

The Dynamics of the Progressive Islamic Movement in South Sulawesi

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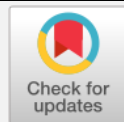
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ABSTRACT

This study outlines the concept of Progressive Islam – a term for Muhammadiyah’s religious perspective – both historically and based on the ideological foundations of the Muhammadiyah Organization. After a conceptual explanation, this study analyzes the struggles of Progressive Islam in South Sulawesi through historical aspects and direct observations as a Muhammadiyah activist. The study reveals that the early generations of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi implemented the ethos of Progressive Islam through the development of educational and da’wah enterprises. However, the emergence of cadres who established different organizations, such as Hidayatullah and Wahdah Islamiyah, highlights ideological challenges and weaknesses in consistent cadre formation. Furthermore, conservatism among Muhammadiyah members in South Sulawesi poses obstacles to actualizing Progressive Islamic thought, despite efforts to address this through Muhammadiyah’s Tarjih Ulama Education program. This study offers practical benefits by providing recommendations to strengthen cadre formation and organizational consolidation to ensure Progressive Islam remains relevant in addressing contemporary challenges. These dynamics serve as an important foundation for sustaining the progressiveness of Progressive Islam in South Sulawesi.

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1. Introduction

Islam Berkemajuan was introduced as a term to describe Muhammadiyah's religious perspective. The term gained widespread recognition during the Muhammadiyah Congress (*Muktamar Muhammadiyah*) in Makassar in 2015. Notably, in the same month and year, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), at their congress in Jombang, launched the concept of "Islam Nusantara." According to Abdul Mu'ti (2018), the term *kemajuan* (progressiveness) can be traced historically to the message of KH Ahmad Dahlan to his students: *Dadiya Kiai sing kemajuan lan aja kesel anggonmu nyambut gawe kanggo Muhammadiyah* (Be a progressive religious leader and never tire of working for Muhammadiyah). Mu'ti interprets a "Progressive Religious Leader" as a Muslim leader who masters religious knowledge, performs worship sincerely, embodies noble character (*akhlaq al-karimah*), and understands modern sciences and societal systems (Mu'ti, 2018).

Ahmad Najib Burhani, a researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), examined the roots of *Islam Berkemajuan* in his book *Muhammadiyah Berkemajuan: Pergeseran dari Puritanisme ke Kosmopolitanisme* (Burhani, 2016). Burhani traced the concept back to the *Statuten Muhammadiyah* of 1912, where the phrase "to advance religious matters among its members" was stated as an organizational goal. From 2015 to 2022, Burhani also served as Vice Chairman of the Central Muhammadiyah Library and Information Council (*Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi*).

In his writings and teachings, KH Ahmad Dahlan frequently emphasized progressiveness. For instance, in his 1923 article *Tali Pengikat Hidup Manusia* (The Bond of Human Life), he discussed the notion of a "progressive Islamic leader." According to Burhani, Ahmad Dahlan's statements regarding *berkemajuan* reflect forward-thinking ideals and a vision that always aims to be one step ahead of the present circumstances.

Mu'ti elaborated on the foundations of *Islam Berkemajuan* in the foreword to *Islam Berkemajuan: Kisah Perjuangan KH Ahmad Dahlan dan Muhammadiyah Masa Awal*, which recounts the writings of KH Syuja', one of Ahmad Dahlan's students (Mu'ti, 2018). These foundations include:

- 1) Pure monotheism (*tauhid*),
- 2) Comprehensive understanding of the Qur'an and Sunnah,
- 3) Institutionalization of functional and solution-oriented charitable acts,
- 4) Contemporary and forward-looking orientation, and
- 5) A tolerant, moderate, and cooperative attitude.

In 2014, the Muhammadiyah leadership approved a national vision encapsulated in *Indonesia Berkemajuan: Rekonstruksi Kehidupan Kebangsaan yang Bermakna* (Progressive Indonesia: Reconstruction of a Meaningful National Life). This document defines a "progressive human being" as one who aligns religious teachings with the spirit of the times. When applied to Indonesia, the term *berkemajuan* becomes *Indonesia Berkemajuan*, representing a nation that is prosperous, civilized, and just—embodying universal humanitarian values with highly educated, principled, and virtuous citizens (Burhani, 2016).

According to Nashir, the concept and framework of *Islam Berkemajuan* form part of Muhammadiyah's *Second Century Declaration* (*Pernyataan Pikiran Muhammadiyah Abad Kedua*), adopted during the Muhammadiyah Congress in Yogyakarta in 2010 (Nashir, 2018). This declaration emphasizes *Islam Berkemajuan* as encompassing:

- 1) Excellence in both physical and spiritual aspects (balance of faith, knowledge, and action),
- 2) Promotion of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning),
- 3) Support for gender equality,
- 4) Rejection of violence,
- 5) Ecological awareness,
- 6) Respect for diversity (anti-discrimination),
- 7) Advocacy for national integrity (anti-corruption and misuse of power),
- 8) Concern for humanity (anti-oppression and underdevelopment).

