



Da'wah *Bil hal*: A Study of Muhammadiyah's Social Movements in Wolo During the Political Dynamics of the Old and New Order Eras

Muhammad Alifuddin^{1*}, Rosmini² & Risman Iye³

¹Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kendari, Indonesia

²Universitas Muhammadiyah Kendari, Indonesia

³Universitas Iqra Baru, Kendari, Indonesia

*[proposalah@gmail.com](mailto:proposalah@proposalah@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

This study aims to understand how Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka implements da'wah bil hal (practical preaching) through its social movements and how these movements respond to the repressive and authoritarian political situation of that time. This study uses a descriptive-analytical method, incorporating observation, documentation, and interview techniques. The results show that Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka demonstrates a strong commitment to spreading Islamic values and assisting the community through various social activities amidst complex political dynamics. Despite facing a closed political space and various obstacles, Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka has managed to adapt and continue its social movements through careful strategies. They focus on non-controversial activities, build relationships with the government, maintain political neutrality, and shift the focus of their preaching towards community empowerment. The impact of Muhammadiyah's social movement in Wolo Kolaka may not be as rapid and significant as in more open eras. However, their contributions in the fields of education, health, and community empowerment at the local level remain significant. Their careful preaching strategy and focus on empowerment can have a long-term impact on building a more independent, critical, and Islamically-rooted society. Muhammadiyah's experience in Wolo Kolaka provides important lessons on the importance of adaptive and sustainable strategies in facing limited political spaces, as well as the significance of da'wah bil hal in creating a prosperous and faithful society.

Keywords : *Da'wah bil hal; social movement; Muhammadiyah; old order; new order.*

INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912, is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, with an estimated 60 million members. It is a modernist Islamic organization that emphasizes social reform, education, and community development (Nashir, 2015; Sukmana, 2022; Al-Ansi et. al, 2023). Muhammadiyah has a long history of involvement in social movements, advocating for social justice, human rights, and religious tolerance. Muhammadiyah believes Islam compels action beyond personal piety, urging them to address societal issues like poverty, inequality, and lack of access to education and healthcare (Barton, 2014).

These social movements not only aim to assist the community but also to propagate Islamic values and materialize Islamic ideals in society (Bastomi, 2017; Nashir, 2021). Throughout its long history, Muhammadiyah has opted for a path of struggle within the nation and state through community development and empowerment initiatives, striving to establish a well-established, resilient, and strong civil society, in line with Muhammadiyah's ultimate goal of realizing a truly Islamic society. Muhammadiyah's unwavering commitment to the welfare of the people is an undeniable reality. To this day, Muhammadiyah remains actively engaged in the social sphere, always present to support the community regardless of ethnicity, race, or religion (Qadir, 2019).

Muhammadiyah is deeply committed to its humanitarian missions, focusing on providing aid and social welfare programs to all individuals, regardless of their background (Feillard, 2015; Syamsuddin et. al, 2021). Their dedication to humanitarian work is evident in their extensive disaster response activities, consistently addressing between 50 to 70 disasters annually. This readiness and broad-reaching network showcase Muhammadiyah's ability to effectively manage crises. During the COVID-19 pandemic, a non-natural disaster, Muhammadiyah's efforts were particularly notable, leading the Institute for Strategic Studies and Development (LKSP) to recognize them as Indonesia's most socially concerned organization in handling the crisis (Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020).

This acknowledgment highlights the effectiveness and scope of Muhammadiyah's humanitarian work. Their disaster response includes a wide range of essential services, such as emergency shelters, food distribution, medical assistance, and reconstruction efforts.

Muhammadiyah's unwavering commitment to aiding communities in need, irrespective of their background, underscores their steadfast dedication to social welfare and humanitarianism (Gross, 2007; Jinan, 2015; Imsawati et.al, 2020). Muhammadiyah is a social organization driven by the spirit of da'wah. Its mission of da'wah focuses on promoting a virtuous society and preventing harmful behaviors, encapsulated in the phrase (*da'wah amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*). Muhammadiyah's social activities extend beyond disaster relief and aid for the poor. They also prioritize other social aspects such as education, economic development, and healthcare improvement (Nashir, 2015; Baidhawiy, 2015).

Establishing schools and promoting literacy are crucial for building a knowledgeable and responsible citizenry. Understanding the vital role education plays in fostering a well-informed and responsible population, Muhammadiyah has placed building schools and promoting literacy at the forefront of its social mission. This commitment to education serves as a cornerstone for their vision of societal progress. Muhammadiyah's presence in Wolo, Kolaka Regency, began modestly with a madrasah (Islamic school). Despite their long history in the region, pre-dating Indonesian independence, it wasn't until 1964, 19 years after independence, that they established their first charitable institution - a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (elementary school).

