



The Role of Sufi Orders in Social Change in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract: This research examines the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia. Based on a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) following the PRISMA 2020 guidelines, the study reviews journal articles from Google Scholar. The analysis of 14 articles indicates that Sufi orders in Indonesia play a significant role in various fields: socio-political, educational, philanthropic, economic, personal, and spiritual transformation, as well as da'wā and religious dissemination. The reviewed articles demonstrate that Sufi orders function as effective agents of social change with adaptive, evolutionary, and contextual approaches to the needs of society. This research provides a comprehensive perspective on how Sufi orders contribute to social change and offers practical methods to support sustainable social transformation in Indonesia.

Contribution: The results of this research will help future researchers identify the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia. Additionally, Muslims and the general public can understand and apply these roles in daily activities to encourage positive social change. This research will provide a comprehensive perspective on how Sufi orders contribute to social change and offer practical methods to support better social transformation.

Keywords: Sufi orders; social change; Indonesia

Introduction

Sufism is Islam's inner and spiritual aspect that seeks a deeper understanding of spiritual life and God through personal experience and intensive spiritual exercises. Sufism generates *irfāni* knowledge through divine enlightenment after spiritual exercises rooted in love.¹ *Irfāni* approach differs from the text-centered *bayāni* approach and the logical *burhāni* approach.² Sufism enriches Islam with insights into spiritual achievements, known as the noble science, due to its connection to 'knowledge' (*ma'rifa*) and love (*maḥabba*) towards God.³ Throughout its history, Sufism has developed into various movements within Islam known as *tariqa*, which means way or method and is translated as Sufi order.⁴ In Sufism, Sufi orders initially assisted Sufis with specific formulated regulations, methods, and rituals to achieve spiritual purification or enlightenment. However, sociologically, a Sufi order has evolved into a robust socio-religious institution with a strong membership structure.⁵

The initial contact made by the Sufis demonstrates the importance of their role in crossing religious and cultural boundaries and reflects on the complex challenges that arise from such interactions. Globally, Sufism has become a transnational phenomenon transcending cultural, linguistic, and political boundaries.⁶ The spiritual journeys undertaken by the Sufis enrich individual religious experiences and contribute to developing inclusive and sustainable social dynamics. The historical transformation of Sufism since the 12th century includes adaptations to social, political, economic, and cultural

¹ Rafli Kahfi et al., "Klasifikasi Tasawuf: Amali, Falsafi, Akhlaki," *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Konseling (JPDK)* 5, no. 1 (2023): 4073–79, <https://doi.org/10.31004/jpdk.v5i1.11658>.

² Wira Hadikusuma, "Epistemologi Bayani, Irfani Dan Burhani Al-Jabiri Dan Relevansinya Bagi Studi Agama Untuk Resolusi Konflik Dan Peacebuilding," *Jurnal Ilmiah Syi'ar* 18, no. 1 (2018): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.29300/syr.v18i1.1510>.

³ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Mizan, 1995); M Alfatih Suryadilaga, *Miftahus Sufi* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2008); Kahfi et al., "Klasifikasi Tasawuf: Amali, Falsafi, Akhlaki."

⁴ Suryadilaga, *Miftahus Sufi*.

⁵ Agus Riyadi, "Tarekat Sebagai Organisasi Tasawuf (Melacak Peran Tarekat Dalam Perkembangan Dakwah Islamiyah)," *At-Taqaddum* 6, no. 2 (2016): 359–85, <https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v6i2.716>.

⁶ Jamal Malik and John Hinnells, *Sufism in the West* (Taylor & Francis, 2006); Francesco Piraino and Mark Sedgwick, *Global Sufism: Boundaries, Structures and Politics* (Hurst & Company, 2019).

changes. Sufism combines spiritual dimensions with worldly obligations, making it relevant in modern society.⁷

It is generally acknowledged that Islam first arrived in Indonesia from various regions in the Middle East, and India tended to adopt Sufi teachings.⁸ Many scholars, such as Johns,⁹ Azra,¹⁰ and Zulkifli¹¹ support this view not only because of the functions of networks between members of Sufi orders but also due to the accommodative attitudes of Sufism towards aspects of local culture or the commonality between aspects of Sufi teachings and local culture. Sufism, mainly through the Sufi orders, plays a significant role in Indonesia's social and cultural dynamics and on a global scale. As a tool of Islamization, Sufism serves as an essential bridge between Islam and non-Muslim communities in various parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America.¹² In Java, for instance, the first propagators of Islam are called Wali Sanga or the Nine Saints, referring to the significant role of Sufis in the process of Islamization and the Sufi characteristics of Islamic views and practices that tend to be accommodative towards dimensions of local tradition.

In Indonesia, the role of Sufi orders in social change is a complex phenomenon with a long history and significant impact. Since the late 16th century, the teachings of Sufism from Ibn Arabi, al-Jili, and Ghazali began to influence spirituality in Indonesia, although the formalization of Sufi orders only developed in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Sufi orders in Indonesia became increasingly diverse, with many local teachers imparting spiritual techniques from various sources, often after spiritual journeys to Arabia. Due to their spiritual influence and social networks, Sufi orders were usually involved in political and nationalist

⁷ Nur Kafid, "Sufisme Dalam Dinamika Kehidupan Masyarakat Muslim Kontemporer," *Mimbar Agama Dan Budaya* 37, no. 1 (2020): 27–38, <https://doi.org/10.15408/mimbar.v0i0.18232>; Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁸ Abdul Quddus and Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, "Gerakan Tarekat Dan Pertumbuhan Budaya Berfilosofi Di Lombok," *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 2 (2015): 321–45, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2015.5.2.321-345>.

⁹ Anthony H. Johns, "Sufizm as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 10–23, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0217781100100547>.

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2013).

¹¹ Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Leiden: INIS, 2002).