Referring to the same document, specifically the section on “National and Humanitarian Perspectives,” Burhani interprets *Islam Berkemajuan* as “cosmopolitan Islam.” The declaration highlights the importance of developing a global Islamic perspective transcending ethnic, national, and religious barriers (Burhani, 2016). The implication of this cosmopolitanism is universal solidarity and responsibility for humanity, overcoming primordial and conventional divisions.

While the principles of *Islam Berkemajuan* are well-documented, their implementation raises questions. The Muhammadiyah Congress in Makassar in 2015 recommended several strategic agendas for embodying this ethos, including fostering a knowledge-based society, promoting interfaith dialogue, enhancing Muslim competitiveness, unifying the Islamic calendar, supporting marginalized groups, combating narcotics, and addressing climate change through adaptation and mitigation. Additional initiatives include leveraging demographic dividends, fighting corruption collectively, and addressing human trafficking and migrant worker protections. Muhammadiyah’s commitment to the national framework was also reaffirmed in the document *Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015).

This study focuses on the articulation of Muhammadiyah’s *Islam Berkemajuan* ethos in South Sulawesi, a significant region in Muhammadiyah’s history and influence outside Java. South Sulawesi has been a fertile ground for transformative ideas, including the 1971 Ujung Pandang Guidelines (*Khittah Ujung Pandang*) and the *Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah*.

Despite being embedded in Muhammadiyah’s official documents, implementing *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi faces notable challenges. This study aims to identify key obstacles in its articulation and practice in the region. These include rising conservatism slowing Muhammadiyah’s progressive momentum, a lack of scholars deeply engaged with the ethos of *Islam Berkemajuan*, and cadres forming new *da’wah* organizations such as Hidayatullah and Wahdah Islamiyah. These dynamics pose a dilemma as the progressive spirit confronts entrenched conservative tendencies.

This research analyzes the struggles of *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi by exploring the historical and sociological factors influencing varying views and practices among Muhammadiyah members. It seeks to provide insights into how Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi can maintain consistency and sustainability in applying the ethos of *Islam Berkemajuan* amidst evolving social dynamics.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Muhammadiyah Organization

Muhammadiyah is an organization rooted in the *dakwah* movement of *amar ma’ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding evil). Thus, Muhammadiyah and *dakwah* can be likened to two sides of the same coin, inseparably intertwined and mutually reinforcing.

Muhammadiyah embraces Islam as a *rahmatan lil alamin* (a mercy to all creation), with *dakwah* targeting all groups across various societal strata (Umar, 2017). Over time, Muhammadiyah has adopted a *dakwah* approach referred to as *dakwah pencerahan* (enlightenment). This concept aims to develop or establish just social relations without discrimination, uphold human dignity, promote tolerance, and foster healthy social institutions (Qodir, 2019).

Muhammadiyah was initially established by KH Ahmad Dahlan in the village of Kauman, Yogyakarta, on November 18, 1912 (8 Dzulhijjah 1330 H). KH Ahmad Dahlan, whose birth name was Muhammad Darwis, was an official in the Yogyakarta Sultanate, serving as a preacher (*khatib*) and working as a merchant. Muhammadiyah emerged from KH Ahmad Dahlan's concern over the stagnant state of the Muslim community at that time, which was heavily influenced by mystical practices. Guided by the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, KH Ahmad Dahlan was compelled to call Muslims back to the true teachings of Islam.

In Muhammadiyah's framework, *dakwah* consists of two integrated components:

- 1) *Dakwah* is the process of conveying Islamic teachings, both orally and in writing.
- 2) *Dakwah* is the praxis of implementing formative Islamic values in real life across various fields, including socio-cultural, political, economic, and philosophical domains (Tampubolon, 2017).

According to Zaini Dahlan (2020), Muhammadiyah emphasizes eradicating *takhayul* (superstition), *bid'ah* (innovation in religious matters), and *khurafat* (heresy) while upholding beliefs based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (Dahlan, 2020). Muhammadiyah adopts a *dakwah* methodology focused on organizing social development and advancing dynamic Islamic education across various dimensions (Luthfi & Latif M., 2020). This mission is realized through the establishment of Islamic-based schools (Kholili & Fajaruddin, 2020).