This enduring school exemplifies Muhammadiyah's da'wah *bil hal* principle, demonstrating their commitment to go beyond mere aid and actively contribute to the community's development through education, economic empowerment, and healthcare initiatives. Muhammadiyah also runs inclusive schools, accepting non-Muslim students in their educational programs. For instance, in a school in Waingapu, Mocham (2020: 12) mentions that although Muhammadiyah was previously quite exclusive, they now welcome Christian students among them.

Muhammadiyah's choice to consistently engage in social activities is based on universal humanitarian responsibility and as an implementation of religious practice. According to Qadir (2019), Muhammadiyah's social movement is grounded in several Islamic theological principles, including the concepts of *ukhuwah islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood), *fardhu kifayah* (collective obligation), and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (commanding good and forbidding evil). This means Muhammadiyah's social movement is driven by a spirit of Muslim brotherhood to help those in need. It is also a collective obligation of Muslims, to be carried out by some, and must be

based on promoting good and avoiding wrongdoing to achieve a just and prosperous society.

Afandi (2018) adds that as a volunteer sector, Muhammadiyah has three significant impacts: 1) Strengthening the country's resources, both during crises and economic upturns, to provide social services. 2) Maintaining collective solidarity while reducing societal dependence on state-provided social services. 3) Acting as a balancing and supporting force when the state deliberately neglects its duty to provide welfare services to the public, such as during the colonial era. Muhammadiyah's commitment to promoting welfare is not counterproductive to the objectives of state formation or the welfare state (Kahfi, 2020). However, Muhammadiyah's presence in the public sphere, with all its wisdom, is not always positively received, either by the surrounding community or by policymakers (Nashir, 2015).

Numerous researchers have conducted studies on da'wah *bil hal* through Muhammadiyah's social movements, ranging from general studies to those focused on specific locations or regions. General studies include those by Syamsuddin, et.al (2021), Zarro (2020), Jannah (2019), and Subarkah (2017). These four studies examine Muhammadiyah's pioneering role in integrating da'wah *bil hal* strategies through values of intellectual intelligence and spiritual maturity. In addition to these general studies, several studies have explored da'wah *bil hal* strategies in specific settings or across multiple regions. For instance, Aminarti Juliyanti (2022) investigated Muhammadiyah's Da'wah Strategies in Youth Cadre Development in Bima City, NTB. This study aimed to understand the da'wah strategies employed by Muhammadiyah in youth cadre development and identify the challenges faced by the organization in this area. Employing a field research approach, the study gathered data through observation, interviews, and documentation.

The findings revealed Muhammadiyah's significant growth in the NTB region. The organization's youth cadre development strategies in Bima City include: *Bil Lisan* (Through Speech): This involves verbal communication by Muhammadiyah leaders and youth leaders, encompassing activities that shape individuals into well-rounded individuals with strong faith, skills, and expertise in their respective fields. *Da'wah Bil hal* (Through Action): This involves a practical approach to da'wah, where individuals engage in tangible actions and contributions to society through training activities. *Bil Hikmah* (Through Wisdom): This

method involves conveying the message of da'wah with wisdom and promoting good deeds and forbidding wrongdoings. It emphasizes using appropriate methods without coercion, allowing individuals to respond freely and with genuine intentions. Through these three strategies, Muhammadiyah has successfully attracted the hearts of Bima residents and youth to engage in the organization's development and contribute to a better society.

Other studies exploring da'wah *bil hal* strategies in specific contexts include Rohman's (2019) research in West Sumatra, Barni's (2010) study in South Kalimantan, and Sukmana's (2022) investigation in Malang City. These studies share common findings, highlighting that Muhammadiyah's da'wah is conducted cooperatively, involving community support through practical actions and social movements that benefit the surrounding community. The studies also reveal that Muhammadiyah's existence and growth are attributed to its strong collective collegial nature deeply embedded within its organizational culture. However, they also identify internal and external challenges, such as limited access to collaboration with external stakeholders.

While the aforementioned studies focus on Muhammadiyah's da'wah strategies and associated challenges, they differ in their research locations and conceptual frameworks. This present study delves into Muhammadiyah's da'wah *bil hal* strategies in Wolo during a conflict period, examining how the organization navigated the complex socio-political dynamics of that era. To address this research question, the study employs an analytical framework based on social movement theory in conflict situations, distinguishing it from previous studies on the topic.

Amidst the complex political dynamics, particularly during the Old Order and New Order periods, Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka, Southeast Sulawesi, experienced fluctuating struggles in its commitment to spreading Islamic values and aiding the community through various social activities. Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka adopted *da'wah bil hal*, a preaching approach through concrete actions. In the context of historical reality, Muhammadiyah's social movement in Wolo Kolaka faced ups and downs due to a closed political opportunity space. Some even perceived Muhammadiyah's philanthropic social movement as undermining the legitimacy of the state (Nashir, 2015; Kahfi, 2020; Zarro, 2020). Analyzing the *da'wah bil hal* movement through social activities in Wolo Kolaka is both an interesting and important study, as it opens up dialogue about the role

and contributions of Islamic organizations in society, especially in the context of a repressive political environment.

