

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.19009631

MODALITIES OF RELIGIOUS RESILIENCE AMONG FOLLOWERS OF THE KHALWATIYAH SAMMAN SUFI ORDER IN PATTE'NE CULTURAL VILLAGE, SOUTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA

Nurlela^{1*}, Darman Manda², Najamuddin³, Abdul Rahman⁴ and Jumadi⁵

¹Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; Email: nurlela@unm.ac.id

²Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; Email: darmanmanda@unm.ac.id

³Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; Email: najamuddin@unm.ac.id

⁴Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; Email: abdulrahman@unm.ac.id

⁵Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Makassar, Indonesia; Email: jumadi@unm.ac.id

Received: 02/01/2026

Accepted: 09/03/2026

Corresponding Author: Nurlela

(nurlela@unm.ac.id)

ABSTRACT

The resilience of religious communities amid social change has become a significant issue in the sociology of religion, particularly in understanding how traditional religious institutions sustain their existence across generations. This study aims to analyze the modalities of resilience among followers of the Khalwatiyah Samman Sufi order, centered in Patte'ne Cultural Village, Marusu District, Maros Regency, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The study conceptualizes the Sufi order not merely as a spiritual path, but also as a social institution that fosters cohesion, legitimacy, and the sustainability of religious communities within a changing social context. Employing a qualitative approach with a phenomenological design within a constructivist paradigm, data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation involving the order's leader (khalifah), followers, religious figures, community leaders, youth representatives, and local government officials. Data were analyzed interactively using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities, encompassing social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. The findings reveal that the resilience of the Khalwatiyah Samman Sufi order is primarily supported by strong social capital in the form of extensive follower networks and trust in the khalifah's leadership, cultural capital through the internalization of values and ritual practices such as collective dhikr (maddate), and symbolic capital embedded in the spiritual authority of the order's leadership, while economic capital functions as a supporting factor for the sustainability of religious activities. The implications of this study underscore the importance of a modality-based sociological approach in understanding the sustainability of religious communities and contribute to the broader field of sociology of religion, particularly studies on Sufi-based religious communities in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: Khalwatiyah Samman Sufi Order; Modalities; Religious Community Resilience.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sufi orders (*tariqa*) as religious institutions do not function solely as individual spiritual paths, but also play a significant role in shaping social structures, community networks, and mechanisms of resilience within religious societies (Khamim, 2022). Across various social contexts, Sufi orders have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to endure and reproduce their teachings across generations despite challenges posed by modernization, religious rationalization, transformations in social structure, and shifts in religious authority (Abdurahman, 2018; Hamidah et al., 2021). Consequently, the resilience of Sufi orders has become a central concern in the sociology of religion, particularly in understanding how religious communities manage social and symbolic resources to sustain their existence amid ongoing social change.

In the Indonesian context, Sufi orders possess deep historical roots and are closely intertwined with local cultures. Numerous studies indicate that Sufi orders function not only as systems of mystical doctrine but also as social institutions that cultivate solidarity, obedience to religious authority, and extensive social networks (Howell, 2001; Bruinessen, 2012; Mawardi, 2022). Nevertheless, not all Sufi orders are able to sustain themselves over time. Some experience stagnation, declining followership, or marginalization due to shifts in religious orientation and increasing contestation over religious authority (Rasyad et al., 2021). These dynamics suggest that the sustainability of Sufi orders is not automatic, but rather contingent upon their capacity to manage and mobilize diverse forms of social resources (Naim, 2025; Dodi & Abitolkha, 2022).

One Sufi order that has demonstrated strong resilience to the present day is the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order in South Sulawesi. Centered in Patte'ne Cultural Village, Marusu District, Maros Regency (Amin & Astuti, 2022). This order has not only preserved its ritual practices and traditional leadership structure but has also expanded its network of followers across regions and national boundaries. Patte'ne Cultural Village functions as a central hub of leadership, ritual activity, and annual gatherings that bring together tens of thousands of adherents from various parts of South Sulawesi and beyond, making it a crucial social arena for the reproduction of identity and solidarity within the order (Nur, 2018; Jufri et al., 2025).