Muhammadiyah champions the spirit of transformative Islamic education, encouraging individuals not only to acquire knowledge and technology but also to internalize and transform the learned knowledge into personal growth. This transformation enables individuals to actively engage in addressing societal challenges (Damayanti et al., 2021). Furthermore, Handayani et al. highlight that Muhammadiyah's religious *dakwah* movement at the branch level originates from social movements involving various initiatives to assist surrounding communities (Handayani et al., 2020).

2.2. The Progressive Islamic Movement

The term *berkemajuan* (progressive) has become inseparable from the Muhammadiyah movement. KH Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, famously stated, "If you want to become a religious leader (*kiai*), then be a progressive one." One historical reference to the phrase *Islam Berkemajuan* can be traced to KH Ahmad Dahlan's words: "Dadijo Kjai sing kemadjoean, odjo kesel anggonmu njamboet gawe kanggo Muhammadiyah" (Be a progressive religious leader, and never tire in your work for Muhammadiyah) (Burhani, 2016). In this statement, *berkemajuan* implies forward-thinking, being *one step ahead* of the present, and having a visionary outlook.

In one of Muhammadiyah's official publications, *Indonesia Berkemajuan: Rekonstruksi Kehidupan Bangsa yang Bermakna*, the term *manusia berkemajuan* (progressive human) is defined as "individuals who consistently adhere to religious teachings while aligning with the demands of the times." The book, ratified at the *Tanwir Muhammadiyah*, also provides an expanded definition of *berkemajuan* when applied to Indonesia, framing it as *Indonesia Berkemajuan*. This term refers to an ideal state (*al-madinah al-fadhilah*), a prosperous and civilized society (*umran*), and a nation that thrives in harmony. A *Negara Berkemajuan* (Progressive

Nation) promotes its functions as a blessing and guide (*kerisalahan dan kerahmatan*), supported by intelligent, principled, and virtuous human resources (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2014).

Although the term *Islam Berkemajuan* has been used since Muhammadiyah's early days, it did not initially denote a specific identity. The phrase *berkemajuan* relates to a forward-looking vision and mindset but was not formally adopted as a symbol, slogan, or distinctive jargon within Muhammadiyah. This is evident in the fact that after KH Ahmad Dahlan's time, the term was seldom used in Muhammadiyah literature with a specific meaning. After a long period of relative obscurity, the term *Islam Berkemajuan* re-emerged with renewed significance as a slogan in KH Syuja's notes, later published as a book titled *Islam Berkemajuan: Kisah Perjuangan K.H. Ahmad Dahlan dan Muhammadiyah Masa Awal* (Burhani, 2016).

2.3. Muhammadiyah and the Progressive Islamic Movement

Muhammadiyah holds significant relevance for modern humans in the era of globalization. The spiritual drought that underpins various societal issues is increasingly evident, culminating in what can be described as a social crisis. These social problems in the modern world are rooted in spiritual emptiness. In addressing global changes, Levi Strauss argued that humans are ultimately accountable for their absolutist humanistic attitudes. Over centuries, humanism has led to wars, hostilities, the eradication of various species, and the depletion of natural resources. Such excesses pose threats to humanity, manifesting as overconfidence in their beliefs and dominance over all things (Straus, 1997). Consequently, humans risk losing their ethics and moral values as they descend into materialistic tendencies, which lead to unconsciousness about the role of absolute values and the protection they offer amidst the guise of relativism.

The concept of *Islam Berkemajuan* (Progressive Islam) aligns seamlessly with Muhammadiyah's ethos. It embodies the principle of cosmopolitanism, urging Muslims to adopt a broad worldview while remaining grounded in the foundational principles of the Qur'an and *Hadith*. According to Kuntowijoyo, the "scientification of Islam" (*pengilmuan Islam*) is an intellectual movement aimed at reconnecting texts with contexts. For the Qur'anic text and the context to correspond (from the Latin *com*, meaning "together," and *responder*, meaning "to answer"), continuity must exist. Through the scientification of Islam, the Muslim community can better understand its environment—whether physical, social, symbolic, or historical—and grasp the essence of the command *iqra'* (read and comprehend) (Kuntowijoyo, 2007).

Through the principles of *Islam Berkemajuan*, Muhammadiyah's movement is expected to contribute significantly to the development and advancement of Islam. The concept itself equips Muslims with the ability to achieve comprehensive understanding (*kaffah*), as emphasized in Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 208, which calls on Muslims to fully embrace Islamic teachings by mastering both the Qur'an and the *Hadith* while maintaining a broad worldview.

With this progressive movement, Muhammadiyah strives to integrate technology, modern methodologies, and humanistic perspectives, fostering a more contemporary interpretation of progressiveness. Muhammadiyah's commitment has always been clear: advancing humanity to build a better civilization. The author hopes that the concept of *Islam Berkemajuan* will inspire the emergence of Muslim scientists who can create groundbreaking achievements in technology and information. Furthermore, this concept should promote advancements in knowledge, leading to the rise of influential Muslim scholars capable of propelling Islamic civilization to new heights, potentially surpassing the dominance of Western civilization today.

3. Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative descriptive design with a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology in this context is framed within the constructivist interpretive paradigm. According to constructivism, individuals strive to understand the world in which they live and work, developing subjective meanings (directed toward specific objects or phenomena) based on their experiences (Creswell, 2015). In this study, phenomenology is used to explore the dynamics of *Islam Berkemajuan* by examining the perspectives of individuals engaged as activists within the Muhammadiyah Movement. Contextual analysis is also provided, both historically and sociologically. Field research was conducted in Makassar, a central hub for Muhammadiyah activities in the region, over six months from July to December 2019. Additional data were incorporated for this article by referencing recent documents.

3.1. Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, document studies, and observation:

1) In-depth Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with key participants to explore their experiences, perspectives, and challenges in implementing *Islam Berkemajuan*. Open-ended questions allowed for further exploration based on participants' responses. Each interview lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and was recorded with the participant's consent to ensure accuracy during transcription. Participants were purposively selected, comprising Muhammadiyah activists and leaders significantly involved in developing and implementing the values of *Islam Berkemajuan*. The primary participants included members of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (*Pimpinan Wilayah Muhammadiyah*, PWM) in South Sulawesi, council members, and managers of Muhammadiyah charitable enterprises (*Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah*, AUM) in education, healthcare, and social services. Selection criteria focused on individuals who had been active in the organization for a minimum of five years and had experience developing programs based on *Islam Berkemajuan*.

2) Document Studies

Document analysis involved identifying and reviewing relevant official Muhammadiyah documents, including congress resolutions (*muktamar*), decision guidelines (*tanfidz*), and publications related to the *Islam Berkemajuan* framework. Additionally, academic journals, research reports, and articles discussing Muhammadiyah's development in South Sulawesi were analyzed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical and social context.

3) Observations

Participatory observation was conducted, allowing the researcher to engage directly in Muhammadiyah's organizational activities in South Sulawesi. This provided an in-depth understanding of the practices of *Islam Berkemajuan*. Observations focused on various activities, such as religious studies (*pengajian*), social initiatives, and routine Muhammadiyah meetings at the regional level. The researcher meticulously recorded interactions, behavioral patterns, and communication dynamics among Muhammadiyah members, particularly in the context of implementing *Islam Berkemajuan* values. Observations also included examining the implementation of Muhammadiyah's charitable enterprises in education, healthcare, and social services. Data from observations were compared with interview and document data to ensure a comprehensive and accurate depiction.

3.2. Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed through the following stages:

- 1) Data transcription,
- 2) Re-reading of the data,
- 3) Data organization,
- 4) Categorization,
- 5) Identification of data similarities,
- 6) Thematic determination and triangulation for data validity.

Triangulation was conducted by comparing findings from interviews, observations, and document studies to ensure accuracy and reliability in describing the phenomenon under investigation.

4. Results

4.1. The Establishment of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi

The establishment of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi began with the founding of the Muhammadiyah Group in Makassar on 21 Zulhijjah 1344 H (July 2, 1926). According to Bosra, the inauguration of the Muhammadiyah Group in Makassar, which would later become the foundation of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi, was conducted during an open public meeting at the G. Wienland cinema building on Jalan Komedian (now Jalan Bontolempangan) in Makassar (Bosra, 2015).

The first activity of the Makassar Muhammadiyah Branch was organizing public meetings to discuss organizational development and the dissemination of Islamic teachings, commonly referred to as *tablig*. The Makassarese community calls this *tabale'*.

Mustari Bosra noted that Muhammadiyah scholars often faced challenges in debates with traditional scholars who opposed Muhammadiyah (Bosra, 2015). These debates typically revolved around religious practices deemed *bid'ah* (innovation), such as performing 20 *rakaat* in *tarawih* prayers, consistently reciting *qunut* in *subuh* prayers, or reciting *talkin* at gravesites. Another source of conflict was the opposition from *parewa sara'* officials when Muhammadiyah sought to establish mosques and conduct Friday prayers. According to local customs, only one mosque per village could hold Friday prayers, and its activities were to be led by *parewa sara'* officials, with sermons delivered in Arabic. In contrast, Muhammadiyah advocated for broader inclusivity, allowing anyone to lead prayers or sermons, which could be delivered in Malay or local languages understood by the congregation.

