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PESANTREN-BASED RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN SULAWESI: CONTEXTUAL QUR'ANIC VALUES OF AMBO DALLE AND SAHABUDDIN

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Abstract: Religious moderation (*wasaṭiyyah*) has become a strategic response to intolerance, exclusivism, and violent extremism in plural societies such as Indonesia, yet its implementation often remains a top-down programme detached from local culture. This study examines how two influential Sulawesi ulama, AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle of South Sulawesi and Annangguru KH. Sahabuddin of West Sulawesi, contextualised Qur'anic values of moderation through pesantren-based education rooted in Bugis and Mandar traditions. The study aims to reconstruct the interpretive logic and the institutional mechanisms through which moderation was produced and sustained, rather than merely to label the two figures as moderate. Using a qualitative approach combining figure (*tokoh*) study and the sociology of knowledge, data were drawn from documentation, field observation, and in-depth interviews with family members, colleagues, and former students selected through purposive and snowball sampling across South and West Sulawesi, and analysed through data reduction, thematic categorisation, and interpretive analysis, with source triangulation. The findings suggest that both scholars read verses such as QS. al-Baqarah (2): 143, al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13, QS. al-Nisā' (4): 135, and QS. al-Anbiyā' (21): 107 not as abstract doctrine but as ethical guidance embodied in pedagogy, vernacular preaching, and community mediation. The study contributes a contextual, sociological account of how localised tafsīr and grassroots authority can institutionalise a durable, culturally grounded model of moderation.

Keywords: Contextual Qur'anic Values; Local Ulama; Pesantren Education; Religious Moderation.

Introduction

The resurgence of identity-based conflict, ideological polarisation, and religiously framed extremism has renewed the urgency of frameworks for peaceful coexistence in plural societies. As the world's largest Muslim-majority democracy, Indonesia occupies a strategic position in articulating Islamic responses to pluralism. Religious moderation has accordingly become a national agenda, embedded in the National Medium-Term Development Plan for 2020-2024 (Saifuddin, 2022). Yet the dominant model remains largely top-down and normative, promoted through state training programmes that often fail to engage the lived realities of diverse Muslim communities, and critics warn that, when moderation is governed chiefly from above, it risks becoming an instrument of state-sanctioned religiosity and a new line of division between those labelled moderate and those who are not (Bagir & Sormin, 2022).

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This gap between a normatively accepted concept and its culturally shallow implementation invites attention to actors who grounded moderation from below. The present study turns to two Sulawesi ulama whose authority grew from within local society rather than from the state: AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle, founder of the Darud Da'wah wal-Irsyad (DDI) network in South Sulawesi, and Annangguru KH. Sahabuddin, a Mandar scholar associated with the founding of Universitas Al-Asy'ariah Mandar (UNASMAN) in West Sulawesi. The two are not unrelated figures: Sahabuddin studied the classical texts under Ambo Dalle, so that the relationship between them is that of teacher and pupil whose moderate orientation was transmitted across a generation and across two provinces.

The objectives of this study are twofold. First, it aims to reconstruct how Ambo Dalle and Sahabuddin contextualised Qur'anic values of moderation, identifying the verses they foregrounded and the interpretive logic through which those verses were read in relation to social reality. Second, it aims to explain how these values were institutionalised and sustained through pesantren-based education in the Bugis and Mandar settings. By pursuing these objectives, the study seeks not merely to describe the two figures as moderate, but to account for the interpretive and institutional mechanisms through which their moderation was produced and reproduced across two provinces.