The core activities of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order are concentrated in Patte'ne Cultural Village, which serves as the center of leadership, ritual performance, and annual communal

gatherings (*temmu taung*) (Nurlela et al., 2020). Patte'ne is positioned as a "bounded locus" of the order, where spatial arrangements, everyday practices, and annual ceremonial agendas are shaped by Khalwadiyah Samman identity, while simultaneously constituting an "urban anomaly" within an increasingly modernized environment (Nur, 2018). Each year, during the major Maulid celebration on the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal, tens of thousands of followers—estimated at approximately 64,000 individuals—from across South Sulawesi and even Malaysia gather in Patte'ne, reinforcing its role as a ritual center and a hub of the order's social network (Jufri et al., 2025).

The resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order is supported by a centralized leadership structure, with the *murshid* or *khalifah* serving as the primary authority in religious instruction and practice (Jufri et al., 2025). Adherents display a high level of obedience to the leadership, not only in ritual matters but also in ethical conduct and social life. Core practices such as collective *dhikr* (*maddate*), congregational prayers, pilgrimage, religious instruction, and annual gatherings function as key mechanisms for strengthening social bonds, fostering collective loyalty, and reproducing the values of the order (Sabiq et al., 2023). These bonds are not merely spiritual but also social and emotional, formed through kinship ties, interregional social networks, and shared religious experiences (Azwar & Muliono, 2022).

Although numerous studies have examined the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order, prior research has largely focused on its historical development, leadership genealogy, and ritual practices (Ubaedillah, 2017; Nurhikmah, 2017). Such studies have rarely positioned the resilience of the order as a sociological issue related to the management of social resources and power relations within religious community structures. Consequently, there remains a lack of systematic analysis addressing how, and through which modalities, the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order sustains its existence amid contemporary social change.

From a social perspective, the strong bonds among followers of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order cannot be separated from the teachings of *tawhid*, the emphasis on collective *dhikr* practices, and the internalization of values of obedience and submission to religious authority (Azis et al., 2024). The relationship between the *khalifah* and the followers forms a relatively stable social structure in which norms, trust, and symbolic legitimacy function as cohesive forces within the community. This

condition positions the Sufi order not merely as a spiritual community, but also as a social institution capable of organizing the religious and social lives of its adherents (Yusuf, 2020; Latif & Ilyas, 2024).

To address this gap, the present study employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities. Bourdieu conceptualizes four primary forms of capital economic, social, cultural, and symbolic—which operate relationally within a social field; an actor's position and power are determined by the volume, composition, and convertibility of these capitals (Bourdieu, 1977). From this perspective, the strength and durability of a group within a social structure depend on its ability to accumulate, manage, and convert multiple forms of capital (Fowler, 2020; Verter, 2003). This framework is particularly relevant for analyzing the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order as a religious institution characterized by distinct actors, structures, and a specific social arena (Echtler & Ukah, 2016).

Based on this background, this study aims to analyze the modalities of resilience among actors and followers of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order in Patte'ne Cultural Village, Maros Regency, South Sulawesi. Specifically, the study examines how social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital operate in sustaining the order as both a religious and social institution. Theoretically, this research contributes to the sociology of religion by extending the application of Bourdieu's theory of modalities to Sufi-based religious communities. Empirically, it offers an in-depth understanding of the resilience strategies employed by Sufi orders in navigating social change, while also providing comparative insights for broader studies on the sustainability of local religious institutions in Indonesia and beyond.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Sufi orders within the sociology of religion demonstrate that Sufi orders do not function solely as individual spiritual paths, but also as social institutions that shape solidarity, religious authority, and community networks. Research by Howell (2001) and Bruinessen (2012) emphasizes that Sufi orders in Indonesia have not declined as predicted by secularization theory; instead, they have adapted and reproduced themselves through their engagement with local cultures, religious leadership structures, and the social needs of surrounding communities. In this sense, Sufi orders can be understood as dynamic social arenas in which religious practices and social relations are deeply intertwined.

A growing body of literature indicates that the sustainability of Sufi communities is strongly

influenced by the strength of social networks, the loyalty of adherents, and the legitimacy of spiritual leaders. Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993) highlight trust, norms, and networks as core elements of social capital that enable collective action. Within religious communities, social capital functions as a form of social cohesion that sustains internal solidarity and facilitates the intergenerational reproduction of religious values. Studies on Sufi orders in Indonesia further demonstrate that collective rituals and teacher-disciple relationships play a crucial role in fostering solidarity and long-term commitment among followers (Howell, 2001; Mawardi, 2022).