Another challenge involved conducting *Eid* prayers in open fields. The first leader of South Celebes, Muhammadiyah, Haji Abdullah, was even reported to the police for organizing such a prayer. However, after an investigation, Haji Abdullah successfully demonstrated that the practice had a solid religious basis. Similar challenges arose in other regions, where Muhammadiyah scholars had to defend their practices against traditional scholars and *parewa sara'* officials.

In 1928, the Makassar Muhammadiyah Branch established an elementary-level school, the *Hollandsch-Inlandsche School met de Al-Quran* (HIS), led by Yahya bin Abdul Rahman Bayasut, an Arab descendant who had long taught in Dutch colonial government schools. He was assisted by two teachers, Raden Hilman and Sangadi Kusumo, who were delegates from the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership in Yogyakarta. That same year, under the leadership of Yusuf Dg Mattiro, the branch opened another school called *Munir School*, akin to today's Islamic elementary schools (*madrrasah ibtidaiyah*). Unlike the HIS, which focused on general education

and the Dutch language with minimal religious studies, *Munir School* emphasized religious education with a smaller proportion of general knowledge.

The early Muhammadiyah generation in South Sulawesi also initiated literacy programs among both male and female members, referred to as “*Menyesal School*.” According to Bosra, Muhammadiyah employed these educational strategies to address social stratification in South Sulawesi, where society was divided into three layers: *Karaeng*, *Tusamara*, and *Ata*. Muhammadiyah did not openly oppose this stratification but approached it transformatively through education. The schools established by Muhammadiyah were accessible to all social groups, unlike colonial government schools, which catered primarily to the nobility. Over time, those from the *ata* class who received education were able to elevate their social status (Bosra, 2015).

Today, almost all of Muhammadiyah’s formerly contested teachings have been widely embraced in South Sulawesi. For instance, most mosques now permit Friday sermons to be delivered in Indonesian or local languages. Furthermore, *Eid* prayers are predominantly conducted in open fields unless rain intervenes. Friday prayers are now held in multiple mosques, including unconventional venues like hotels and shopping malls.

Reflecting on the foundational principles of *Islam Berkemajuan* as outlined by Mu’ti, the early Muhammadiyah generation in South Sulawesi successfully implemented these principles (Mu’ti, 2018). Even when assessed using the framework of *Islam Berkemajuan* from the “Second Century Muhammadiyah Declaration,” Muhammadiyah’s organizational dynamics in South Sulawesi can still be considered an effort to uphold the ethos of *Islam Berkemajuan*.

4.2. The Diaspora of Muhammadiyah Cadres: Tracing the Origins of Hidayatullah and Wahdah Islamiyah

The evolution of *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi has been dynamic, facing challenges not only from external forces but also from within the organization. One prominent Muslim scholar in Makassar, Prof. Qasim Mathar, criticized Muhammadiyah for its perceived stagnation. In his article “*Kemandegan Menerpa Muhammadiyah*” (*Fajar*, April 13, 2010), Mathar argued that one measure of this stagnation was the emergence of former Muhammadiyah cadres establishing more “hardline” organizations with a focus on purist *dakwah*, such as Wahdah Islamiyah.

Responding in the same newspaper (*Fajar*, April 16, 2010), Hadisaputra defended Muhammadiyah’s steadfast commitment to *wasathiyah* (moderation). He argued that the moderate ethos of Muhammadiyah naturally led to an “organic selection,” whereby cadres with more extreme right- or left-leaning religious views eventually left the organization.

One notable example of this dynamic can be seen in the emergence of Hidayatullah and Wahdah Islamiyah. Both organizations, now thriving with branches and charitable enterprises inspired by Muhammadiyah, were founded by former Muhammadiyah cadres.

In 1963, under the leadership of Haji Quraisy Djailani, the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership (*PWM*) of South Sulawesi established the *Pendidikan Kader Ulama* (Ulama Cadre Education) at Muhammadiyah School Bontoala, adjacent to the Great Mosque of Makassar. This program trained 27 young Muhammadiyah scholars. However, in 1968, the program was forced to close after many participants became involved in the *Penggajangan Lotto* movement, an effort to eradicate a lottery-based gambling practice during the tenure of Makassar Mayor Muhammad Daeng Patompo. Motivated by the doctrine of *nahi munkar* (forbidding evil), several Muhammadiyah cadres led the anti-gambling campaign, which was deemed criminal. Some were arrested and imprisoned, while others fled the region.

One such individual, Mukhsin Kahar, escaped to Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, where he adopted the name Abdullah Said. As a preacher with extensive religious knowledge, he earned public admiration and government support. In Balikpapan, Abdullah Said founded the Hidayatullah Islamic Boarding School on arid hills, which he successfully transformed into fertile land. This achievement earned him the Kalpataru Award from President Soeharto. After establishing branches of the boarding school across various regions, Abdullah Said formally founded the Hidayatullah religious organization.