¹² Piraino and Sedgwick, *Global Sufism: Boundaries, Structures and Politics*.

activities.¹³ Sufism in Indonesia has endured amid modernization and globalization. For instance, the Wali Sanga and Indonesian Sufi leaders significantly contributed to resisting imperialists, rebellions against imperialism, and fighting for the people's freedom from tyranny.¹⁴

Sufi orders play a crucial role in Indonesian society and religious dynamics. Among them, the Naqshabandiyyah order helps teach Islam and change the social behavior of its followers through dhikr and applied education, enhancing religious knowledge, faith, and pious deeds.¹⁵ Additionally, Naqshabandiyyah and the Qādiriyyah order teach spiritual and moral values that positively impact the development of societal morality and ethics.¹⁶ The Rifā'iyah order is known for its consistent opposition to government hegemony and Dutch colonialism and for spreading peaceful da'wah teachings and effective social resistance methods.¹⁷

In facing the challenges of the modern era, the social movements of Sufi orders offer a humanistic, evolutionary, and natural alternative. The social solidarity formed through Sufi teachings creates individual and social peace while maintaining religious values against the onslaught of secularism and modernism.¹⁸ Sufism must be re-evaluated to remain relevant in the modern era, avoiding focusing solely on individual piety and neglecting the social

¹³ Martin van Bruinessen, "Saints, Politicians and Sufi Bureaucrats: Mysticism and Politics in Indonesia's New Order," in *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*, (London: IB Tauris, 2007).

¹⁴ Syamsun Ni'am, "Tasawuf Di Tengah Perubahan Sosial (Studi Tentang Peran Tarekat Dalam Dinamika Sosial-Politik Di Indonesia)," *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (2016): 123–37, <https://jurnalharmoni.kemenag.go.id/index.php/harmoni/article/view/35>.

¹⁵ Luqman Abdullah, "Kontribusi Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam Dan Perubahan Perilaku Sosial Jamaah (Studi Kasus Jamaah Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Dukuh Tompe, Kabupaten Boyolali)," *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v1i1.39>.

¹⁶ Siswoyo Aris Munandar, Sigit Susanto, and Wahyu Nugroho, "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Kesalehan Sosial Masyarakat Dusun Gemutri Sukoharjo Sleman," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 16, no. 1 (2020): 35–51, <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v16i1.1833>.

¹⁷ Andi Kaprabowo, "Beyond Studies Tarekat Rifa'iyah Kalisalak: Doktrin, Jalan Dakwah, Dan Perlawanan Sosial," *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Media Pemikiran Dan Dakwah Pembangunan* 3, no. 2 (2019): 377–96, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpm.2019.032-07>.

¹⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*, vol. 67 (London: IB Tauris, 2007); Justine Howe, "Contemporary Mawlid in Chicago," in *Global Sufism: Boundaries, Structures, and Politics* (London: Hurst & Company, 2019), 119–35.

dimension. A multidisciplinary approach is necessary for Sufism to continue contributing to contemporary society.

In Indonesia, Sufism among the urban population has shown significant development, particularly with the rising popularity of various groups such as the *Majelis Dzikir* and *Shalawat* Nurul Mustafa. Although this trend is prominent, the roots of classical Sufism still play an important role, reflected in the existence and influence of the *Majelis Shalawat* Muhammad in Surabaya and Bojonegoro. These groups preserve religious traditions and become engines of social change through the values they teach, often through the figures of their murshids.¹⁹

Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia is essential through a systematic review of relevant literature. This research aims to delineate the roles of Sufi orders in various aspects of social change in Indonesia, as revealed from pertinent previous studies. Two research questions to be investigated in this article: Which Sufi orders are most frequently studied regarding their role in social change in Indonesia? (RQ1) In which aspects of social change do the Sufi orders play their role? (RQ2) This research will provide a comprehensive perspective on how Sufi orders contribute to social change and offer practical methods to support better social transformation. This research will help future researchers identify which aspects are understudied or neglected regarding the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia.

Method

This study employed the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method. The Systematic Literature Review is a scientific procedure of reviewing relevant research results guided by specific and rigorous rules to ensure the completeness, bias-free nature, transparency, and accountability of the methodology and its implementation.²⁰ This research aims to answer the formulated research questions transparently and reproducibly on all published,

¹⁹ Kafid, "Sufisme Dalam Dinamika Kehidupan Masyarakat Muslim Kontemporer."

²⁰ Mary Dixon-Woods, "Systematic Reviews and Qualitative Methods," in *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, vol. 3 (London: Sage, 2010), 331–46.

high-quality, and relevant evidence about the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia.²¹

The primary guideline in this Systematic Literature Review process is PRISMA 2020 (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses), following the pattern established in Zulkifli, Nuryaman, and Hafidhoh's research.²² PRISMA 2020 replaces the previous statement and introduces new guidelines for SLR research. The main stages outlined in PRISMA 2020 include identification, screening, eligibility, and inclusion. The PRISMA 2020 statement provides a checklist, explanation, elaboration, and flow diagram. This version is recommended for the writing process as it is more comprehensive and covers all the items analyzed in the articles.²³

In the first step (identification), the researchers determined the keywords, terms, synonyms, syntax, and other words relevant to the keywords. Based on the primary focus of the research, which is to examine the Sufi orders included in the relevant studies regarding the social change in Indonesia and the role of Sufi orders in social change in Indonesia through various aspects, the researchers decided to use the keywords "tarekat," "perubahan sosial," and "Indonesia." The rationale behind this selection is to broaden the search results in the form of articles in the databases used as information sources. The Boolean logic operator AND (+) technique was applied in the search process in Google Scholar, one of the credible scientific databases. Boolean: "tarekat DAN perubahan sosial," and "tarekat DAN Indonesia." Overall, 11,700 documents were obtained with the following publication types: journal articles, book chapters, books, notes, editorials, conference papers, and articles in progress. The publication period in Google Scholar is 2015-2024. The last search was conducted on July 15, 2024.

