NU encourages open dialogue and cooperation among religious groups to build peaceful coexistence in a religiously diverse region. This strategy involves collaborative activities with other faith communities and public advocacy for pluralism.

In the New Order era under President Soeharto, NU's activities split between politically motivated factions aligned with the NU Party and social movements focused on da'wah and community development. A tug-of-war ensued between NU social organizations and the PPP, a party formed by a merger that included NU (Effendy, 2001). Furthermore, Nahdlatul Ulama in South Sulawesi has been adaptive in integrating Islamic teachings with local wisdom by applying its core principles of *tawasuth* (moderation), *i'tidal* (balance), and *tasamuh* (tolerance). This approach helps harmonize Islamic values with indigenous cultural practices, reinforcing social cohesion and preventing religious conflict. Such a methodological approach has enabled NU to sustain its relevance in the socio-cultural fabric of South Sulawesi (Fadhli, 2017).

Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) affiliated with NU in South Sulawesi have played a critical role as centers of religious education and social guidance. They preserve *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* traditions while encouraging community empowerment and education. These pesantren act as vital nodes for maintaining religious moderation and transmitting local Islamic values (Abdullah, 2020). In facing contemporary challenges such as modernization, religious pluralism, and social issues, NU in South Sulawesi actively engages in interfaith dialogue and promotes social solidarity. Its commitment to peaceful coexistence and inclusive Islamic teachings continues to strengthen its role as a unifying social and religious force (Rachmat, 2022).

One of the key factors behind the broad acceptance of Nahdlatul Ulama among both the *priyayi* (Javanese aristocracy) and rural communities lies in its flexible and inclusive religious approach rooted in *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* teachings. NU's adaptability to local customs (*'urf*) and its emphasis on Islamic moderation (*wasathiyah*) have made it highly compatible with Indonesia's diverse cultural landscape (Bruinessen, 1995). In rural areas, NU's religious authority has been maintained through the charismatic leadership of *kiai* and the widespread influence of pesantren. These institutions function not merely as centers of Islamic education but also as social and cultural hubs that foster strong community ties. NU's acceptance of local traditions, such as *slametan* (communal feast) and *ziarah kubur* (grave pilgrimage), resonates deeply with rural religious sensibilities (Lukens-Bull, 2005).

Among the *priyayi* class, NU's appeal stems from its syncretic accommodation of Islamic values with Javanese court traditions. This includes a shared emphasis on spiritual refinement, ethical conduct, and social harmony values that align with the *priyayi*'s cultural

ideals (Woodward, 1989). Rather than confronting local traditions, NU integrates them into its religious framework, enabling cultural continuity and religious legitimacy. This strategic cultural integration allows NU to bridge social strata, fostering unity between the educated elite and the ordinary people (Bruinessen, 1995; Woodward, 1989).

The establishment of NU through Tashwirul Afkar and movements such as Nahdlatul Wathon and Nahdlatul Tujjar signaled a synthesis between religious revivalism and national and economic struggle. This demonstrates the Resource Mobilization framework in action: The NU consolidated educational, religious, and economic capital, particularly through pesantren and merchant associations, to support its long-term institutional existence. NU's involvement in political structures, from its resistance to colonialism to its role in post-independence politics, further illustrates its strategic use of informal (grassroots) and formal (institutional) resources to maintain its relevance.

In South Sulawesi, the NU implemented a strategy of cultural accommodation by integrating Bugis-Makassar values with Islamic teachings. This reflects framing theory's emphasis on cultural resonance as a prerequisite for effective mobilization. By contextualizing Islamic values in local socio-cultural idioms, the NU ensures legitimacy and sustainability, especially in a pluralistic society undergoing socio-political transition. Pesantren operated as centers of religious knowledge and as nodes for socio-political engagement, especially during the anti-communist mobilization in the New Order era. Here, the dual role of educational institutions as ideological hubs and community organizing centres aligns with the focus of Resource Mobilization Theory, which sees institutions as a durable infrastructure for sustained activism.