Separately, Kiai Haji Fathul Muin Daeng Ma'gading, one of the educators from the now-defunct *Pendidikan Kader Ulama*, returned to focus on his teaching activities at *Ta'mirul Masjid*. His final group of students before his death in 1985 became the founding members of Wahdah Islamiyah. Ahead of the 38th Muhammadiyah Congress in Solo, Fathul Muin declared that he would leave Muhammadiyah if it adopted Pancasila as its sole foundational principle, as mandated by the New Order government. Days before the congress, he passed away. Muhammadiyah eventually accepted Pancasila as its organizational principle.

Following his death and Muhammadiyah's policy shift, Fathul Muin's students established the Fathul Muin Foundation. The foundation, focusing on *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* and charitable enterprises, evolved into the Wahdah Islamiyah organization in 1998.

Another educator from the *Pendidikan Kader Ulama*, KH Marzuki Hasan, founded the *Darul Istiqamah* Islamic Boarding School in Maccopa, Maros. The school expanded significantly, becoming a village housing thousands of students and residents. Branches of the school have since opened in various regions, including areas outside South Sulawesi.

In subsequent decades, additional Muhammadiyah cadres established new religious communities, such as *Jamaah An Nadzir*. Founded by Daeng Rangka, a former instructor of the Muhammadiyah Student Association (*IPM*) in Gowa, this community is notable for its distinct Islamic practices. For example, they use their methods for determining Islamic holidays. Male members often wear black robes, sport long, blond hair, and have garnered national media attention for their unique attributes.

Some Muhammadiyah cadres have also become active in organizations like the Islamic Defenders Front (*FPI*). For instance, Abdul Rahman, the leader of *FPI* Makassar, continues to identify himself as a Muhammadiyah cadre, both through lineage and organizational affiliation as an *IPM* alumnus.

The diaspora of Muhammadiyah cadres founding new religious communities and organizations can be viewed as both progress and regression. On the one hand, the knowledge and training obtained in Muhammadiyah have enabled these cadres to expand Islamic *dakwah*, albeit with different approaches from Muhammadiyah. On the other hand, from an organizational perspective, this represents a setback, as Muhammadiyah has lost potential leaders nurtured through its cadre development programs.

4.3. The Actualization of Islam Berkemajuan in South Sulawesi

The 47th Muhammadiyah Congress in Makassar marked a pivotal moment in affirming the vision and formulating the action agenda for the organization's second century. However, the resolutions and documents produced at the Congress risk remaining as ideals (*numena*) if not actualized by Muhammadiyah leaders and members. While a more comprehensive analysis is needed, this study offers several preliminary conclusions on the manifestation of *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi.

4.3.1. Cadre Development

One of the defining characteristics of the Muhammadiyah movement in South Sulawesi is its robust cadre development. The region is renowned as a “cadre stronghold” of Muhammadiyah, with many of its leaders emerging from the Muhammadiyah Autonomous Organizations (*Ortom*), particularly the Muhammadiyah Students Association (*IPM*) and the Muhammadiyah University Students Association (*IMM*). These organizations serve as the primary platforms for cadre training.

Additionally, cadre development occurs through *Baitul Arqam* programs implemented across Muhammadiyah’s charitable enterprises (*AUM*), such as schools, universities, hospitals, and social service centers. These programs introduce employees to Muhammadiyah’s values and serve as initial cadre training for those not yet actively involved in the organization. *Baitul Arqam* is expected to enhance employees’ loyalty and integration with Muhammadiyah’s vision and mission.

Another form of cadre development occurs within families, where Muhammadiyah families act as crucial agents in nurturing the next generation. Many Muhammadiyah leaders encourage their children to join the organization from an early age. Additionally, *refreshment and development cadreship* programs—such as leadership *Baitul Arqam* or ideological refreshment—are designed to update Muhammadiyah leaders at various levels on organizational developments, *dakwah* methods, and current challenges.

Overall, cadre development in South Sulawesi reflects a structured effort by Muhammadiyah to produce high-quality cadres capable of playing active roles both within the organization and in the broader society. However, to sustain this growth, intensive mentorship is needed to empower these cadres and support Muhammadiyah’s development.