In the Screening step, to guarantee the quality of the publication, a selection was made based on the type of scientific work written in English and

²¹ Guillaume Lame, "Systematic Literature Reviews: An Introduction," in *Proceedings of the Design Society: International Conference on Engineering Design*, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1633–42; Nuryaman Zulkifli, "Islamic Approaches to the Environmental Preservation: A Systematic Literature Review," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Filsafat* 20, no. 2 (2023): 176–208, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v20i2.7848>.

²² Zulkifli, "Islamic Approaches to the Environmental Preservation: A Systematic Literature Review."

²³ Matthew J Page et al., "The PRISMA 2020 Statement: An Updated Guideline for Reporting Systematic Reviews," *BMJ* 372 (March 29, 2021): n71, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71>.

Indonesian; that is, documents other than journal articles and articles in progress were excluded (see Table 1). Complete journal articles have met the quality standards of academic work through peer review. The researchers limited the focus to the top 1,000 search results, considering that articles beyond this did not address the research questions adequately. This preference represents a limitation in this study, given the significant drop in search results when this criterion was applied from 11,700 articles to 1,000. However, the number 1,000 was still too large, so an additional criterion was set, requiring articles to be cited by at least ten other articles, reducing the number to 67.

In the eligibility stage, the researchers examined the relevance of the articles discussing the role of Sufi orders and social change in Indonesia based on two specific research objectives from various practical and theoretical perspectives based on titles, abstracts, subheadings, and critical findings. After this process, 53 journal articles were eliminated.

Finally, in the inclusion stage, articles that met all the identification, screening, and eligibility criteria—14 journal articles were deemed suitable for review in this study. The composition of articles by year consists of 2023: 1 document, 2021: 1 document, 2020: 2 documents, 2019: 2 documents, 2018: 3 documents, 2016: 3 documents, 2015: 2 documents, with no articles from 2017, 2022, or 2024 (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

Table 1 *Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria*

Criteria	Inclusion	Exclusion
Type of Literature	Article journal and final article (not in press)	book chapter, book, note, editorial, proceeding paper

Source: *Author's findings*

Table 2 *Numbers of articles based on 2015 – 2024*

Year Published	Number of articles	Year Published	Number of articles
2015	2	2020	2
2016	3	2021	1
2017	0	2022	0
2018	3	2023	1
2019	2	2024	0

Source: *Author's findings*

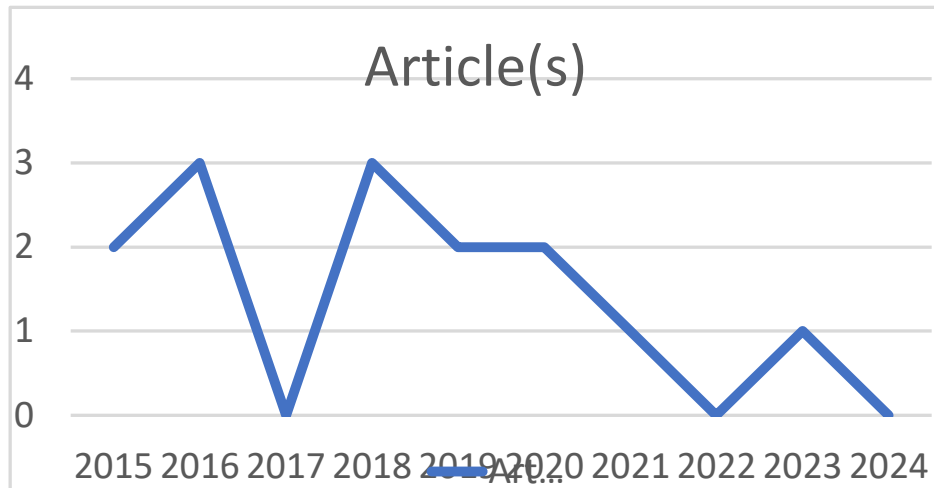


Figure 1 Number of Published Articles. Source: Author's findings

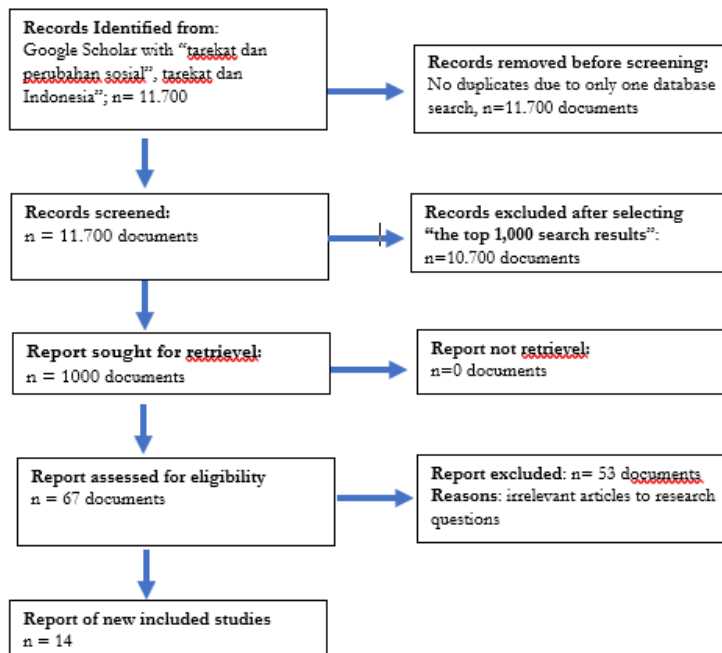


Figure 2 Stage of SLR Utilizing PRISMA Guidelines. Source: Modified from Page et al.