Muhammadiyah

The early history of Muhammadiyah's emergence in South Sulawesi is inseparable from the decline of Sarekat Islam, which was marked by internal conflicts. These conflicts prompted some prominent figures in South Sulawesi, such as Haji Abdullah from Sarekat Islam Makassar and Muhammad Daeng Boko from Sarekat Islam Selayar, to leave the organization (Zebua, 2019). Muhammadiyah was established as a modern Islamic movement with the core mission of da'wah (Islamic propagation) and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (commanding good and forbidding evil). This mission is directed at two main domains: individuals and society. In the individual domain, Muhammadiyah's da'wah operates in two ways: first, *tajdid* (Islamic renewal), which aims to purify the faith of Muslims by returning to the original and authentic teachings of Islam; and second, inviting non-Muslims to embrace Islam. In the societal

domain, da'wah focuses on social reform, moral guidance, and community development (Zebua, 2019).

As a reformist movement, Muhammadiyah based its programs on the need to purify Islam from local traditions and practices that contradicted Islamic teachings. Among all sectors, education was prioritized as the most strategic entry point for realizing this agenda. This emphasis on education stemmed from the belief that ignorance was a key obstacle to religious purity and social progress. Therefore, education was a means of transmitting knowledge and a vehicle for religious enlightenment and societal transformation (Rusydi, 2015).

The establishment of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi began with the arrival of Mansyur al-Yamani, a batik trader, in Makassar in 1924. After settling and engaging in trade at Pasar Straat, he introduced the ideas of Muhammadiyah to the leaders and members of As-Sirathal Mustaqim, a local Islamic association. His ideas resonated with several members, who eventually left As-Shirathal Mustaqim and joined efforts to establish the Makassar branch of Muhammadiyah. This initiative received strong support from former Sarekat Islam figures such as Haji Abdul Razak and Haji Abdullah. Finally, on 15 Ramadan 1344 AH (April 27, 1926), the Muhammadiyah Makassar Branch was officially founded (Zebua, 2019).

The Muhammadiyah movement quickly spread to various regions in South Sulawesi, including Rappang (1928), Pinrang (1930), Pare-Pare (1929), Majene (1929), Soppeng (1928), Sengkang (1928), Maros (1929), Gowa (1928), and many others. This rapid expansion resulted from Muhammadiyah's practical, rational, and structured approach to Islamic propagation (Rusydi, 2015). Muhammadiyah's activities in South Sulawesi can be grouped into four major areas:

- a) Religious affairs include guidance on aqidah (creed), ibadah (worship), ethics, social transactions based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, and building mosques and prayer rooms.
- b) Education, focusing on integrating modern schooling systems with traditional Islamic learning.
- c) Social and community development, such as establishing hospitals, clinics, orphanages, and other charitable services.

- d) Political participation, where Muhammadiyah, while not affiliated with any political party, still engages in social-political affairs by promoting moral guidance and providing ethical critiques of governmental policies (Rusydi, 2015).

One of the key factors behind Muhammadiyah's success lies in its institutional focus on education. From its inception, Muhammadiyah recognized that intellectual and moral decline among Muslims was due to inadequate access to modern, structured education. By establishing schools that combined religious knowledge with general sciences, Muhammadiyah produced a generation of religiously devout and intellectually competent Muslims. Moreover, focusing on education allowed Muhammadiyah to gain trust from a broad spectrum of society, including urban elites and emerging middle-class Muslims who saw education as a tool for social mobility and empowerment. The educational institutions also became centers of reform, where Muhammadiyah could systematically instill its values of rationality, discipline, and religious purification. Education was also less politically confrontational than other forms of activism, making it a practical entry point for social reform without facing strong resistance from colonial authorities at the time. This pragmatic strategy ensured the sustainability and expansion of Muhammadiyah's influence throughout Indonesia, particularly in regions like South Sulawesi.

Why Urban Communities More Accept Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah tends to be more readily accepted by urban communities due to several key factors:

- a) Rational and Modern Teachings

Muhammadiyah is a modernist Islamic movement that emphasizes rationality, reform (tajdid), and a return to pure Islamic teachings based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. This approach resonates well with urban populations, who are generally more open to modernization and critical thinking.