4.3.2. AUM-Centric Orientation

One prominent feature of *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi is its focus on *Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah* (AUM). Table 1 illustrates the significant growth of Muhammadiyah’s AUM, particularly in education:

Table 1. Muhammadiyah's Charitable Enterprises in South Sulawesi

Sector	Type	Number
Early Childhood Education	Early Childhood Education Centers (PAUD) / Kindergartens (TK ABA - <i>Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal</i>)	516
Basic and Secondary Education	Primary Schools (SD)	38
	Islamic Primary Schools (MI)	54
	Junior High Schools (SMP)	40
	Islamic Junior High Schools (MTs)	58
	Senior High Schools (SMA)	29
	Vocational High Schools (SMK)	20
	Islamic Senior High Schools (MA)	31
Total Schools/Madrasah		270
Higher Education	Universities	8
	Polytechnics	1
	Institutes	3

Sector	Type	Number
	Colleges	1
Total Universities		13
Boarding Schools	Number in 2015	12
	Number in 2022	31
Health	General Hospitals	3
	Maternity Hospitals	4
	Community Health Centers	9
Total Health Facilities		21
Social Services	Orphanages	25

Source: Adapted from Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine, November 16-30, 2022 Edition

Education is the backbone of Muhammadiyah’s growth in South Sulawesi, with higher education being a significant achievement. Institutions like Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar have experienced rapid growth, and other universities, such as those in Palopo, Sidrap, Bulukumba, and Enrekang, are in the process of upgrading their status. Muhammadiyah’s schools and boarding schools are also improving their quality, as evidenced by A-accredited institutions and the popularity of *Ummul Mukminin* Islamic Boarding School.

However, sectors like health and social services show slower growth. Most health-related AUMs focus on maintaining their operations rather than expanding or innovating. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah’s orphanages (*panti asuhan*) consistently serve the community but lack strategic updates or programs. In contrast, Muhammadiyah’s economic enterprises face significant challenges, struggling with sustainability and lacking long-term strategies.

4.3.3. Puritanism in Religious Practices

Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi emphasizes Puritanism, focusing on eliminating *takhayul*, *bid’ah*, and *khurafat* (TBC) in religious practices, particularly in ritual worship (*ibadah mahdah*). Practical *fiqh* teachings, guided by Muhammadiyah’s *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih* (HPT), dominate religious discourse. This approach simplifies religious practices, making them accessible to members, but often overlooks broader Islamic reform discourse. For instance, Muhammadiyah’s progressive works on *fiqh kebencanaan* (disaster fiqh) and interfaith relations are underutilized, limiting the scope of its reformist agenda.

4.3.4. Structural and Political Dakwah

Muhammadiyah’s leadership in South Sulawesi tends to favor structural approaches and formal political engagement. Early in the reform era, Muhammadiyah elites supported the formal implementation of Sharia law in the region. In local elections, Muhammadiyah cadres often play active roles, with three Muhammadiyah members serving as district heads in Maros, Enrekang, and Wajo as of 2022. However, a cohesive narrative connecting Muhammadiyah’s “Progressive Indonesia” vision with political agendas remains underdeveloped, leading to inconsistencies in strategy and goals.

4.3.5. Humanitarian Social Movements

Muhammadiyah’s humanitarian efforts in South Sulawesi have gained momentum through initiatives like the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC), *Lazismu*

(charity fundraising), and the Community Empowerment Council (*Majelis Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, MPM). These programs have had tangible impacts, particularly during disasters such as the Lombok and Palu earthquakes and floods in South Sulawesi. Through these initiatives, Muhammadiyah demonstrates its commitment to addressing societal needs and actualizing *Islam Berkemajuan* in practical and impactful ways.

While progress has been made, Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi must address gaps in political narratives, broaden its reformist agenda beyond practical *fiqh*, and ensure sustainability in economic enterprises to realize its vision of *Islam Berkemajuan* fully.

4.4. Comparison with the Actualization of Islam Berkemajuan in West Sumatra

To better understand the dynamics of *Islam Berkemajuan* actualization, this study draws a comparison with the Muhammadiyah movement in West Sumatra (*Sumbar*). The province shares historical and cultural similarities with South Sulawesi, particularly in applying Islamic teachings within societal life.

4.4.1. Complex Dynamics in West Sumatra

According to Rahmadi et al. (2021), the actualization of *Islam Berkemajuan* in *Sumbar* has experienced complex and layered dynamics. As a significant Muhammadiyah base, the region has a long history of integrating the spirit of renewal and purification of Islamic teachings. Muhammadiyah in *Sumbar* is widely recognized for its strong Puritan identity, aligning with the early introduction of renewal ideas. This tradition reflects efforts not only toward purification but also adaptation to evolving social conditions. This balance is evident in the contributions of prominent Muhammadiyah figures such as Buya Hamka and Buya Syafii Maarif, who presented a more inclusive and open Muhammadiyah perspective. However, this inclusivity sometimes clashed with the views of more Puritan cadres.