Table 3 *List of Included Articles and their involvement in fulfilling RQs*

NO	Title	Author(s)	Year	Cited by	RQ1	RQ2
1	Tasawuf di Tengah Perubahan sosial (Studi tentang Peran Tarekat dalam dinamika sosial-Politik di Indonesia)	Syamsun Ni'am	2016	24	☒	☒
2	Tarekat naqsabandiyah di Indonesia abad 19 dari ortodoksi ke politisasi	M. Noupal	2016	27	☒	☒
3	Gerakan Sosial dan Filantropi Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia	SA Munandar	2020	10	☒	☒
4	Peran Pesantren Tarekat Roudhoh Al-Hikam dalam Mengembangkan Tradisi Intelektual Islam dan Moderasi Beragama di Indonesia	T Hidayatulloh, H Saputra, T Saumantri	2023	10	☒	☒
5	Tarekat Naqsabandiyah terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Perubahan Perilaku Sosial Jamaah (Studi Kasus Jamaah Tarekat Naqsabandiyah di Dukuh Tompe Kabupaten Boyolali)	L. Abdullah, Nazhruna	2018	16	☒	☒
6	Beyond Studies Tarekat Rifā'iyah Kalisalak: Doktrin, Jalan Dakwah, dan Perlawanan Sosial	A. Kaprabo wo	2019	15	☒	☒
7	Gerakan Tarekat dan Pertumbuhan Budaya Berfilosofi di Lombok	A Quddus, LM Ariadi	2015	13	☒	☒
8	Tarekat sebagai Organisasi Tasawuf (Melacak peran tarekat dalam perkembangan dakwah Islamiyah)	A Riyadi	2016	104	☒	☒
9	Spiritual entrepreneurship dalam pemberdayaan ekonomi umat: Studi	DA Mardani	2019	27	☒	☒

	terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya					
10	Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan dan Perannya dalam Perpolitikan di Lombok	MR Ziadi	2018	10	☒	☒
11	Konseling Islam dengan Dzikir Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Mengatasi Kegelisahan Jiwa dan Bathin	M Sholihah, MA Maarif, MS	2021	29	☒	☒
12	Revitalizing National Political Values through the Socio-Political Movements of the Tarekat: Studied at the Political Social Role of Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah in Nusantara	AM Abitolkha, M B Muvid	2020	12	☒	☒
13	Gerakan Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Grobogan	A Anas, HH Adinugraha	2018	11	☒	☒
14	Perkembangan Dakwah Sufistik Persepektif Tasawuf Kontemporer	JT Haryanto	2015	29	☒	☒

Source: *Author's Findings*

Results and Discussion

The Frequency of Sufi Orders Studied regarding Social Change in Indonesia

Table 4 *Distribution of Articles on the Most Frequently Studied Sufi Orders in Social Change in Indonesia*

The Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Order	[1] [3] [4] [11] [12] [13]
The Naqshbandiyyah Order	[2] [4] [5] [8]
The Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Order	[7] [10]
The Idrisiyyah Order	[9]
The Rifā'iyah Order	[6]

Source: *Authors's Findings*

Table 4 illustrates the distribution of articles focusing on the most frequently studied Sufi orders in relation to social change in Indonesia. Findings reveal varying interest levels in different Sufi orders, underscoring their roles and contributions within Indonesian society.

First, the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah Order appears to be the most frequently studied, namely seven journal articles, with references from sources [1], [3], [4], [11], [12], and [13]. The prominence of the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah Order in academic literature demonstrates its significant influence on social change in Indonesia.²⁴ Known for its large following, this Sufi order is notable for merging two distinct lineages, Qādiriyyah and Naqshabandiyyah, further enhancing its recognition, impact, and popularity in Indonesia.²⁵ The Qādiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah order is a synthesis of two orders established by Ahmad Khatib Sambas from Kalimantan in the middle of the 19th century.

Second, the Naqshabandiyyah order is referenced in sources [2], [4], [5], and [8] studied in four articles. The Naqshabandiyyah order is one of Indonesia's most widely followed Sufi orders, particularly during the 19th century. This order not only served as a part of the spiritual practices of society but also played a significant role in the revival of political Islam. Naqshabandiyyah comprises three main branches: Mazhariyyah, Khālidiyyah, and Qādiriyyah.²⁶

The development of this Sufi order is evident from reports indicating its spread in regions such as Cianjur, Sumedang, and Sukabumi, where many nobles and local leaders became adherents. Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas introduced the Qādiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah order around the 1850s, gaining popularity in Banten, particularly among impoverished communities.

From the 1880s onward, the Naqshabandiyyah order began to attract the attention of the Muslim community, especially in Java, due to its leaders' spiritual allure and charisma. Mysticism and syncretic elements within the practices of the order contributed to this interest. The Naqshabandiyyah order emphasizes the importance of obligatory prayers and the recitation of supplications (*wirid*). However, there are influences of mystical elements sometimes regarded as deviations in Sufi practice.²⁷

Significant events such as the uprisings in Cianjur (1885) and Cilegon (1888) demonstrate the order's involvement in social and political movements.

²⁴ Endang Turmudi, "The Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java and Islamic Politics in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 26, no. 2 (1998): 65–84, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/030382498X00166>.

²⁵ Mukhammad Zamzami, Fikri Mahzumi, and Abd A'la, "Tarekat and Politics in Indonesia: Contested Authority between Murshids in the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (2022): 187–208, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.187-208>.

²⁶ Muhammad Noupal, "Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Indonesia Abad 19 Dari Ortodoksi Ke Politisasi," *Intizar* 22, no. 2 (December 24, 2016): 303, <https://doi.org/10.19109/intizar.v22i2.943>.

²⁷ Noupal, "Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Indonesia Abad 19 Dari Ortodoksi Ke Politisasi."