- b) Focus on Formal Education and Healthcare

Muhammadiyah has established many modern schools, hospitals, orphanages, and social facilities, which are in greater demand and develop more rapidly in urban areas. Urban communities, which highly value education and health services, enthusiastically welcome these programs.

- c) Social Base: Urban Middle Class

Many Muhammadiyah members and supporters come from groups such as teachers, civil servants, traders, and professional's segments that predominantly reside and

work in cities. Their presence strengthens Muhammadiyah's networks and influence within urban environments.

d) Organizational Style: Orderly and Modern

Muhammadiyah employs a structured, administrative, and professional organizational system, rather than relying on charismatic individual leadership. This model aligns with the organizational culture prevalent in cities.

e) Neutral Political Stance

While Muhammadiyah is not a political party nor a subordinate organization of any party, it actively provides moral and ethical guidance and critique of government and social policies. This stance appeals to the pluralistic and pragmatic political attitudes common among urban populations.

f) Rejection of Non-Sharia Local Traditions

Urban communities tend to be less bound by local traditional customs than rural societies. Thus, Muhammadiyah's stance against local cultural practices contradicting Islamic law is more easily accepted in urban areas.

Muhammadiyah's emphasis on *tajdid* (Islamic renewal) and structured education reflects a rationalist-modernist approach that appeals primarily to the urban middle class. Regarding resource mobilization, Muhammadiyah's success lies in its ability to systematize the spread of religion through formal institutions (schools, hospitals, charities), which serve as material and organizational resources for continued growth. Its non-political yet ethically engaged stance aligns with broader theoretical ideas that social movements do not necessarily need political affiliation to mobilize effectively, but require credibility, infrastructure, and a compelling vision. In South Sulawesi, Muhammadiyah expanded rapidly through rational and institutionalized *da'wah*, demonstrating the role of ideology in shaping organizational form. This illustrates how ideological framings (purification, education, modernity) can function as mobilizing structures when strategically aligned with social class dynamics and urbanization.

Wahdah Islamiyah

Wahdah Islamiyah is a rapidly growing Islamic community organization in South Sulawesi, especially prominent in Bulukumba. The essence of Wahdah Islamiyah's mission is based on the concept of *tarbiyah*—a comprehensive educational and coaching process explicitly aimed at Muslims. *Tarbiyah* emphasizes the holistic development of all aspects of its participants, directing those who seek more profound Islamic knowledge into a rigorous

and purposeful practice of Islamic teachings. This guidance aims to enable individuals to carry out their religious duties effectively and contribute positively to the welfare of the broader Muslim community (ummah) in the future (Tajuddin, 2013).

The organization is headquartered in Makassar and has numerous branches throughout South Sulawesi and other regions. Wahdah Islamiyah plays a significant role in various fields as outlined below:

a) Education Sector

Wahdah Islamiyah operates a wide range of educational institutions, including kindergartens (TPA), Islamic elementary schools, Islamic junior high schools, special Islamic boarding schools focused on Quran memorization (Tahfiz) and Tadribad-Dau'at (training for Islamic preachers), diploma programs for kindergarten teachers, and higher education institutions such as the Islamic and Arabic Language College (STIBA). According to Anwar Aras, many elementary and university schools prioritize Quranic learning and memorization. Notably, kindergarten through junior high schools are administered under the Education Office (Diknas), rather than the Ministry of Religious Affairs, reflecting the organization's broad engagement with formal education systems.

b) Islamic Da'wah Sector

Wahdah Islamiyah is actively engaged in Islamic preaching and information dissemination through its Infokom Department, which manages various da'wah facilities. Among these is Al-Wahdah FM, a private radio station broadcasting 90.1 MHz. Before establishing the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) in South Sulawesi in 2004, the station operated on 95.3 FM. The radio station broadcasts daily from 5:00 am to 10:30 pm, featuring Quran recitations by imams from Middle Eastern mosques and Islamic lectures delivered in both monologue and interactive dialogue formats. Additionally, Wahdah Islamiyah publishes Islam Al-Bashirah, a bi-monthly official journal of the organization.