To analyze religious community resilience more systematically, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities offers a particularly relevant analytical framework. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualizes capital not only in economic terms, but also as social, cultural, and symbolic resources that operate relationally within a social field. Cultural capital functions through the internalization of values, knowledge, and *habitus*, while symbolic capital is associated with legitimacy, honor, and social recognition attached to individuals or institutions (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In the context of Sufi orders, the theory of modalities enables a more comprehensive analysis of the relationships among spiritual leadership, ritual practices, follower networks, and symbolic legitimacy. Several studies indicate that religious authority within Sufi communities operates as symbolic capital that reinforces social structures and maintains institutional stability (Echtler & Ukah, 2016; Saude et al., 2021). However, research that explicitly applies Bourdieu's theory of modalities to examine the resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order remains limited. Accordingly, this study positions the theory of modalities as its primary analytical framework to understand how multiple forms of capital operate simultaneously to sustain the continuity of the Sufi order amid social change.

Drawing on Bourdieu's framework, this study also adopts the concept of capital reinforcement strategies as articulated by Mustikasari et al., (2023), which elaborates how social actors strengthen and reproduce their capital within a given social field. These strategies include: (1) biological investment strategies, which are closely related to lineage preservation and the intergenerational transmission of capital; (2) successive strategies, referring to the inheritance of economic and cultural capital across generations; (3) educational strategies aimed at producing new social actors capable of inheriting and managing existing capital; (4) economic investment

strategies designed to maintain and enhance economic capital; and (5) symbolic investment strategies, which involve actions aimed at preserving symbolic capital to secure social recognition and legitimacy. These strategies are particularly significant because symbolic recognition directly influences an individual's or group's position and authority within the social field—the greater the symbolic capital possessed, the stronger the influence exerted over other social actors.

3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1. Research Approach And Design

This study employs a qualitative approach with a phenomenological research design to gain an in-depth understanding of the social experiences and meanings constructed by actors within the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi community. The phenomenological design is particularly suitable because the study focuses on the subjective perspectives of Sufi adherents regarding religious practices, social relations, and the modalities that sustain the continuity of the religious community. The research is grounded in a constructivist paradigm, which views social reality as socially constructed through interaction, experience, and interpretation. From this perspective, religious resilience is understood not as a single, fixed reality, but as a social process continuously reproduced by community actors.

3.2. Research Site

The study was conducted in Patte'ne Cultural Village, Temmapaduae Village, Marusu District, Maros Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. This site was purposively selected because it functions as the central hub of leadership, ritual activity, and doctrinal development of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order. Patte'ne Cultural Village constitutes the primary social space in which interactions among the *khalifah*, *murshid*, and followers take place, making it a highly relevant setting for examining the modalities of religious resilience within the community.

3.3. Research Participants And Data Sources

The study draws on both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were obtained through direct observation, in-depth interviews, and contemporaneous documents produced by key actors within and around the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi community. Interviews were conducted with 28 participants, who were selected using purposive sampling based on their positions, experiences, and

levels of involvement in the social and religious life of the Sufi order. This sampling strategy aimed to capture diverse perspectives on religious practices, social networks, and strategies for sustaining the community.

The categories of informants included:

1. leaders of the Sufi order (*khalifah* or *murshid*),
2. followers of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order,
3. local religious and customary leaders,
4. community and youth leaders, and
5. representatives of local government.

This diversity of participants enabled a comprehensive understanding of the internal dynamics of the Sufi order as well as its interactions with the broader social and institutional environment. Fieldwork was conducted over a three-month period, from October to December 2025. This duration allowed for repeated observations of religious rituals, communal activities, and everyday social interactions, while also facilitating the development of trust between the researcher and participants.

Secondary data were derived from relevant literature, including scholarly journal articles, books, research reports, and official documents. Both primary and secondary data were analyzed thematically, with particular attention to the modalities and strategies of capital reinforcement that enable the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order to sustain its influence and continuity in contemporary society. The analysis was guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework of capital modalities social, cultural, symbolic, and economic as the main analytical lens for understanding religious resilience within the community.

3.4. Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected using three primary techniques: observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Observation was conducted to directly examine religious practices, social interactions, and collective activities of Sufi adherents, particularly collective *dhikr* (*maddate*), congregational prayers, and annual communal gatherings. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out to explore informants' perspectives, experiences, and interpretations of Sufi teachings, leadership, and the factors contributing to the order's resilience. Document analysis involved the examination of archival records, historical notes, and relevant written materials related to the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order.