Political issues have also posed challenges in internalizing the values of *Islam Berkemajuan* among Muhammadiyah cadres in *Sumbar*. The 2019 General Election, for instance, highlighted tensions between Puritanism and moderatism at both national and local levels. This political polarization divided Muhammadiyah cadres in *Sumbar* into different camps, demonstrating the difficulty of harmonizing moderate attitudes with the rigid Puritan fanaticism of certain members. As a result, the spirit of *Islam Berkemajuan*, which emphasizes tolerance and openness, continues to encounter obstacles in achieving full acceptance among all Muhammadiyah members in the region.

On the other hand, Muhammadiyah's charitable enterprises (*Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah*, AUM) in *Sumbar*, particularly in education and economics, serve as crucial mediums for actualizing the concept of *Islam Berkemajuan*. However, the application of this concept remains inconsistent and unsystematic within the organization, especially at the branch and local levels. Many Muhammadiyah leaders perceive *Islam Berkemajuan* as part of their renewal identity but have not fully integrated its ideas into their cadre development programs. Additionally, challenges persist in communicating the core values of rationalism, openness, and empowerment, which underpin *Islam Berkemajuan*, to grassroots cadres.

4.4.2. Similarities with South Sulawesi

A comparison between South Sulawesi and *Sumbar* reveals several commonalities in the actualization of *Islam Berkemajuan*:

1) Prominence of Purification

Both regions strongly emphasize Islamic purification, which characterizes Muhammadiyah's approach. This purification movement reflects Muhammadiyah's commitment to returning to pure Islamic teachings and rejecting practices deemed inconsistent with the Qur'an and *Hadith*. In both regions, this approach has been a response to deeply entrenched local traditions.

2) Role of Charitable Enterprises (AUM)

AUMs play a vital role in both regions as instruments for disseminating the values of *Islam Berkemajuan*. These enterprises serve as platforms for education, healthcare, and social services, not only delivering immediate benefits to the community but also functioning as channels to promote the broader vision of *Islam Berkemajuan*.

3) Political Challenges and Polarization

Muhammadiyah in both South Sulawesi and *Sumbar* faces challenges from political and ideological polarization that affects the organization internally. Both regions also recognize the importance of maintaining Muhammadiyah's moderate stance, as emphasized in the *Khittah Muhammadiyah* principle, which advocates equidistance from all political powers.

4.4.3. Distinctive Aspects

Despite these similarities, the Muhammadiyah movements in South Sulawesi and *Sumbar* exhibit unique dynamics influenced by their respective historical, cultural, and sociopolitical contexts. South Sulawesi shows a stronger structural orientation and cadre development through education and social enterprises, while *Sumbar* reflects a deeper entrenchment of Puritanism alongside efforts to balance inclusivity. The comparison underscores the diversity within Muhammadiyah's efforts to actualize *Islam Berkemajuan* across Indonesia, shaped by regional characteristics and challenges.

5. Conclusion

Since the establishment of the Muhammadiyah Group in Makassar in 1926, the organization has successfully developed charitable enterprises (*Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah*, AUM) in education, healthcare, and social services. Education has become a flagship sector, with numerous schools and higher education institutions across South Sulawesi. These efforts aim to nurture a generation with broad knowledge and a deep understanding of *Islam Berkemajuan* values.

The primary challenge in implementing *Islam Berkemajuan* in South Sulawesi lies in the emergence of internal conservatism, which has the potential to hinder the movement's progressiveness. Additionally, the diaspora of Muhammadiyah cadres founding new organizations, such as Hidayatullah and Wahdah Islamiyah, represents a shift toward a more puritanical approach to Islam. This phenomenon highlights significant differences in understanding and implementing *Islam Berkemajuan*, creating dynamics in upholding Muhammadiyah's national vision.

A distinctive characteristic of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi is its structural and power-based *dakwah* model, reflected in the active participation of cadres in politics, including regional head and legislative elections. While Muhammadiyah remains committed to moderation, the tendency to associate political choices with faith poses a challenge to maintaining organizational neutrality. This underscores the need for a systematic political

narrative rooted in the vision of “Indonesia Berkemajuan” to strengthen Muhammadiyah’s role in the political arena.

To support the development of the *Islam Berkemajuan* movement in South Sulawesi, Muhammadiyah must intensify discussions on *Islam Berkemajuan* within cadre development programs. Additionally, it is crucial to revitalize forums for contemporary issues such as tolerance, ecology, and equality to address the challenges of conservatism. In politics, policy guidelines and capacity-building initiatives for cadres are necessary to align their roles with Muhammadiyah’s moderate national vision. Lastly, expanding charitable enterprises in the health and economic sectors through service innovation and enhanced professionalism will strengthen Muhammadiyah’s competitiveness and contributions to societal welfare, in line with the aspirations of *Islam Berkemajuan*.

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The authors have declared no potential conflicts of interest concerning this article’s research, authorship, and/or publication.

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