A review of existing scholarship clarifies the contribution of this study. Afwadzi and Miski in their study titled "*Religious Moderation in Indonesian Higher Education: A Literature Review*", map the discourse on religious moderation along three lines, namely its expression, its strategy, and its contestation, providing a useful typology of how the concept circulates in Indonesia (Afwadzi & Miski, 2021). Ridwanulloh et al., in a study entitled "*Religious Moderation from a Multiculturalism Perspective: A Systematic Literature Review*", extend this picture by tracing the implementation of moderation across schools, families, libraries, and social media, showing how the concept moves from discourse into varied social settings (Ridwanulloh et al., 2025). Within this implementation strand, Rahmadi and Hamdan in a study entitlet "*Religious Moderation in the Context of Islamic Education: A Multidisciplinary Perspective and its Application in Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia*", focus on the thought of particular figures, yet this figure-centred approach remains comparatively underdeveloped (Rahmadi & Hamdan, 2023). Studies of Ambo Dalle, for their part, have concentrated on his educational method, his da'wah, and his Sufism rather than on moderation as such, while sustained academic study of Sahabuddin is almost absent. On the institutional side, Helmy et al., and Burga and Damopolii demonstrate that moderation in pesantren is internalised through integrative curricula, exemplary leadership, communal practice, and engagement with local culture (Burga & Damopolii, 2022; Helmy et al., 2021), and Burhanuddin and Ilmi show that comparable dynamics operate in Islamic higher education (Burhanuddin & Ilmi, 2022). This literature, however, is largely Java-centred and rarely connects an explicit Qur'anic interpretive logic to the institutional life of specific pesantren outside Java. The originality of this study therefore lies in two moves: it reconstructs how moderation is produced as interpretive work bridging Qur'anic text and social reality, and it does so for two Sulawesi figures whose comparison across South and West Sulawesi has not previously been undertaken.

Theoretically, the study reads the two figures through contextual tafsīr and the sociology of knowledge. Contextual interpretation, articulated by Fazlur Rahman through the double movement and systematised by Abdullah Saeed through a hierarchy of values, treats ethico-legal verses as meanings to be carried from their original context into the present without abandoning the text (Rahman, 1984; Saeed, 2014). The sociology of knowledge of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann describes how knowledge, including religious value, is produced and sustained through externalisation, objectification, and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Together these frameworks allow the analysis to move beyond describing the two scholars as moderate toward explaining how moderation was interpreted, embodied, and reproduced.

This article therefore asks how Ambo Dalle and Sahabuddin contextualised Qur'anic values of moderation, and how those values were institutionalised through pesantren life. Methodologically it employs a qualitative design combining figure study with the sociology of knowledge, chosen because reconstructing a thinker's ideas requires attention to the socio-historical environment in which those ideas were formed (Kaelan, 2005; Mustaqim, 2017). The two provinces of South and West Sulawesi, where the scholars lived and worked, constitute the research locations, and the two figures were selected purposively because of their enduring influence on the educational and religious landscape of the region and the teacher–pupil tie that links them. Primary data comprise manuscripts and writings by and about the figures, recorded sermons, institutional and pesantren documents, and in-depth interviews with their families, colleagues, and former students; secondary data comprise journal articles, books, and dissertations. Informants were determined through purposive sampling with a snowball technique, on the reasoning that the enduring legacy of the two scholars is carried by those closest to them; among them, Prof. Wasilah, a daughter of Sahabuddin, provided testimony on her father's disposition. Data were collected through observation, documentation, and interview, and analysed through data reduction, thematic categorisation, and interpretive analysis, with conclusions verified against field findings through source triangulation (Miles et al., 1994). Throughout, interpretive caution is exercised: where no written exegetical text by the figures survives, their interpretation is read from documented practice, decisions, and preaching rather than reconstructed as direct quotation.

Contextual Moderation in the Thought and Praxis of AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle

Ambo Dalle (c. 1900–1996), born in Wajo to a respected Bugis family and trained both in local Islamic learning and in Mecca (Anshory Ch., 2009), founded the DDI pesantren network in 1938 and built it into one of the largest centres of Islamic education in eastern Indonesia (Bakti, 2006; Saenong, 2018). His leadership took shape within the distinctive social world of Bugis society, in which religious authority is interwoven with kinship, status, and adat (Halim, 2012). His moderation can be read on three connected layers: a Qur'anic basis, a contextual interpretive model, and an institutional praxis within the pesantren (Iskandar et al., 2016).