3.5. Data Analysis And Trustworthiness

Data analysis was conducted concurrently with data collection and continued throughout the research process. The analysis followed an interactive model consisting of three stages: 1. data reduction, involving the selection and simplification of data in accordance with the research focus;

1. data display, through the organization of information into analytical narratives; and
2. conclusion drawing and verification.

Empirical findings were interpreted in relation to Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities, particularly social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, to examine how these forms of capital operate in sustaining the resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the data, triangulation was applied across sources, methods, and theoretical perspectives. Additional strategies included prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, and *member checking* with research participants to confirm the accuracy and credibility of the findings. These measures were undertaken to enhance the validity and reliability of the study.

4. CONDUCTING RESEARCH AND RESULTS

4.1. Result

4.1.1. The Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi Order As An Institutionalized Religious Organization

The findings indicate that the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order in Patte'ne Cultural Village functions as a strongly institutionalized religious organization, both in terms of its leadership structure and its collective ritual practices. Patte'ne Cultural Village serves as the central hub of the order's activities, where the spiritual formation of followers, the performance of core rituals, and annual communal gatherings are conducted. These annual gatherings bring together adherents from various regions of South Sulawesi and other areas, reinforcing Patte'ne's role as the organizational and ritual center of the Sufi order.

The leadership structure of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order is centralized, with the *khalifah* occupying the highest position of authority. The *khalifah* holds primary responsibility for doctrinal instruction, spiritual guidance, and religious decision-making within the community. This leadership model is widely accepted by followers as an integral part of the Sufi tradition, and it provides a stable organizational framework that supports the continuity of religious practices and communal life.

"All activities and teachings remain centered in Patte'ne. The khalifah serves as our primary reference in worship and everyday conduct."

(Interview with a Sufi order follower, 2025)

4.1.2. Social Modalities: Follower Networks And Community Solidarity

Field findings indicate that the social networks of followers of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order are extensive and sustained over time. These networks are maintained through routine ritual activities such as collective *dhikr (maddate)*, congregational prayers, religious study sessions, and annual gatherings held in conjunction with the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (*Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW*). These activities function as spaces of encounter and communication among adherents from different regions, facilitating continuous interaction and network reinforcement.

Trust and obedience toward the *khalifah* constitute a crucial element in maintaining social cohesion within the Sufi community. The relationship between leadership and followers is hierarchical in structure; however is voluntarily embraced by adherents as an expression of their religious commitment. This shared belief system reinforces solidarity and a strong sense of collective belonging among members of the order.

"Once we join the Sufi order, we feel like one family. There is a strong sense of mutual trust and mutual care."
(Interview with a community leader, 2025)

4.1.3. Cultural Modalities: Internalization Of Values And Ritual Practices

Cultural modalities within the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order are reflected in the internalization of religious values and ritual practices that are consistently observed by its followers. Collective *dhikr (maddate)* constitutes a central ritual practice that is understood not only as an act of worship but also as a means of cultivating spiritual discipline and social togetherness. Through the regular performance of this ritual, adherents develop shared patterns of religious conduct and collective identity.

The process of *bai'at* plays a crucial role as a mechanism for the transmission of teachings and the formation of Sufi identity. Through *bai'at*, individuals are not merely recognized as members of the Sufi order but are also bound to the values, norms, and ethical principles upheld within the community. This process reinforces commitment to the order and contributes to the continuity of its cultural practices.

"After the bai'at, we are taught proper conduct, discipline in worship, and responsibility as members of the Sufi order."

(Interview with a Sufi order follower, 2025)

4.1.4. Symbolic Modalities: The Spiritual Authority Of The Khalifah

Symbolic capital within the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi community is concentrated in the figure of the *khalifah*, who possesses strong spiritual authority and legitimacy in the eyes of the followers. The *khalifah* is regarded as the inheritor of the teachings and the primary spiritual guide for adherents, whose advice and direction are accepted without formal coercion. This collective recognition of the *khalifah's* authority reinforces the stability of the order's leadership structure and minimizes the potential for internal conflict.

"We believe that the khalifah guides us toward the right path, both in matters of worship and in everyday life."