This study also helps us understand the complexity of the relationship between Islamic preaching and politics, particularly under authoritarian regimes. Based on the provided data, the researcher is interested in focusing on: 1) How did the closed political opportunity space during the New Order and early Reformation era affect the strategies, activities, and impact of Muhammadiyah's social movements in Wolo Kolaka? and 2) How did Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka balance its da'wah mission with the political sensitivities of the time? This study contributes significantly to understanding the dynamics of Islamic preaching and politics in Indonesia, as well as paving the way for more profound dialogue and reflection.

This research employs a descriptive-analytical research design to comprehensively depict and analyze the Muhammadiyah Social Movement in Wolo Kolaka within the political context of the Old Order (1966-1998) and the New Order (1967-1998). This approach proves highly relevant for da'wah *bil hal* research due to its emphasis on concrete actions, consideration of diverse perspectives, and provision of significant political context (Syukir, 2008; Satori, 2014; Nata, 2023). The study uses three data collection techniques: documentation, interviews, and observation. Documentation involves gathering official Muhammadiyah documents, such as archives, activity reports, and publications, to obtain a general overview of the history, mission, and programs of the Muhammadiyah social movement. In-depth interviews are conducted with Muhammadiyah activists, community leaders, and other key informants to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences within the Muhammadiyah social movement and their perspectives on *da'wah bil hal* in a repressive political context (Sugiyono, 2011; Muhyidin, 2002).

Direct observation of *da'wah bil hal* activities is also performed to gather contextual data on how the Muhammadiyah social movement is carried out and its connection with the local community. The collected data is analyzed through four stages: a) heuristics: identifying, collecting, and classifying data from various sources, b) critique: assessing the accuracy, credibility, and relevance of the data, c) interpretation: providing meaning and understanding to the data within the research context, d) historiography: weaving the data and interpretations into a coherent narrative about the Muhammadiyah Social Movement in Wolo Kolaka

(Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020). The study employs an informal data presentation method, presenting the data in a concise and easily understandable narrative format.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The History of Muhammadiyah in Wolo

During the administration of President Soekarno, also known as the Old Order Era, Muhammadiyah's journey was marked by various political and social changes, including government policies that tended to restrict the development of Islamic organizations like Muhammadiyah (Abrar, 2016; Tampubolan, 2016; Riyadi, 2023). Through intensive communication with the government, they maintained good relations with the authorities and community leaders to ensure the smooth running of organizational activities. Muhammadiyah in Wolo demonstrated that it is not a hardline organization intolerant of other religions. Muhammadiyah remained steadfast in its commitment to *da'wah bil hal* (propagation through concrete actions) and contributing to society.

During the Old Order, Muhammadiyah was also actively involved in eradicating the 30S PKI movement, which was considered highly contrary to Indonesian cultural values and Islamic teachings. After the G30S incident and the transition from the Old Order to the New Order, Muhammadiyah Wolo entered a new phase. This period was characterized by efforts to strengthen the organization's foundations and expand the reach of "*da'wah bil hal*." Muhammadiyah Wolo actively promoted harmony and unity among religious communities (Yakub, 1981). They participated in various activities with other religious organizations, such as interfaith dialogues and joint social activities. Amid changing political and economic conditions, Muhammadiyah Wolo became a platform for Muslims to enhance their knowledge, skills, and welfare. Community empowerment programs run by Muhammadiyah helped many people rise from poverty and improve their standard of living.

The New Order era brought political stability and a focus on economic development, creating opportunities for Muhammadiyah Wolo to expand its *da'wah bil hal* efforts and contribute to societal progress. However, this period also saw various regulations and government policies that sometimes impacted religious organizations. Education became the main focus of Muhammadiyah Wolo during the New Order era (Fauziyah, 2019; Alifudin, 2020). The Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Muhammadiyah Wolo,

established in 1964, continued to grow rapidly and became one of the leading elementary schools in Wolo.

Muhammadiyah Wolo established *Tsanawiyah* (junior high school) and *Aliyah* (senior high school) madrasahs to complement Islamic education levels in Wolo. This allowed students to continue their religious education to higher levels. Muhammadiyah Wolo continuously worked to improve the quality of education in its schools. They enhanced teacher qualifications, equipped schools with better facilities and infrastructure, and implemented a more modern and relevant curriculum. Muhammadiyah Wolo opened wider access to education for the community, especially for children from underprivileged families. They provided scholarship programs and financial aid to help children continue their education. Muhammadiyah Wolo not only focused on education but also actively engaged in various social and economic activities to help the community.