At the level of Qur'anic basis, his teaching foregrounded verses that ground balance and recognition of difference. The designation of the Muslim community as

ummatan wasaṭan in QS. al-Baqarah (2): 143 anchored an ethic of justice and balance, while the call to mutual recognition in *li-ta'ārafū* of QS. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13 framed plurality as a divine intention rather than a threat, a reading that resonates with the contextual exegesis of QS. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13 in mainstream Indonesian *tafsīr* (Shihab, 2022) and with the integration of Islamic and national values articulated by Indonesian Muslim thinkers (Madjid, 2008). At the level of interpretive model, these verses were read contextually rather than literally: questions of *jihād*, *amr bi al-ma'rūf*, and *nahy 'an al-munkar* were approached through the lens of public benefit (*maṣlaḥah*) and the objectives of the law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*), steering students away from militant readings toward the preservation of life, dignity, and communal peace (Auda, 2008; Saeed, 2014). At the level of praxis, this interpretation was embodied in the institution. His sermons, delivered in both Arabic and Bugis, presented Qur'anic values as moral universals consonant with indigenous wisdom; classical texts such as *Tafsīr al-Marāghī* and *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* were chosen precisely because they invited flexible engagement rather than rigid prescription.

Read through Berger and Luckmann, Ambo Dalle completed the full cycle of knowledge production (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Moderate values were externalised through sermons and instruction, objectified in the routines, curriculum, and symbols of DDI, and internalised by santri through repetition, modelling, and ritual participation until they became a settled ethical disposition (Anshory Ch., 2009; Iskandar et al., 2016). Two episodes show that this orientation was not merely rhetorical. He maintained tolerant coexistence with a Pentecostal church that stood beside his pesantren community in Kaballangan, treating the freedom of a non-Muslim community to worship as compatible with the pesantren's mission (Purnawati & Aziz, 2022); and when seized by Kahar Muzakkar's forces during their armed campaign for an Islamic state, he refused violence as a political method and held to a peaceful, national-civic conception of order (Abbas, 2020). His later decision to align with Golkar, unpopular among many Muslims at the time, similarly reflected a reading of QS. al-Nisā' (4): 59 in which obedience to legitimate authority served social stability and the wider public good (Arsyad et al., 2005).

Table 1. Mapping of Ambo Dalle's contextual moderation

No	Dimension	Qur'anic Basis	Interpretive Model	Pesantren Praxis at DDI
1	National commitment	QS. al-Nisā' (4): 59	Obedience to legitimate authority for the public good (*maṣlaḥah*)	Support for a peaceful national order; rejection of an armed Islamic-state project
2	Tolerance	QS. al-Baqarah (2): 256; QS. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13	Plurality as divine intention; no compulsion in religion	Coexistence with the Pentecostal church at Kaballangan
3	Non-violence	QS. al-Baqarah (2): 190	Fighting only in self-defence; rejection of aggression	Refusal of violence when seized by Kahar Muzakkar's forces

4	Local accommodation	QS. al-A'rāf (7): 199 (*'urf*)	Acceptance of adat not contradicting *shari'ah*	Bugis deliberation (*mushawarah*) and Maulid integrated into pesantren life

Table 1 above summarises the contextual moderation of Ambo Dalle across four dimensions: national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and local accommodation. For each dimension it links a specific Qur'anic basis to an interpretive model and to a concrete practice within the DDI pesantren, such as coexistence with the Pentecostal church at Kaballangan and the rejection of armed struggle. The table thus demonstrates that his moderation was not an abstract doctrine but a set of values enacted in institutional and social life. Ambo Dalle's autonomy from formal power reinforced this model. His distance from partisan instrumentalisation lent the pesantren credibility as a moral authority independent of temporal interests, a feature consistent with the wider finding that pesantren with autonomous leadership better resist ideological capture. His fusion of contextual interpretation, cultural accommodation, and ethical leadership resembles, while remaining more grassroots and less state-controlled than, reformist imam-training models elsewhere, and exemplifies the adaptive, locally rooted character often described as Indonesia's civil Islam (Hefner, 2000).

Contextual Moderation in the Thought and Praxis of Annangguru KH. Sahabuddin

Sahabuddin (1937-2005), born in Sepang, Limboro, in present-day Polewali Mandar, West Sulawesi, studied the classical texts at DDI Mangkoso under Ambo Dalle before receiving spiritual authorisation in the *Qādiriyyah* order and building a career that spanned the deanship of faculties at IAIN Ternate and IAIN in Ambon and the founding of higher-education institutions in Mandar, culminating in UNASMAN (Mustaina, 2023; Yahdiana et al., 2019). His moderation, like his teacher's, is best read across the same three layers.