c) Social and Cultural Sector

The organization has a strong orientation toward social welfare and outreach activities, with a dedicated department to address social issues in South Sulawesi. Its programs include: 1) Disaster management through the Disaster Response Team (TPMWI), which assists victims of natural and accidental disasters. 2) Health Assistance Fund (DANKES), a community-funded program to support Muslim

health care. 3) The 3B program (used clothes donation) collects and distributes quality used clothing to those in need. 4) Rice and Basic Necessities donation program (BS), aimed at alleviating economic disparities in the community. 5) The Iftar and Suhoor Donation Program (BPS), held annually during the holy month of Ramadan, provides meals for fasting Muslims.

Wahdah Islamiyah's comprehensive approach, integrating education, da'wah, and social welfare, positions it as a key Islamic movement in South Sulawesi. Its focus on tarbiyah ensures the development of knowledgeable and committed Muslims capable of addressing spiritual and social challenges in their communities. The key to Wahdah Islamiyah's rapid growth and success lies in its focused and comprehensive approach to tarbiyah, which prioritizes the holistic development of its members—spiritually, intellectually, and socially. This strong educational foundation ensures members are well-prepared to practice Islam authentically and contribute positively to society. Key success factors include:

- a) **Emphasis on Tarbiyah (Islamic Education and Coaching):** Wahdah Islamiyah's core strategy is implementing tarbiyah, which teaches religious knowledge and fosters moral and social responsibility. This intensive coaching process strengthens personal commitment and communal bonds.
- b) **Integration of Education and Da'wah:** By operating a vast network of educational institutions, Wahdah Islamiyah nurtures generations of Muslims grounded in Quranic knowledge and Islamic values, creating a sustainable base for its da'wah activities.
- c) **Utilization of Modern Media:** The organization's use of media such as Al-Wahdah FM radio and the publication of Islam Al-Bashirah journal allows it to reach broader audiences effectively, spreading Islamic teachings and community updates.

Strong Social Engagement: Through social programs addressing disaster relief, health care, and poverty, Wahdah Islamiyah builds trust and goodwill in the community, reinforcing its religious mission with tangible social benefits. Strategically, Wahdah Islamiyah starts from education because: 1) Education is a fundamental platform for long-term change by shaping individuals early with proper Islamic knowledge and values. 2) It ensures continuity and sustainability of the movement by preparing future leaders and active members who can carry forward the organization's mission. 3) The educational system also acts as a gateway for broader community involvement, facilitating outreach beyond direct religious activities. By

focusing on education first, Wahdah Islamiyah establishes a strong, loyal base supporting its broader da'wah and social programs, contributing to its significant growth and influence in South Sulawesi and beyond.

Wahdah Islamiyah's growth through the tarbiyah model illustrates a highly structured approach to the spread of Islam, emphasizing discipline, education, and social outreach. This reflects Resource Mobilization Theory's assertion that successful movements build internal capacity before mass mobilization. Through an extensive network of formal schools, media platforms, and welfare programs, Wahdah Islamiyah creates a layered infrastructure capable of mobilizing intellectual and material resources. In addition, its focus on modern media (radio, publications) as a da'wah tool shows strategic adaptation to the contemporary communication landscape. From a framing perspective, Wahdah Islamiyah skillfully bridges traditional Islamic content with modern dissemination strategies, making its religious message more accessible to a tech-savvy audience. Its social services strengthen its public legitimacy, realizing a holistic Islamic social mission while strengthening grassroots support.