Amid the social and political changes of the New Order era, Muhammadiyah Wolo consistently carried out its missions of da'wah and community development. Muhammadiyah Wolo regularly held study groups and lectures to enhance the community's understanding of Islam. These sessions covered various topics such as *aqidah* (creed), *sharia* (Islamic law), and *akhlak* (morality). Muhammadiyah Wolo organized other religious activities, such as congregational prayers, Qur'an recitations, and the commemoration of Islamic holidays. These activities aimed to strengthen the faith and piety of the community.

Muhammadiyah Wolo was active in interfaith dialogues to build tolerance and unity in Wolo. They participated in various activities with other religious organizations, such as interfaith dialogues and joint social activities. The development of Muhammadiyah in Wolo during the New Order era demonstrates the organization's perseverance and commitment to *da'wah bil hal* and its social contributions. Despite facing various challenges and social-political dynamics, Muhammadiyah Wolo remained a trusted and respected organization by the community. Their contributions in education, socio-economic fields, and da'wah became important pillars for the progress of the Wolo community.

Strategy of Muhammadiyah's Da'wah During Conflict

Muhammadiyah's da'wah efforts in the Wolo region faced many struggles and obstacles due to the unfavorable political situation resulting from the DI/TII rebellion between 1948 and 1949. As a base area for DI/TII, Wolo

experienced instability unlike other regions. The conflict between the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the DI/TII rebels placed the local community in a difficult position. This situation affected the public movement as any social activity could be negatively interpreted by either the government or DI/TII groups. According to [Prasetyo \(2018: 33\)](#), the situation in Wolo reflected the complexity and destructive impact of armed conflict, preventing civil society from freely engaging in activities, including religious practices which were scrutinized and restricted.

In addition to the DI/TII issue, the authoritarian stance of the Old Order government and its support for the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) posed significant barriers to Muhammadiyah's operations. The political affiliation of many Muhammadiyah members with the Masyumi party led the government to be suspicious of Muhammadiyah. Consequently, during this period, Muhammadiyah's da'wah activities were covert and clandestine, limited to informal education such as teaching Quranic recitation and basic religious education to small groups spontaneously and sporadically ([Binfas et al., 2014](#)). Social and religious activities were largely halted and could only be conducted secretly.

Muhammadiyah had established its presence in Wolo since 1934, but its activities paused and resumed in 1957 under the leadership of KH. Fattah Yasin, a religious scholar and community leader who revitalized Muhammadiyah in Kolaka. The ideological alignment of Masyumi, opposing the ideology of the ruling Old Order, often implicated Muhammadiyah in political conflicts. In 1965, during the PKI coup attempt, Muhammadiyah members actively defended Islamic ideology, issuing statements legitimizing the fight against communism, which they termed jihad ([Mocham, 2020](#)). This period saw Muhammadiyah framing the communist presence within the government as a threat, mobilizing resources to oppose it. This resulted in the formation of 80 KOKAM battalions nationwide, including one in Wolo, prepared to counter communism in Kolaka ([Ricklefs, 1991](#); [Husnaini, 2019](#); [Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020](#)).

Muhammadiyah's establishment of KOKAM (a youth wing) aimed to protect the organization and defend the nation against communist ideologies. By 1965, KOKAM was set up in Kolaka, as it was elsewhere, to counter the growing communist influence (Hasil wawancara). The logical opposition of Muhammadiyah to communism was rooted in their ideologically opposing stances ([Peacock, 2017](#); [Alfian, 2019](#); [Zarro, 2020](#)).

During the G30S PKI event, Muhammadiyah in Wolo-Kolaka took a clear stance against the Old Order's authoritarian regime (Sa'diah, 2012; Qadir, 2019; Mu'ti, 2019). The mobilization of KOKAM in Kolaka was part of this organizational directive, preventing bloodshed as PKI members surrendered or fled (Kasim, interview).

After the fall of communism, Islamic social activists hoped for fundamental changes in government policies towards Muslims, given their significant role in defeating the PKI. The cooperation between Muslim social elements and the TNI led to the downfall of the Old Order and the rise of the New Order, initially more favorable to Islam. However, this relationship soured over time. According to Haji Anwar, post-1970s Muhammadiyah's vibrant activities declined due to excessive government surveillance and suspicion (Anwar, March 2024). The New Order's policies began to constrain Muhammadiyah, such as political depoliticization, the fusion of political parties, and the imposition of the single principle policy. These restrictions primarily disadvantaged Muslims (Feillard, 2015; Ardi, 2019; Fauziyah, 2019). The stringent control led to a decline in organizational enthusiasm.

This period also saw the politicization of violent incidents, attributed to Islam, which justified the government's stringent oversight of Muslim activities, fostering fear among Islamic activists, including Muhammadiyah (Ahmad, 2020; Husni, 2020). Both the Old and New Orders were authoritarian, with the New Order eliminating any communist remnants while tightly controlling political affiliations, particularly against the Masyumi party. This left Muslims, including Muhammadiyah, in a stifling environment similar to the Old Order era (Suwarno, 2013). Despite this, Muhammadiyah's social and religious fervor persisted, led by figures like Paseng and Kasim, who continued their work discreetly, eventually reestablishing educational institutions such as the Madrasah Ibtidaiyah in 1964. In summary, Muhammadiyah's da'wah strategy during the Old and New Order periods was necessarily covert. Despite significant challenges, the organization remained steadfast in defending Islamic ideology when needed.