At the level of Qur'anic basis, he drew on *raḥmah*, *ta'āruf*, and '*adl*, and his pesantren curriculum foregrounded QS. al-Baqarah (2): 143, QS. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13, and QS. al-Nisā' (2): 135. At the level of interpretive model, he read these not through abstract jurisprudence but through the lived conditions of Mandar farmers and fishermen, framing divine guidance as a source of empowerment and social cohesion rather than rigidity; his interpretation can thus be characterised as a form of social *tafsīr* and cultural *da'wah* shaped by the collective memory of the community (Burga et al., 2021; Saeed, 2014). At the level of praxis, vernacular sermons, local idioms, and cultural analogies allowed him to reach audiences across generations, with Friday sermons centred on patience (*ṣabr*), mutual respect (*tasāmuḥ*), and human brotherhood (*ukhuwwah insāniyyah*).

His leadership of Islamic higher education in Ambon, a region with a large non-Muslim population, became a site where moderation was practised rather than merely taught: he built cooperation and dialogue across religious lines in the management of the institution. At the same time he marked the limits of tolerance in matters of creed,

consistent with the principle of QS. al-Kāfirūn (109): 6. His daughter, Prof. Wasilah Sahabuddin, recalls that during her own studies, while sharing a room with a non-Muslim, her father insisted she preserve *ḥalāl* food, an episode that shows that, for him, accommodation in human affairs did not entail compromise on the essentials of faith. His distance from partisan mobilisation, and his reading of *jihād* as the struggle to build educational institutions in underserved areas, complete a picture of moderation grounded in QS. al-Naḥl (16): 125 and in the Qur'anic vision of Islam as a mercy to all creation (*raḥmatan li al-'ālamīn*, QS. al-Anbiyā' (21): 107), enacted through patient, dialogical engagement.

Table 2. Mapping of Sahabuddin's Contextual Moderation

No	Dimension	Qur'anic basis	Interpretive model	Pesantren / institutional praxis in Mandar
1	National commitment	QS. al-Mumtaḥanah (60): 8-9	Just cooperation within the nation-state	Development of Islamic higher education (UNASMAN); public roles in Mandar
2	Tolerance	QS. al-Baqarah (2): 256; QS. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13	Recognition of difference through dialogue	Cross-religious cooperation while leading IAIN Ambon
3	Limit of tolerance	QS. al-Kāfirūn (109): 6	No compromise on creed	Preserving ḥalāl food amid coexistence with non-Muslims
4	Non-violence / da'wah	QS. al-Naḥl (16): 125	*Jihād* as education and dialogue	Founding institutions in underserved areas; mediation over confrontation

Table 2 above maps the contextual moderation of Sahabuddin along the same three layers used for Ambo Dalle, covering national commitment, tolerance, the limit of tolerance, and non-violence through da'wah. For each dimension it connects a Qur'anic basis to an interpretive model and to a concrete practice in the Mandar context, such as cross-religious cooperation while leading IAIN Ambon and the founding of educational institutions in underserved areas. Presenting both figures through an identical framework allows a direct comparison and underscores that a shared interpretive orientation was expressed in a different cultural register.

Internalising Moderation in Pesantren Education: A Comparative Reading

In both settings, moderation endured because it was internalised through institutional culture rather than transmitted as doctrine alone. The mechanism is the one Berger and Luckmann describe: values externalised in preaching and instruction, objectified in rules, rituals, and symbols, and finally internalised as personal ethics (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). What distinguishes the two cases from a generic account of pesantren life is the specificity of practice and confirmation. At DDI, collective prayer, mutual service (*gotong royong*), and structured dialogue carried the ethic, and the persistence of a neighbouring church testifies to its reach; the moderate character of the

DDI model is corroborated in the documentary record of the network and in studies of its leadership typology (Wekke et al., 2019). In Mandar, ḥalaqah, community outreach, and the integration of the *Qādiriyyah* order with local custom carried it; Sahabuddin's disposition, described by his daughter Prof. Wasilah Sahabuddin as careful in *sharī'ah* yet flexible in human affairs, names the precise balance the institution sought to reproduce.