Table 1. The approaches of major Islamic organizations (NU, Muhammadiyah, and Wahdah Islamiyah) in developing religious understanding and local civilization:

Aspect	NU (Nahdlatul Ulama)	Muhammadiyah	Wahdah Islamiyah	Sarekat Islam
Religious Approach	Traditional, oriented towards Islam Nusantara, integrating local wisdom, traditions, and Sufism.	Modernist and puritan, focusing on purifying Islam from local practices deemed un-Islamic	Salafi reformist, emphasizing <i>tarbiyah</i> (Islamic education) and pure <i>aqidah</i> through intensive da'wah.	Nationalist-religious, combining Islamic spirit with nationalism as a liberation force.
Development of Local Civilization	Appreciates and preserves local culture as a form of	Promotes modern education and social reform to	Prioritizes education and da'wah based on tarbiyah to	Actively engaged in anti-colonial struggle and

	Islamic expression through pesantren and social traditions	improve Muslim conditions, minimizing un-Islamic local influences.	develop cadres with pure Islamic understanding	building public awareness of Islam's social-political role.
Education Strategy	Traditional pesantren integrates religious teachings with local culture.	Modern schools and universities are integrating religious and secular sciences with Islamic reform	Educational institutions from kindergarten to university focused on character building and Qur'an memorization.	Cadre education and training are also directed toward political and social awareness in the Muslim community.
Da'wah Approach	Cultural and dialogical da'wah accommodating local values and religious pluralism	Reformist da'wah rejects syncretic and local religious practices considered inconsistent with Islam.	Intensive and structured da'wah through tarbiyah and modern media platforms.	Da'wah focused on national awakening and social-political activism rooted in Islamic teachings.
Social Orientation	Highly active in social empowerment, especially in rural communities and pesantren.	Focuses on social development through education and healthcare	Wahdah Islamiyah is to build a society based on Islamic values through integrated efforts in da'wah,	Sarekat Islam is to promote social justice and economic empowerment for Muslims through unity, trade

			education, humanitarian work, and community empowerment.	cooperation, and resistance against colonial oppression.
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Based on the information above, the emergence of Islamic organizations in Indonesia was mainly driven by the rising spirit of patriotism and nationalism, as well as a response to the various challenges faced by the Indonesian nation in the late 19th century. These challenges ultimately led to the nation's decline under Dutch colonial policies. During the Dutch East Indies period, Islamic mass organizations formed in several phases: Islamic preaching, educational development, and community economic strengthening (Hayati, 2018).

This process reflects the Resource Mobilization Theory, in which Islamic organizations utilized religious identity, educational initiatives, and economic strategies as mobilized resources to build resilience and sustain the movement under colonial oppression. Despite political restrictions and prohibitions, these efforts allowed the Islamic movement to flourish, demonstrating the strategic use of material, ideological, and organizational resources to overcome structural limitations.

This research has important implications for the study of local Islamic history by highlighting the central role of Islamic organizations as agents of social change responsive to the colonial context. Understanding the resource mobilization strategies these organizations use can enrich insights into Islam's social and political dynamics at the local level. Furthermore, these findings also inspire the empowerment of modern civil society, particularly in leveraging religious identity and education as capital to strengthen community solidarity and independence. From the perspective of social-religious policy, the results of this research emphasize the importance of supporting the development of religious institutions oriented towards education and economics, as an effort to build social resilience and improve the welfare of the community in facing the challenges of the times.

Conclusion

This research emphasizes that the emergence of Islamic organizations in Indonesia, including South Sulawesi, is greatly influenced by patriotism and nationalism and responses to social and political challenges under Dutch colonial rule in the late 19th century. These

organizations play a significant role in shaping society's social, religious, and cultural development, while also contributing to the rapid growth of Islam in the region. Specifically in South Sulawesi, the roots of the Islamic organization movement can be traced back to the founding of Sarekat Islam in 1906, with important figures such as Datuk Suppa Andi Abdullah Bau Massepe. Institutions such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah have become key pillars in strengthening faith, education, and social-religious progress. Meanwhile, Wahdah Islamiyah has made tangible contributions in education, preaching, and social services. Therefore, this research enriches the local study of Islam.

Thus, this research enriches local Islamic studies by providing a comprehensive overview of the dynamics of Islamic organizations that play an active role in shaping the religious and socio-cultural identity of the people of South Sulawesi. It also provides a foundation for further studies on the role of Islam in a unique local context.

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