The Impact of a Closed Political Space on Muhammadiyah's

Muhammadiyah, a prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia, has a long history of engaging in social movements to address various societal issues. However, the effectiveness of these movements can be significantly

impacted by the political environment in which they operate. Closed political spaces, characterized by limited civic participation and restricted freedoms of expression and association, can pose significant challenges for organizations like Muhammadiyah. The Old Order and New Order periods in Indonesia were marked by strict government control over social and political organizations.

This environment significantly affected the strategy, activities, and impact of Muhammadiyah's social movements in Wolo Kolaka. Wolo, a district in Kolaka Regency approximately 60 km from Kolaka City, is a fertile area that has historically attracted migrants, particularly the Bugis people from South Sulawesi. The majority of Bugis people are devout Muslims, which contributed to the growth of Muhammadiyah in the region. Muhammadiyah's activities in Kolaka after independence can be traced back to 1957 (Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020).

Muhammadiyah actively spread Islam in Wolo, particularly among the newly migrated Bugis community. This was achieved through da'wah, establishing schools and mosques, and other social activities. According to Nashir (2015), Muhammadiyah had been present in Wolo long before independence, but it took 19 years after independence to establish its first charitable building, a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah in 1964. This madrasa still exists today and stands as a historical testament to Muhammadiyah's movement in Southeast Sulawesi. The growth of Muhammadiyah in Wolo is closely tied to the da'wah efforts of the Bugis from South Sulawesi. According to a local source, the initial establishment of Muhammadiyah in Wolo was still under the auspices of Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi (Ahmad, Wolo, March 2024).

At the end of the Old Order era, Wolo became a turbulent area due to its status as a DI/TII base, causing instability unlike other regions (Kasim, interview). The political affiliation of many Muhammadiyah members with Masyumi led the government to be suspicious of Muhammadiyah, creating an unfavorable environment for Muhammadiyah's social activities. Various framings by the New Order authorities impeded the social movements of Muslims. Efforts by Paseng to establish a pesantren were framed as a new style DI/TII by the authorities at the time (Fauziyah, 2019). This reality hindered Muhammadiyah's social development efforts, prompting some Muhammadiyah leaders in Wolo to rethink their strategies for communicating their social and cultural activities within the community.

Paseng's decision to affiliate with the mainstream political structure to achieve his goal of building a Muhammadiyah pesantren in Ponre Wolo exemplifies this strategic shift. His move to join GOLKAR was a creative effort to be recognized as part of the ruling government, thereby avoiding obstacles to his social activities. This strategic political maneuvering, though seemingly pragmatic, was aimed at achieving greater social benefits, such as establishing Islamic educational institutions for the local community. Muhammadiyah's decision to engage with the mainstream political structure should not be seen as a reactionary antithesis to the PKI movement. Muhammadiyah's opposition to the PKI was based on fundamental ideological differences, while the New Order's constraints required a more nuanced approach. Despite the government's restrictions, there was room for the growth of religious values, provided there was compliance with the government's political alignment (Fauziyah, 2019). This necessitated a contextual *ijtihad* (Fatimah, 2020). A cautious da'wah strategy focused on empowerment was chosen for its long-term impact in building a more critical and independent society.

Forms of Da'wah *Bil hal* by Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka

Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka engages in various social movements to realize da'wah *bil hal*, which means da'wah through tangible actions. These social movements encompass education, health, economic upliftment, and enhanced social welfare. In 1964, Muhammadiyah established a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, which continues to serve the local community to this day. This reality demonstrates that Muhammadiyah Wolo was only able to visibly establish its presence in the Wolo community since the Old Order era. These schools provide quality education with strong Islamic values to children in the area.

Muhammadiyah also established clinics and hospitals to provide affordable healthcare services to the Wolo Kolaka community (Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020). The establishment of schools by Muhammadiyah in Wolo is a prime example of how education can be a powerful tool for da'wah. According to Hafidhuddin (1998: 12), building schools is a form of da'wah that not only imparts knowledge but also instills Islamic values, builds community, and addresses social issues. It is a long-term investment in the intellectual, spiritual, and social development of individuals and the community at large.