Table 3. Comparative Internalisation of Moderation: DDI and Mandar

No	Dimension	Ambo Dalle/DDI (South Sulawesi)	Sahabuddin/Mandar (West Sulawesi)
1	Curriculum	Classical *tafsīr* and *fiqh* chosen for flexible engagement (*al-Marāghī, Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*)	Religious sciences combined with critical reasoning and interfaith awareness; UNASMAN as modern extension
2	Ritual	Collective prayer, gotong royong, structured dialogue	Ḥalaqah, community outreach, *ṭarīqah* practice
3	Local language	Arabic and Bugis preaching	Mandar vernacular idiom and cultural analogy
4	Qur'anic values	Balance, recognition, non-violence (2:143; 49:13; 2:190)	Mercy, justice, recognition (*al-raḥmah*; 4:135; 49:13)
5	Form of internalisation	Coexistence with neighbouring church; exemplary autonomy from power	Cross-religious cooperation in Ambon; careful-yet-flexible ethic confirmed by family testimony

Table 3 above sets the two cases side by side across five dimensions of internalisation: curriculum, ritual, local language, Qur'anic values, and the form of internalisation. The comparison shows that both pesantren relied on the same underlying mechanism, in which values were modelled, ritualised, and embedded in daily practice. At the same time, it makes visible the distinct Bugis and Mandar expressions of that mechanism, confirming that a common orientation could be institutionalised in two different cultural settings. Across both, internalisation was reinforced by symbolic authority: neither scholar commanded through coercion but through moral example (*uswah ḥasanah*), a leadership pattern that studies of Sulawesi pesantren identify as central to the enduring influence of the kyai (Wekke et al., 2019), so that moderation became attractive rather than imposed. The comparison shows that a shared interpretive orientation, transmitted from teacher to pupil, could be institutionalised in two different cultural registers, Bugis and Mandar, without losing its core.

The Sulawesi Model in Comparative Perspective

Situating the two figures against broader patterns clarifies what is distinctive about a pesantren-based, locally rooted moderation. Two contrasting types can be distinguished. In the first, authority is concentrated and discourse standardised, as in the top-down, state-driven model that dominates Indonesia's own official moderation programme and that critics judge prone to instrumentalisation (Bagir & Sormin, 2022). In

the second, authority grows from community legitimacy and interpretation is bound to institutional life, as in the autonomous pesantren tradition (Hefner, 2000). The contrast is not merely organisational but epistemic: where centralised approaches tend to privilege text-focused jurisprudence or treat moderation as a reactive counter-radicalisation curriculum, the model enacted by Ambo Dalle and Sahabuddin integrated interpretation with social practice, making wasaṭiyyah a lived ethic. Typological studies of moderation in Indonesian higher education confirm that integrative, culturally embedded models differ markedly from symbolic or purely curricular ones (Burhanuddin & Ilmi, 2022). The following table summarises the contrast and returns it to the Sulawesi case.

Table 4. Two types of religious moderation

No	Type	Locus of Authority	Orientation	Relation to the Sulawesi Model
1	State-led / centralised	State institutions; standardised	Curriculum reform; counter-radicalisation	Strong state alignment; weaker grassroots legitimacy
2	Symbolic / curricular	Institutional programmes	Moderation as taught content or slogan	Risk of shallow internalisation detached from local culture
3	Community-rooted (Sulawesi: Ambo Dalle, Sahabuddin)	Autonomous pesantren / local ulama	Contextual *tafsīr* embodied in education and culture	Proactive, spiritually grounded, community-sustained

Table 4 above distinguishes the Sulawesi model from two other types of religious moderation, namely the state-led or centralised type and the symbolic or curricular type. For each type it identifies the locus of authority, the orientation, and its relation to the Sulawesi case. The table clarifies what is distinctive about a community-rooted, pesantren-based approach, in which interpretive authority grows from local society rather than from the state and is sustained through institutional life. Read against these cases, the Sulawesi model offers a moral ecology of moderation in which daily routine and the example of the kyai mutually reinforce one another, a configuration largely absent from bureaucratic religious institutions. Its autonomy from state instrumentalisation, shared by both figures, allowed moderation to be not merely persuasive but authoritative in the eyes of followers.