(Interview with a religious leader, 2025)

4.1.5. Economic Modalities As A Supporting Factor For Sustainability

From an economic perspective, followers of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order come from diverse social and occupational backgrounds. Economic contributions from adherents are voluntary and collective in nature, primarily aimed at supporting the organization of major rituals, the maintenance of religious facilities, and various social activities of the Sufi order. Although economic capital does not constitute the primary modality sustaining the community, such support plays an important role in ensuring the continuity of religious practices and organizational activities.

"All activities continue because of our sense of togetherness. We contribute according to our respective capacities."

(Interview with a Sufi order follower, 2025)

5. DISCUSSION

The resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order, as demonstrated by the findings of this study, confirms that the sustainability of religious communities cannot be understood solely as the outcome of the strength of spiritual teachings, but rather as a structured social process. Within the framework of the sociology of religion, these findings reinforce the view that traditional religious institutions endure because of their capacity to manage social relations, authority, and symbolic resources amid social change (Howell, 2001; Bruinessen, 2012).

From the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities, the resilience of a social group is largely determined by its possession of, and ability to convert, various forms of capital within a particular social field (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The findings of this study indicate that the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order possesses a mutually reinforcing configuration of social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capital, enabling the order to sustain its existence over time within the local religious arena.

Social capital emerges as the most dominant modality supporting the resilience of the Sufi order. Extensive follower networks, collective ritual practices, and the intensity of annual communal gatherings function as mechanisms for maintaining social cohesion. This finding is consistent with the arguments of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993), who emphasize trust and social networks as fundamental prerequisites for sustained collective action. In the context of the Sufi order, collective rituals serve not only as acts of worship but also as spaces for the production and reproduction of social capital. Trust and obedience toward the *khalifah* further strengthen this social capital, as hierarchical relations between leader and followers are accepted as expressions of religious conviction rather than coercive power. This supports Howell's (2001) observation that the moral and spiritual legitimacy of Sufi leaders is a key factor in maintaining the stability of Sufi communities in Indonesia.

Cultural capital within the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order is manifested through the internalization of values, teachings, and ritual practices such as collective *dhikr* (*maddate*) and *bai'at*. Within Bourdieu's framework, cultural capital operates through the formation of *habitus*, which subtly guides individuals' social actions (Bourdieu, 1986). This religious habitus is reflected in the everyday lives of followers, emphasizing obedience, ritual discipline, and a balance between spiritual and social dimensions. The intergenerational transmission of teachings and values further reinforces the social reproduction of the order. This finding aligns with Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction, whereby structures and values are maintained through educational processes and symbolic inheritance across generations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Previous studies likewise demonstrate that value transmission within Sufi orders plays a crucial role in preserving collective religious identity (Saude et al., 2021; Mawardi, 2022).

Symbolic capital constitutes another key element in the resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi

order. The figure of the *khalifah* possesses collective recognition, spiritual authority, and legitimacy among followers. According to Bourdieu (1989), symbolic capital derives its power from social recognition, enabling actors to influence social behavior without direct coercion. This helps explain the relative stability of the order's leadership structure and the minimal occurrence of internal conflict. The symbolic legitimacy of the *khalifah* also reinforces the order's social and cultural capital, as recognized spiritual authority facilitates the effective reproduction of norms, values, and teachings within the community. This finding is consistent with the work of Echter and Ukah (2016), who argue that religious authority plays a central role in maintaining cohesion and institutional continuity within Sufi communities.

Economic capital in this study functions as a supporting modality that sustains the religious and social activities of the Sufi order. Although it does not serve as the primary source of resilience, voluntary economic contributions from followers enable the organization of large-scale rituals and the maintenance of religious facilities. Within Bourdieu's framework, economic capital can be converted into other forms of capital, including symbolic capital, through social and religious activities that enhance communal legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1986).

The interaction among social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capital demonstrates that the resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order is the outcome of relational and context-specific strategies of capital management. These findings reinforce previous studies suggesting that Sufi orders persist not by resisting social change, but by adapting to it through the effective mobilization of social resources (Rasyad et al., 2021; Mawardi, 2022). Overall, this discussion highlights that the resilience of Sufi communities should be understood as a complex social process in which multiple forms of capital operate simultaneously within a religious field. The primary contribution of this study lies in strengthening the application of Bourdieu's theory of modalities within the sociology of religion, particularly in the study of Sufi-based religious communities in Indonesia, while also opening space for comparative dialogue with global studies on the sustainability of religious institutions.