Schools provide a platform for teaching the fundamentals of Islam,

including Quranic studies, Islamic history, and core Islamic principles. This broadens students' understanding of their faith and equips them to share Islamic knowledge with others (Rusydi, 2017; Subarkah, 2017; Huda, 2019). Providing high-quality education alongside Islamic teachings creates a positive association between Islam and knowledge, progress, and social responsibility. This can attract individuals who may not have been previously exposed to Islam or who hold misconceptions about the religion (Burhanudin, 2014). By fostering well-rounded individuals with strong moral character, schools can help dispel negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims, promoting interfaith understanding and tolerance within the community (Hefner, 2010; Kusuma, 2018). Teachers in Muhammadiyah schools serve as role models who embody Islamic values in their interactions with students. This practical demonstration of Islamic principles further reinforces the message of da'wah.

Establishing schools allows Muhammadiyah to engage in da'wah in a subtle yet impactful way (Qadir, 2019). Wahid (2017) noted that by 1939, Muhammadiyah had established 1,744 schools of various levels, and the number of educational institutions continues to grow. The year 1989 was historic for the Muhammadiyah community in Wolo, as their long-cherished goal of establishing a pesantren was finally realized. The dedication, perseverance, and hard work of Muhammadiyah members in Wolo, under the initiative of P. Paseng and supported by the local community, led to the establishment of Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Ponre. The institution was inaugurated by the Governor of Southeast Sulawesi, Ir. H.A. Lala. This pesantren integrated various levels of education, including TK Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, Madrasah Tsanawiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah, and was initially led by KH. Fattah Yasin, a prominent figure and founder of Muhammadiyah Kolaka in 1957 (Alifuddin & Nurjannah, 2020).

Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Ponre is the first pesantren owned by Muhammadiyah in Southeast Sulawesi. It continues to operate and achieve notable accomplishments. In recent years, Darul Arqam Ponre students have achieved impressive results, including second place in Chemistry and third place in Mathematics at the 2018 Provincial Science Competition and similar achievements in Physics and Biology in 2019 (Arman, interview). The increasing number of Muhammadiyah educational institutions is driven by the work ethic of Muhammadiyah members, who view the establishment of charitable ventures as valuable

investments.

Muhammadiyah agents consistently strive to produce work dedicated to the community (Nashir, 2021). Beyond building educational infrastructure for Islamic da'wah, the Muhammadiyah community in Wolo also actively engages in community da'wah through both formal and informal education. Muhammadiyah agents have built a vision of Islam for the local community through both formal schooling and informal religious gatherings (*pengajian*), conducted in mosques and integrated into school classrooms.

Muhammadiyah's clinics and hospitals also serve as platforms for promoting Islamic values related to health and cleanliness. This clinic provides a variety of healthcare services, such as general health check-ups, disease treatment, and maternity care. Muhammadiyah's social activities began long before Indonesia's independence, with the establishment of clinics and health centers in 1923 through *Penolong Kesengsaraan Oemoum (PKO)* to provide healthcare for the poor. These clinics and hospitals not only offer healthcare services but also play a crucial role in spreading Islamic values and enhancing community welfare (Darmawijaya, 2014; Arfandi, 2016; Amar, 2017). Medical staff in these facilities exemplify Islamic values through their patience, compassion, and professionalism. Through interactions with patients, they instill Islamic principles regarding health, cleanliness, and gratitude. Health education based on Islamic values, such as maintaining a halal diet and avoiding harmful habits, is delivered to patients and the wider community (Nasr, 2006; Ma'arif et.al, 2023). Muhammadiyah also conducts health education activities in residential areas to raise awareness about the importance of health. Free health screenings and campaigns are organized to reach underserved communities.

Muhammadiyah's housing initiatives for the poor provide not only adequate shelter but also community centers and social development programs. These homes offer skills training and economic empowerment programs to help residents become self-reliant and improve their living standards. Access to education and other social services is facilitated to help residents break the cycle of poverty (Hidayat, 2018). Muhammadiyah Wolo has also established and developed cooperatives to help the community improve their standard of living. These cooperatives provide various services, such as savings and loans, basic groceries, and other essential needs.

Muhammadiyah's commitment to providing health and welfare services for the poor is rooted in Islamic teachings and continues to be developed in Wolo and surrounding areas. Despite facing various obstacles, Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka remains steadfast in its social movements. Muhammadiyah's social efforts in Wolo Kolaka exemplify how an Islamic organization can positively contribute to society, even in challenging situations. Muhammadiyah has made a distinctive impact in the fields of social welfare, health, and religion, which have been the focal points of its movement. The contributions of Muhammadiyah since the pre-independence era to the present are undeniable, particularly in education, health, and community empowerment, both formally and informally.