Despite criticisms regarding the mystical aspects of the order, many members of society continue to practice the order with a strong appreciation for the principles of sharia.²⁸

Thirdly, the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Order is referenced in sources [7] and [10]. Established by Hamzanwadi in 1964 in Pancor, East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) has played a crucial role in shaping the religious and social identity of the Lombok community.²⁹ Rooted in the Sufi teachings of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi, this order emphasizes consistency in upholding Sharia alongside flexibility in practicing Sufi rituals. Over time, the Hizib NW order has expanded widely among NW followers, becoming integral to Islamic education and outreach in Lombok. One of its notable contributions is the establishment of numerous Islamic boarding schools by NW scholars and Sufi leaders, serving as centers for religious and Sufi studies. Here, students not only study Islam but also delve into the teachings and practices of the Hizib NW order, fostering a strong social and religious identity rooted in Islamic and Sufi values.³⁰

To build the identity and legitimacy of the NW community, Hamzanwadi employed three main pathways: education (both formal and informal), politics, and ritual ceremonies.³¹ In the educational realm, the Hizib NW order established madrassas, Islamic boarding schools, and religious study groups, serving as platforms to disseminate Islamic teachings and Sufi principles. Education became the cornerstone of Hamzanwadi's outreach, complemented by weekly *dhikr* gatherings that foster close ties among members. Additionally, the political sphere provided a conduit for the Hizib NW order to contribute to social change in Lombok.³²

Besides education and politics, the Hizib NW order fosters social cohesion through rituals and ceremonies. Regular *dhikr* gatherings, such as

²⁸ Noupal.

²⁹ Abdul Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan: Construction of Social Change During the New Order Period in Lombok, Indonesia," *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 18, no. 6 (June 27, 2023): 1963–72, <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.180633>.

³⁰ M Rohman Ziadi, "Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan Di Lombok," *Refleksi Jurnal Filsafat Dan Pemikiran Islam* 18, no. 2 (July 30, 2018): 207–39, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ref.v18i2.1866>; Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan: Construction of Social Change During the New Order Period in Lombok, Indonesia."

³¹ Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan: Construction of Social Change During the New Order Period in Lombok, Indonesia."

³² Rasyad et al.

Hiziban on Monday nights and *syafā'ah* on Wednesday nights, are integral to the lives of older members, forming deep emotional bonds among them. This tradition reinforces faith and cultivates social solidarity, promoting positive social change within Lombok's community. Overall, the presence of the *Hizib* NW order has had a broad social impact on education, politics, and spirituality, fostering strong cohesion and solidarity among community members and supporting the construction of a resilient collective identity.³³

Fourth, the *Idrīsiyah* Order is referenced in the source [9]. This order has developed significantly in Indonesia, particularly in Tasikmalaya. One of the main centers of *Idrīsiyah* activity is the *Idrisiyyah* Islamic Boarding School in Tasikmalaya, which serves as a venue for Sufi education and the development of Sharia-based economic initiatives through a *Bait al-Māl wa al-Tamwīl* (BMT) business unit.³⁴ Syekh Akbar Fathurahman has been instrumental in the growth of the *Idrīsiyah* Order, reinterpreting central Sufi concepts such as *zuhd* and *tawakkal*, making the order a catalyst for social change within Indonesia's Muslim society. The *Idrīsiyah* Order has contributed significantly to social change and innovation across various sectors, including economic, educational, and social programs.³⁵

Fifth, the *Rifā'iyah* Order is referenced in source [6]. This order, led by K.H Ahmad Rifa'i, was notable during the colonial period. K.H Ahmad Rifa'i is remembered as an Islamic scholar who resisted colonial policies and criticized the government through his writings.³⁶ The *Rifā'iyah* Order has played an important role in promoting peaceful religious practice and social resistance to colonial influences.³⁷

³³ Rasyad et al.

³⁴ Ariani Barroroh Baried, "Sufisme and Business: Study of Social and Business Activities of the Tarekat Al-Idrisiyyah In Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 18, no. 2 (January 3, 2023): 116–29, <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v18i2.3808>.

³⁵ Sulaiman Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 12, no. 2 (December 27, 2023): 303–32, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v12i2.18810>.

³⁶ Anggi Prasetyo and Ilyya Muhsin, "The Practice of *Ṣiḥāh* Marriage among the *Rifā'iyah* Congregation in Sociological and Islamic Marriage Law Perspectives," *Al-'Adalah* 20, no. 2 (March 7, 2024): 235–56, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v20i2.19324>.

³⁷ Kaprabowo, "Beyond Studies Tarekat *Rifā'iyah* Kalisalak: Doktrin, Jalan Dakwah, Dan Perlawanan Sosial."

The Role of Sufi Orders in Various Aspects of Social Change

Table 5 *Distribution of Articles on Sufi order and social change in Indonesia*

Social-Political	[1] [2][6] [7] [10] [12]
educational	[4] [5] [13] [14]
philanthropic	[3] [8] [9] [13] [14]
economic	[9] [13] [14]
personal and spiritual transformation	[8] [11] [13]
proselytization, and the spread of religion	[8] [13] [14]

Source: *Author's Findings*

In these 14 articles, Sufi orders in Indonesia have played a significant role in social change across various aspects, including social-political, educational, philanthropic, economic, personal, and spiritual transformation, proselytization, and the spread of religion.

Socio-Political Aspect

Sufi orders in Indonesia have significantly influenced social-political dynamics throughout history. In the 18th century, figures such as Sheikh 'Abd al-Shamad ibn 'Abd al-Jalil actively mobilized resistance against colonialists, demonstrating the early contributions of Sufi orders in anti-colonial struggles. A concrete example of this role is the resistance of the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah order in Banten during the 1888 rebellion. In Lombok, figures like Guru Bangkol from the same order led similar resistance in 1891, highlighting the importance of Sufi orders in liberation movements across various regions. After independence, the role of Sufi orders remained relevant, as seen in the formation of Jam'iya Ahl Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahḍiyya during the 26th NU Congress in Semarang in 1979.³⁸ This effort reflects the organization and coordination of various Sufi orders in Indonesia under the guidance of prominent figures, including the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah and Hizib Nahdatul Wathan orders in Lombok. Their involvement in local and national politics influenced political values and national policies, reaffirming the role of Sufi orders as significant agents in social and political change in Indonesia.³⁹

³⁸ Ni'am, "Tasawuf Di Tengah Perubahan Sosial (Studi Tentang Peran Tarekat Dalam Dinamika Sosial-Politik Di Indonesia)."