6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting its findings. First, the research employs a qualitative approach focused on a single research site—Patte'ne Cultural Village as

the center of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order. While this focus allows for in-depth contextual analysis, it limits the generalizability of the findings to other Sufi orders with different social, cultural, and leadership characteristics. Second, the data rely heavily on the subjective narratives and experiences of informants, particularly the order's leadership and active followers. Although strategies such as triangulation and *member checking* were employed, the potential for social desirability bias and normative representations of the community cannot be entirely eliminated. Third, the study does not provide an in-depth comparative analysis between the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order and other Sufi or non-Sufi religious communities, resulting in a context-specific analysis that does not fully capture broader variations in religious resilience strategies across Indonesia.

7. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND IMPLICATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, future research is encouraged to adopt comparative approaches involving multiple Sufi orders or non-Sufi religious communities to gain a broader understanding of variations in religious resilience strategies. Longitudinal or mixed-methods designs would also be valuable for examining intergenerational dynamics of capital modalities over time. Future studies should further consider the influence of modernity, digital media, and state-religion relations on transformations in religious authority and practice. Theoretically, this study reinforces the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities for analyzing the sustainability of Sufi-based religious institutions in non-Western societies. Empirically, it expands the understanding of Sufi orders as social institutions that relationally manage social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. Practically, the findings may serve as a reference for religious stakeholders and local governments in formulating policies aimed at strengthening social cohesion and preserving religious and cultural communities amid ongoing social change.

8. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the resilience of the Khalwadiyah Samman Sufi order in Patte'ne Cultural Village is the result of the relational management of social, cultural, symbolic, and economic modalities operating within an institutionalized religious social structure. Social capital, manifested through extensive follower networks, community solidarity, and trust in the *khalifah's* leadership, constitutes the

primary foundation for cohesion and sustainability within the Sufi order. Cultural capital functions through the internalization of values, the formation of a religious *habitus*, and the intergenerational transmission of teachings and ritual practices, while symbolic capital reinforces the legitimacy and spiritual authority of the *khalifah* in maintaining organizational stability. Economic capital serves as a supporting factor that enables the continuity of the

community's religious and social activities. These findings affirm that the resilience of Sufi orders is not determined solely by spiritual strength, but by the dynamic interaction of multiple forms of capital within a specific social field. Accordingly, this study strengthens the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of modalities in explaining the sustainability of Sufi-based religious communities amid ongoing social change.

Acknowledgement: The author would like to express sincere gratitude to the leadership and followers of the Khalwatiyah Samman Sufi order in Patte'ne Cultural Village for their openness, cooperation, and valuable insights throughout the research process. Appreciation is also extended to local religious leaders, community figures, youth representatives, and government officials who generously shared their time and perspectives. This study would not have been possible without the support and hospitality of all participants who contributed to the completion of this research.

Author Contribution Statement: Nurlela contributed to the conceptualization and design of the study, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, and manuscript drafting. Darman Manda contributed to data analysis, theoretical refinement, and critical revision of the manuscript. Najamuddin contributed to data collection and validation of empirical findings. Abdul Rahman contributed to literature review, methodological refinement, and manuscript review. Jumadi contributed to data interpretation and final manuscript editing. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

REFERENCES

- Abdurahman, D. (2018). Diversity of tarekat communities and social changes in Indonesian history. *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, 1(1), 61-92. <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v1i1.1217>.
- Amin, S., & Astuti, A. (2022). The business of followers: Study of the khalwatiyah samman congregation in Kulo. *Dinasti International Journal of Education Management and Social Science*, 3(2), 257-276. <https://doi.org/10.31933/dijemss.v3i2.1070>.
- Azis, A., Pabbajah, M., Hannani., Pabbajah, M. T. H., & Bakry, M. (2024). Socio-sufism practices within the Indonesia's tariqah practitioners. *International Journal of Religion*, 5(1), 170-178. <https://doi.org/10.61707/nv82ma30>.
- Azwar, W., & Muliono, M. (2022). The multifaced politics: A study on polarization of political behavior of tarekat community in West Sumatera, Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 60(2), 315-346. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.315-346>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice* (R. Nice, Trans). Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). *The forms of capital*. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. The University of Chicago Press
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95-S120. <https://doi.org/10.1086/228943>
- Dodi, L., & Abitolkha, A. (2022). From sufism to resolution: Examining the spiritual teachings of tarekat shiddiqiyah as the theology of peace in Indonesia. *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, 10(1), 141-174. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v10i1.11260>.
- Echtler, M., & Ukah, A. (2016). Introduction: Exploring the dynamics of religious fields in Africa. *Bourdieu in Africa: Exploring the dynamics of religious field* (pp1-32). Brill1. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004307568_002.
- Fowler, B. (2020). Pierre bourdieu on social transformation, with particular reference to political and symbolic revolutions. *Theory and Society*, 49, 439-463. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-019-09375-z>.
- Hamidah, H., Akhyar, T., & Choiriyah, C. (2021). Socio-historical study of islamic spiritual institutions: Tasawuf and tarekat archipelago. *Komunika: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi*, 15(2), <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v15i2.10757>.