CONCLUSION

Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka uses social movements as a powerful tool for "da'wah *bil hal*." This means spreading Islamic values through practical actions that directly benefit the community. Their approach is rooted in the belief that Islam goes beyond religious doctrine and rituals; it's about applying Islamic principles in daily life. However, their journey wasn't easy. The Old Order and New Order eras were marked by complex political situations, presenting numerous challenges and obstacles for Muhammadiyah's social movements in Wolo Kolaka. Despite these hurdles, Muhammadiyah's ingenuity and adaptability shone through. They implemented creative and relevant strategies focused on social activities that demonstrably improved people's lives. This resourcefulness allowed them to navigate the sensitive political landscape and continue their work. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah understood the power of collaboration. They didn't work in isolation but partnered with various stakeholders, including the government, civil society organizations, and even the general public. This collaborative approach strengthened their position during political transitions and amplified the effectiveness of their "da'wah" across all aspects of community life. In essence, Muhammadiyah in Wolo Kolaka exemplifies how an organization can thrive even amidst political complexities. Their commitment to social good, combined with their strategic adaptability and collaborative spirit, serves as a valuable model for others.

REFERENCES

- Abrar, A. (2016). *Muhammadiyah dan Politik di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Historis (1912-2015)*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Afandi, A. (2018). Kepercayaan Animisme-Dinamisme Serta Adaptasi Kebudayaan Hindu-Budha Dengan Kebudayaan Asli Di Pulau Lombok-NTB, *Historis: Jurnal Kajian, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan Pendidikan Sejarah*, 1(1), 1-9. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31764/historis.v1i1.202>.
- Akhmad, F. (2020). Walisongo as an Islamic Historical Fact of the Archipelago, *Al-Munqidz: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 8(2), 252-272.
- Al-Ansi, A., Sulistyarningsih, T., & Wibowo, M. A. (2023). The Islamic Organizations in Indonesia 'Muhammadiyah and NU': Social Perspective Explanation, *Dirasat Human and Social Sciences*, 50(5), 550-564. DOI:10.35516/hum.v50i5.1124.
- Alfian. (2019). *Muhammadiyah: the political behavior of a Muslim modernist organization under Dutch colonialism*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Alifuddin, M., & Nurjannah. (2020). Lukisan Analitik Tentang Etos Filantropi Muhammadiyah Sulawesi Tenggara pada Era Akhir Orde Baru Dalam Perspektif Gerakan Sosial, *Zawiyah: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 6(2), 180–205. DOI: 10.31332/ZJPI.V6I2.1964.
- Alifudin, M., Chaer, M. T., & Suud, F. M. (2020). Contextualization of the 19th century Islamic law in Buton (a study on Sultan Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin thought about mawaris), *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 20(2), 269–287. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v20i2.269-287>.
- Ardi, A. (2019). Respon Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama terhadap Pemberlakuan Asas Tunggal Pancasila, *Jurnal Sosiologi*, 28(1), 1-24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15575/jis.v3i3.30823>.
- Arfandi, H. (2020). Motif dan Strategi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah, *Jurnal Muhammadiyah Studies*, 1(1), 127–155. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22219/jms.v1i1.11413>.
- Baidhaw, Z. (2015). The Role of Faith-Based Organization in Coping with Disaster Management and Mitigation Muhammadiyah's Experience, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 9(2), 167-194. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2015.9.2.167-194>.
- Barni, M. (2010). Lembaga Pendidikan Muhammadiyah di Kalimantan Selatan, *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 9(2), 139–150.

- DOI:10.18592/*al-banjari*.v9i2.803.
- Barton, G. (2014). The Gülen Movement, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama: Progressive Islamic Thought, Religious Philanthropy and Civil Society in Turkey and Indonesia, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 25(3), 391-412. DOI:10.1080/09596410.2014.916124.
- Bastomi, H. (2017). Da'wah Bi Al-Hikmah as a Pattern of Community Social Religious Development, *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 36(2), 335-362. DOI: 10.21580/jid.v36.2.1776.
- Binfas, M. A. M., Abdullah, M. S. Y., & Ismail, A. M. (2014). Asal usul gerakan pendidikan Muhammadiyah di Indonesia, *International Journal of the Malay World and Civilisation (IMAN)*, 2(2), 65–80. <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/7756/>.
- Fatimah, A. (2020). Pandangan Muhammadiyah Dan Nu Terhadap Kebijakan Pemerintah Orde Baru Mengenai Penyeragaman Hari Raya Idul Fitri, *Al-Isnad: Journal of Islamic Civilization History and Humanities*, 2(2), 1–15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22515/isnad.v2i2.4852>.
- Fauziyah, A. (2019). *Mubammadiyah Masa Orde Baru: Sikap Politik Mubammadiyah terhadap Kebijakan Pemerintah Orde Baru Tahun 1968-1989*. Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Ampel Surabaya.
- Gross, M. L. (2007). *A Muslim archipelago: Islam and politics in Southeast Asia*. Washington DC: National Defense Intelligence College.
- Husni, B. (2015). *Politics of Islamic Modernism in Indonesia: The Muhammadiyah Movement and the State*. Leiden: Brill.
- Husnaini, M. (2019). *Watak Mubammadiyah: Memberi untuk negeri, dalam A. Mu'ti, Ta'avun untuk Negeri: Transformasi Al-Ma'un dalam Konteks Keindonesiaan*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press.
- Husni, Z. M., & Rahman, I. (2020). Islam, Local Wisdom, Da'wah Communication; Measuring the Concept of Islam Nusantara., *Journal of Islam Nusantara*, 4(1), 92-102. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnaln.v4i1.211>.
- Imsawati, F. E., Bambang, S., & Kayan, S. (2020). The Role of Muhammadiyah Organization in Indonesia Education Reform on 1912-1923, *Jurnal Historica*, 4(2), 256-271. DOI: <https://jurnal.unej.ac.id/index.php/JHIS/article/view/21305>.
- Jinan, M. (2015). Muhammadiyah Studies: Transformasi Kajian Tentang Gerakan Islam di Indonesia, *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion*, 26(2), 269– 80. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v22i2.96>.