³⁹ Amir Maliki Abitolkha, Muhamad Basyrul Muvid, and Maulana Arafat Lubis, "Revitalizing National Political Values through the Socio-Political Movements of the

From the social movement theory perspective, Sufi orders in Indonesia function as social organizations advocating for social and political change. This theory emphasizes that these movements are formed based on a collective need for change and a response to social dissatisfaction, highlighting the importance of interaction and temporal dynamics in social movements.⁴⁰ Orders such as the Naqshbandiyyah and Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah uphold spiritual values and adapt within social-political contexts to mobilize the masses and influence policy.⁴¹ Criticism of overly simplistic analyses of temporal sequences in social movements also inspires a deeper understanding of the complexity of social change dynamics by Sufi orders in Indonesia.

Education

Sufism and Sufi orders in pesantren institutions have become integral parts of traditional Islamic education in Indonesia. Nearly all Sufi orders operate under pesantren's auspices, with the order's murshid often serving as caretakers. In the process of Islamization in the Nusantara, Sufi figures influenced society in religious, commercial, cultural, and educational aspects, which formed the intellectual tradition of Islam in pesantren.⁴² Pesantren and Sufism are inseparable, with Pesantren incorporating Sufism into their primary curriculum since the 19th century.⁴³ Bruinessen⁴⁴ notes that since the 16th

Tarekat: Studied at the Political Social Role of Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in Nusantara,” *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 20, no. 2 (November 30, 2020): 373–98, <https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v20i2.2140>; Ziadi, “Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan Di Lombok.”

⁴⁰ Sidney Tarrow, “Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article,” *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 4 (December 1, 1996): 874–83, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2945851>; Kevin Gillan, “Social Movements: Sequences vs Fuzzy Temporality,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Theory*, vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 407–32, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316677452.021>.

⁴¹ Noupal, “Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia Abad 19 Dari Ortodoksi Ke Politisasi”; Ziadi, “Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan Di Lombok”; Abitolkha, Muvid, and Lubis, “Revitalizing National Political Values through the Socio-Political Movements of the Tarekat: Studied at the Political Social Role of Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in Nusantara.”

⁴² Suteja, *Tasawuf Di Nusantara: Tadarus Tasawuf Dan Tarekat* (Cirebon: Aksara Satu, 2016); Taufik Hidayatulloh, Hijrah Saputra, and Theguh Saumantri, “Peran Pesantren Tarekat Roudhoh Al-Hikam Dalam Mengembangkan Tradisi Intelektual Islam Dan Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia,” *Dialog* 46, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 38–52, <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v46i1.702>.

⁴³ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (LP3ES, 1992).

century, pesantren have taught Sufism from classical texts. This close relationship demonstrates how Sufi orders and pesantren form a strong spiritual and educational foundation.

For example, the Naqshbandiyyah order in Dukuh Tompe shows that its education is practical, emphasizing practice over theory. Naqshbandiyyah education involves guidance through repentance, *sulūk*, asceticism, trust, and a dhikr approach. The contribution of the Naqshbandiyyah order to Islamic religious education includes enhancing religious knowledge, faith, and good deeds.⁴⁵ Other research shows that the Roudhoh Al-Hikam pesantren is a tangible example of how Sufi orders integrate Islamic religious education with moderate values. They emphasize spirituality and religiosity and promote a deep understanding of inclusive and harmonious Islamic teachings.⁴⁶

Philanthropy

Sufi orders in Indonesia play a central role in transforming the social landscape through philanthropic efforts and structured social movements. As a primary example, the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah sufi order significantly impacts social engagement and philanthropy in various communities. Through pesantren like Berjan in Purworejo, this sufi order developed a "semi-modern" model integrating traditional education with modern elements such as formal education and self-sustaining economic management. Philanthropy here is not limited to material donations but includes active participation in charity events and fundraising for education. In Kuala Tungkal, the Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah sufi order is also active in supporting local charity activities connected on a national scale, as evidenced by its participation in global forums like the World Zakat Forum, underscoring its commitment to leveraging digital technology to optimize zakat management and expand the impact of philanthropy efficiently.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁴⁵ Abdullah, "Kontribusi Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah Terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam Dan Perubahan Perilaku Sosial Jamaah (Studi Kasus Jamaah Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah Di Dukuh Tompe, Kabupaten Boyolali)."

⁴⁶ Hidayatulloh, Saputra, and Saumantri, "Peran Pesantren Tarekat Roudhoh Al-Hikam Dalam Mengembangkan Tradisi Intelektual Islam Dan Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia."

⁴⁷ Siswoyo Aris Munandar, "Gerakan Sosial Dan Filantropi Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyyah Di Indonesia," *Nuansa: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Kcagamaan Islam* 17, no. 2 (2020): 149–66, <https://doi.org/10.19105/nuansa.v17i2.3033>.

The Khalwatiyyah Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassary (TKSYA) and Tijāniyyah orders emphasize that Sufi activities build social congregations, shape community character, and influence spiritual development and work ethic.⁴⁸ The Naqshabandiyyah-Khālidiyyah Bābussalam and Al-Idrīsiyyah orders also prioritize social and economic aspects in their empowerment programs, supporting widows, orphans, and the poor and offering educational assistance and training in traditional medicine.⁴⁹ When called upon by their murshid, members of the Al-Idrīsiyyah order are eager to donate or contribute to building pesantren or their missionary institutions.⁵⁰ Additionally, the Syadhīliyyah sufi order emphasizes the importance of inner spiritual values such as gratitude, which shape the community's mindset in positively contributing to others.⁵¹ Thus, the role of Sufi orders is to maintain their spiritual values and actively drive widespread social change in Indonesia.