- Jufri, A., Rosmini, R., Tahir, M., & Majid, L. (2025). The role of the khalwatiyah samman order in strengthening political ethics in Maros regency. *Al-Qalam*, 31(1). <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v31i1.1617>.
- Khamim, M. (2022). Sufisme dan perubahan sosial: Kaum tarekat dan dinamika sosial keagamaan. *Al-Isnad: Journal of Islamic Civilization History and Humanities*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.22515/isnad.v2i1.3579>.
- Latif, M., & Ilyas, H. (2024). Analyzing the changing dynamics of tariqah khalwatiah samman (TKS) political influence in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2330164>.
- Mawardi, K. (2022). Nationalism and spiritualism of Javanese tarekat: Study of tarekat rinjani in Banyumas Central Java. *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, 10(1), 75-108. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v10i1.12509>.
- Mustikasari, M., Arlin, A., & Kamaruddin, S. (2023). Pemikiran pierre bourdieu dalam memahami realitas sosial. *Kaganga: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah dan Riset Sosial Humaniora*, 6(1), 9-14. <https://doi.org/10.31539/kaganga.v6i1.5089>.
- Naim, C. A. (2025). Nyatnyono village: A nexus of tarekat, religious culture and tourism. *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, 7(2), 267-286. <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v7i2.3707>.
- Nur, K. (2018). Locus terikat dalam tarekat: Eksistensi kampung khalwatiyah Patte'ne di tengah urbanitas. *Emara: Indonesian Journal of Architecture*, 4, 37-43. <https://doi.org/10.29080/emara.v4i1.173>.
- Nurhikmah, N. (2017). Eksistensi dakwah ajaran tarekat khalwatiyah samman di Kabupaten Wajo. *Kuriositas: Media Komunikasi Sosial dan Keagamaan*, 10(2), 43-62. <https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v10i2.591>.
- Nurlela, Jumadi, & Rahman, A. (2020). Khalwatiyah samman: Strategies for strengthening modality in the Patte'ne Maros community of Sulawesi Selatan. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 473, 754-758. Proceedings on the 3rd International Conference on Social Sciences (ICSS). <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201014.163>.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.
- Rasyad, A., Dienaputra, R., Zakaria, M., & Mulyadi, R. (2021). Tarekat dan modal sosial dalam sistem pendidikan nahdlatul wathan, 1966-1997. *Jurnal Sejarah Citra Lekha*, 6(2), 68-79. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jscl.v6i2.31812>.
- Sabiq, M., Arisnawawi, A., Murni, A., & Iskandar, A. (2023). Social solidarity and religious based islamic sufism of khalwatia samman thareqah community. *Inferensi: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 17(1), 23-44. <https://doi.org/10.18326/infl3.v17i1.23-44>.
- Saude, S., Hamka, H., & Kasmianti, K. (2021). Tracing the khalwatiyah order in the Tolitoli Regency Central Sulawesi. *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, 19(1), 101-119. <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v19i1.4164>.
- Ubaedillah, A. (2017). The rise of the khalwatiyah sammān sufi order in South Sulawesi: Encountering the local, escaping the global. *Studia Islamika*, 24, 213-245. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i2.4186>.
- Verter, B. (2003). Spiritual capital: Theorizing religion with bourdieu against bourdieu*. *Sociological Theory*, 21(2), 150 - 174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9558.00182>.
- Yusuf, S. (2020). Inter subyektifity of khalwat (suluk) members in the tarekat naqsyabandiyah khalidiyah Ponorogo. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10(1), 103-126. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i1.103-126>.