- Juliyanti, A., & Syaoki, M. (2022). Strategi Da'wah Organisasi Muhammadiyah dalam Kaderisasi Pemuda di kota BIMA NTB, *Cahaya: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kependidikan*, 1(2), 117–128. <https://lampu.or.id/journal/index.php/cahaya/article/view/39>.
- Kahfi, M. (2020). Peranan Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam Berkemajuan di Era Modern, *Al-Risalah*, 11(2), 110–128. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34005/alrisalah.v11i2.590>.
- Mocham, P. H. I. F. dan. (2020). Model Gerakan Dakwa Keagamaan Muhammadiyah: Studi Etnografi di Kabupaten Sidoarjo Jawa Timur, *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 15(1), 103. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v15i1.1967>.
- Mu'ti, A. (2019). *Ta'awun untuk negeri: Transformasi Al-Ma'un dalam konteks keindonesiaan*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press.
- Muhyidin, Asep. (2002). *Da'wah dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an; Studi Kritisvisi, Misi dan Wawasan*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Nashir, H. (2015). *Gerakan Islam pencerahan* (1st ed.). Suara Muhammadiyah.
- Nashir, H. (2021). *Agama, Muhammadiyah, dan Politik Kebangsaan*. <https://psm.umy.ac.id/agama-muhammadiyah-dan-politik-kebangsaan>.
- Nata, A. (2023). *Metodologi Studi Islam*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Peacock, J. L. (2017). *Purifying the faith: The Muhammadiyah movement in Indonesian Islam*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Prasetyo, A. (2018). *Gerilya DI/TII di Sulawesi Tenggara: Studi tentang Strategi Perlawanan dan Politik Lokal*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Qadir, Z. (2019). Islam Berkemajuan dan Strategi Da'wah Pencerahan Umat, *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 13(2), 209–233. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v13i12.1630>.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (1991). *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1300. 2nd Edition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Riyadi, A., & Karim, A. (2023). Da'wah bil-hikmah: Tracing Sunan Kalijaga's footsteps in the transformation of Islamic society, *Jurnal Ilmu Da'wah*, 43(2), 281-296. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v43.2.18468>.
- Rohman, A. (2019). *Muhammadiyah in West Sumatra*. Unpublished Thesis. Universitas Muhammadiyah Sorong. <https://ejournal.um-sorong.ac.id>
- Sa'diah, S. (2012). *Dinamika Politik Lokal di Tengah Konflik DI/TII: Studi*

- Kasus Kabupaten Kolaka Sulawesi Tenggara (1950-1962), *Jurnal Sosiologi*, 23(2), 189-210.
- Satori, D. (2014). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Sugiyono. (2011). *Metode Penelitian Kombinasi (Mix Methods)*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Sukmana, O., Abidin, Z., & Astutik, J. (2020). The Role of Islamic NGOs in The Social Welfare Movement: Study on The Muhammadiyah Organization in Malang City, Indonesia. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(3), 9979-9990. <http://journalppw.com>.
- Suwarno, A. D. K. (2013). *Dinamika sosial gerakan Muhammadiyah di Banyumas* (1st ed.). Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Syamsuddin, A., Olii, M, Caco, R., & Rawandhy, I. (2021). The Role of Muhammadiyah in Social Community. IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo, *Eduvest: Journal of Universal Studies*, 1(10). DOI: 10.36418/edv.v1i10.223.
- Syukir, A. (2008). *Dasar-Dasar Strategi Da'wah Islam*. Surabaya: AL- Ikhlas.
- Tampubolan, I. (2016). Da'wah Pencerahan Pemikiran dan Aktivitas Da'wah Muhammadiyah Zaman Kekinian Oleh Ichwansyah Tampubolon, *Al- Muaddib Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial & Keislaman*, 1(1). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31604/muaddib.v1i1.101>.
- Yakub, H. (1981). *Publistik Islam;Tebhnik Da'wah dan Leadership. Cet.II* Bandung: Diponogoro.
- Zarro, M. (2020). Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam Dan Pendidikan, *Factum: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pendidikan Sejarah*, 9(1), 61–66. <https://doi.org/10.17509/factum.v9i1.21503>.