Economy

Sufi orders in Indonesia are essential in social change, particularly in economics. Various Sufi orders such as Tijāniyyah, Al-Idrīsiyyah, and Ṣiddīqiyyah emphasize the importance of social and economic dimensions in their activities, promoting the belief that a true Sufi works and empowers others.⁵² These orders have driven economic development by encouraging

⁴⁸ Aminah Azis et al., "Socio-Sufism Practices within the Indonesia's Tariqah Practitioners," *International Journal of Religion* 5, no. 1 (2024): 170–78, <https://doi.org/10.61707/nv82ma30>; Fathul Mu'in, "The Role of Tasawuf in Improving the Spiritual and Work Ethos of Urban Communities: A Case Study of Tarekat Tijaniyah in Mampang Prapatan, Jakarta Selatan," *Integration: Journal Of Social Sciences And Culture* 1, no. 2 (April 30, 2023): 76–84, <https://doi.org/10.38142/ijssc.v1i2.92>.

⁴⁹ Ziaulhaq Hidayat, "Tarekat and Philanthropy: Reference from Wasiat 44 of the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah Babussalam," *Al-Fikru: Jurnal Ilmiah* 16, no. 2 (2022): 293–304; Mursalat Mursalat and Siswoyo Aris Munandar, "Socio-Economic Dimensions of The Al-Idrisiyah Tarekat In Indonesia: Doctrine And Practice," *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 17, no. 1 (2022): 205–232.

⁵⁰ Dede Aji Mardani, "Spiritual Entrepreneurship Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat: Studi Terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya," *JURNAL EKONOMI SYARIAH* 4, no. 2 (December 29, 2019): 194–206, <https://doi.org/10.37058/jes.v4i2.1252>.

⁵¹ Muhammad Nasrullah, "Tarekat Syadziliyah Dan Pengaruh Ideologi Aswaja Di Indonesia," *JURNAL ISLAM NUSANTARA* 4, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 237, <https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnalin.v4i2.225>.

⁵² Fathul, "The Role of Tasawuf in Improving the Spiritual and Work Ethos of Urban Communities: A Case Study of Tarekat Tijaniyah in Mampang Prapatan, Jakarta

legitimate and responsible work, instilling a meaningful mindset in life, and promoting obedience and sincerity in worship.⁵³ The Idrīsiyyah order, in particular, stands out in the economic field by developing a spiritual entrepreneurship model. This order integrates Islamic values into entrepreneurial principles, such as the centrality of monotheism (tauhid) in economic activities, adherence to Qur'anic values, emphasis on worship through business activities, commitment to integrity in all business aspects, and readiness to serve. This approach creates new business opportunities and strengthens the community's ability to face economic challenges. Through this practice of spiritual entrepreneurship, Sufi orders become not only centers of religious activity but also drivers of local economic growth based on Islamic values, creating significant social impact in their communities.⁵⁴

Personal and Spiritual Transformation

Sufi orders play a crucial role in social change in Indonesia by facilitating personal and spiritual transformation. Through practices such as *dhikr*, *sulūk* rituals, and adherence to Sufi teachings, individuals in Sufi communities experience increased spirituality, social cohesion, and ethical behavior.⁵⁵ Sufi orders serve as a path to drawing closer to Allah under the guidance of a spiritual teacher, fostering strong, calm personalities,⁵⁶ transforming harsh attitudes into compassionate ones, rebelliousness into obedience, and

Selatan”; Mursalat and Munandar, “Socio-Economic Dimensions of The Al-Idrisiyah Tarekat In Indonesia: Doctrine And Practice”; Siswoyo Aris Munandar, “Sufism and the Urban Society’s Economy: Study of the Economic Dimensions of the Tarekat Siddiqiyah In Indonesia,” *Al Qalam* 39, no. 2 (2022): 186–204.

⁵³ Mu’in, “The Role of Tasawuf in Improving the Spiritual and Work Ethos of Urban Communities: A Case Study of Tarekat Tijaniyah in Mampang Prapatan, Jakarta Selatan.”

⁵⁴ Mardani, “Spritual Entepreneurship Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat: Studi Terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya.”

⁵⁵ Imron Rosidi, “The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia,” *An-Najah University Journal for Research - B (Humanities)* 38, no. 4 (April 2024): 819–36, <https://doi.org/10.35552/0247.38.4.2186>; Azis et al., “Socio-Sufism Practices within the Indonesia’s Tariqah Practitioners”; Mu’in, “The Role of Tasawuf in Improving the Spiritual and Work Ethos of Urban Communities: A Case Study of Tarekat Tijaniyah in Mampang Prapatan, Jakarta Selatan.”

⁵⁶ Ibnu Farhan and Muhammad Faiq, “Tarekat Mu’tabaroh Dalam Perspektif Jam’iyyah Ahlith Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyyah Indonesia,” *PUTIH: Jurnal Pengetahuan Tentang Ilmu Dan Hikmah* 8, no. 2 (September 30, 2023): 77–100, <https://doi.org/10.51498/ymgps347>.

introversion into openness. Integrating Sufi principles into society helps transmit religious values and personal development, addressing the negative impacts of modernity, such as anxiety, stress, loss of faith, and feelings of guilt.⁵⁷

Sufi teachings emphasize the enhancement of spiritual belief and moral ethics, aiming to build a deeper relationship with God and encourage ethical behavior in society. Through Sufi principles, individuals are guided towards profound spiritual growth, resulting in a better understanding of religious values and personal development. By promoting spiritual values and ethical behavior, Sufi missionary work plays a vital role in shaping individual character and fostering positive changes in their personal and spiritual lives.⁵⁸

As an integral part of Sufism in Indonesia, Sufi orders play a significant role in personal growth by integrating spiritual teachings into daily life.⁵⁹ Sufi orders emphasize inner attributes and the spiritual path and are influenced by prominent Sufi thinkers such as Al-Ghazali, promoting qualities like contentment and gratitude.⁶⁰ The teachings of Sufi orders on asceticism (*zuhd*), poverty, and reliance on God (*tawakkal*) shape adherents' perspectives on worldly life, fostering a sense of fatalism and detachment from material pursuits.⁶¹ Moreover, the emphasis of Sufi orders on spiritual values is linked to socio-psychological changes, promoting respect for others, non-violence, and creating a harmonious multicultural society.⁶²

⁵⁷ Ahmad Anas and Hendri Hermawan Adinugraha, "Gerakan Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Di Grobogan," *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 2018): 179–211, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jki.2018.1.1.179-211>; Joko Tri Haryanto, "Perkembangan Dakwah Sufistik Persepektif Tasawuf Kontemporer," *Addin* 8, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v8i2.598>.

⁵⁸ Haryanto, "Perkembangan Dakwah Sufistik Persepektif Tasawuf Kontemporer."

⁵⁹ Kamas Wahyu Amboro, "Integration of Tarekat Teachings in the Islamic Education Curriculum: A Case Study at the Miftahul Huda Gading Islamic Boarding School in Malang," *Atthulab: Islamic Religion Teaching and Learning Journal* 8, no. 2 (October 31, 2023): 219–37, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ath.v8i2.25167>; Nasrullah, "Tarekat Syadziliyah Dan Pengaruh Ideologi Aswaja Di Indonesia."

⁶⁰ Nasrullah, "Tarekat Syadziliyah Dan Pengaruh Ideologi Aswaja Di Indonesia."

⁶¹ Munandar, Susanto, and Nugroho, "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Terhadap Kesalehan Sosial Masyarakat Dusun Gemutri Sukoharjo Sleman."

⁶² Ekawati Ekawati et al., "Tarekat and Prevention of Radicalism and Religious Fundamentalism in Indonesia," *Penamas* 35, no. 1 (June 27, 2022): 81–98, <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v35i1.558>.

Proselytization and Religious Dissemination

Sufi orders in Indonesia play a crucial role in proselytization and the dissemination of Islam through various adaptive, evolutionary, and creative approaches. These orders have formed solid and influential communities by integrating spiritual, moral, and cultural values, contributing to positive social change in Indonesia. Sufi proselytization actively promotes spirituality, social morality, and inclusiveness within society. Sufi teachings, such as patience, gratitude, and reliance on God, are transformed into contextual social attitudes, contributing to positive social change.⁶³ Sufi proselytization utilizes various media, including Sufi orders and political movements, to disseminate its message and influence social change in Indonesia.⁶⁴ For instance, the teachings of the Rifa'iyah order remain relevant today, demonstrating the depth and contextual relevance of their doctrines to past and present societal needs.⁶⁵

The Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah sufi order (TQN) utilizes both internal and external organizational structures to carry out proselytization activities, contributing to social change in Indonesia. TQN's proselytization strategies involve individual and collective approaches, including establishing Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), engaging in social activities, participating in economic endeavors, and organizing under the banner of *al-Khidmah*. In spreading religion, TQN emphasizes the importance of understanding monotheism (*tauhid*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and Sufism (*tasawwuf*) as integral parts of its teachings. TQN promotes social change through proselytization, focusing on sermons and religious dissemination. Representatives of TQN, such as *talqin* or *khalifah* representatives, play a vital role as spiritual advisors, advancing the spread of religious teachings and encouraging social change.⁶⁶

As previously described, Sufi orders focus on spiritual aspects and are actively involved in activities that yield tangible social impacts. This research is significant because it provides a comprehensive view of how the practices of Sufi orders can be adopted in daily life to support positive social change. By

⁶³ Haryanto, "Perkembangan Dakwah Sufistik Persepektif Tasawuf Kontemporer"; Riyadi, "Tarekat Sebagai Organisasi Tasawuf (Melacak Peran Tarekat Dalam Perkembangan Dakwah Islamiyah)."

⁶⁴ Haryanto, "Perkembangan Dakwah Sufistik Persepektif Tasawuf Kontemporer."

⁶⁵ Kaprabowo, "Beyond Studies Tarekat Rifa'iyah Kalisalak: Doktrin, Jalan Dakwah, Dan Perlawanan Sosial."

⁶⁶ Anas and Adinugraha, "Gerakan Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Di Grobogan."

understanding how Sufi orders influence social-political, economic, and educational policies in Indonesia, we can identify practical methods to stimulate sustainable social transformation.

Conclusion

This research demonstrates that Sufi orders play a crucial role in various aspects of social change in Indonesia. The study revealed that Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah is the most frequently studied about social change in Indonesia, followed by the Naqshabandiyyah, the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan, the Rifā'iyyah, and the Idrisiyyah. The role of Sufi orders in social change is shown through various dimensions: social-political, educational, philanthropic, economic, personal and spiritual transformation, and proselytization. Orders such as Qādiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah, Naqshabandiyyah, and others have engaged in social and political movements, established educational institutions, and mobilized philanthropic and economic spiritual activities. Through spiritual practices and moral values, these orders have successfully shaped the character of individuals and communities to be inclusive and harmonious. This study underscores the importance of multidisciplinary research in understanding and explaining the various roles of Sufi orders in supporting positive social change in Indonesia. The findings of this study are expected to help researchers, academics, and Muslim scholars understand the complex role of Sufi orders in the context of social transformation in Indonesia, as well as the dynamics of Muslim society and culture in general.

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