Theoretical Reflection: Contextual Tafsīr and the Sociology of Knowledge

The two cases support a sharper theoretical claim than the description of two moderate scholars. Their exegesis bridged the long-standing tension between transmitted interpretation (*tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr*) and interpretation by reasoning (*tafsīr bi al-ra'y*) by honouring textual authority while engaging social reality, in a manner consonant with Rahman's double movement, from context to text and back to context (Rahman, 1984; Saeed, 2014). Sociologically, their leadership instantiated the Berger-Luckmann cycle, so

that moderation persisted beyond individual charisma because it had become embedded in community routine and norm.

On this basis the study proposes a theoretical proposition: religious moderation in the context of local pesantren does not arise from Qur'anic doctrine alone, but from a process of social interpretation that links the text, the authority of the *'ulamā'*, local custom, and everyday educational practice (Faisal et al., 2022; Qorib & Umiarso, 2025). In this formulation moderation is not derived solely from theology; it is produced in the interpretive act itself, where the Qur'an is continually re-approached in light of evolving communal realities (Qorib & Umiarso, 2025), an approach that sits within the wider Indonesian debate over contextual and hermeneutical exegesis (Fadilah, 2019; Syamsuddin, 2017), and then stabilised through institutions. This reframes localised *tafsīr* as a generative mechanism of public ethics rather than a regional curiosity, and specifies the conditions, autonomous authority, cultural embeddednes, and institutional continuity, under which contextual interpretation can sustain moderation over time.

Conclusion

This study has shown how religious moderation was contextualised and institutionalised by two Sulawesi ulama whose authority was rooted in local society: AGH. Abdurrahman Ambo Dalle in South Sulawesi and Annangguru KH. Sahabuddin in West Sulawesi. Answering the research questions, the findings indicate that both read Qur'anic values of balance, recognition, justice, and mercy contextually, through public benefit and the objectives of the law, and embodied them in pedagogy, vernacular preaching, and community mediation, so that moderation functioned as an interpretive practice institutionalised through the pesantren rather than as a fixed doctrinal label. Theoretically, the study contributes a contextual and sociological account in which moderation emerges from the social interpretation linking text, scholarly authority, local custom, and educational practice, refining how localised *tafsīr* is understood within the study of Qur'anic interpretation. Practically, it suggests that durable moderation in Islamic education depends less on top-down programmes than on autonomous, culturally embedded leadership that translates interpretation into communal life.

The study is limited by its reliance on documentation, recollection, and a purposive set of informants, and by the absence of surviving written exegetical texts authored by the two figures, which constrains direct textual analysis and leads the study to read interpretation from practice. Future research could examine curricular content and student experience within Darul Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI) and Universitas Asy'ariyah Mandar (UNASMAN) more closely, compare these figures with moderate ulama elsewhere in eastern Indonesia, and test the proposed proposition in other local settings, so that the relationship between contextual interpretation and institutional moderation can be examined beyond the two cases considered here.

CRediT Authorship Contribution Statement

Muhammad Dirman Rasyid: He is the principal author of this article. He formulated the research theme, designed the methodological and analytical framework, and carried out the fieldwork, including the documentation and the in-depth interviews. He wrote

the full manuscript, developed the core arguments and the theoretical proposition, and synthesized the conclusions. He also conducted all revisions, refined the structure and clarity of the analysis, and prepared the final version for submission and publication. **Muh. Ilham Usman:** As the research team leader and corresponding author, he initiated and supervised the project and took part directly in the fieldwork together with the principal author, including the documentation and the in-depth interviews. He provided critical guidance throughout the research process, validated the analytical framework, ensured the accuracy and coherence of the arguments, and handled the correspondence and communication with the journal. **Muhammad Zakir Husain:** He contributes through supervision and validation. He reviewed the analysis for conceptual clarity and consistency and provided feedback that strengthened the overall coherence of the manuscript.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors state that this study was carried out free of any competing interest, whether financial, professional, or personal, that might be seen to shape its findings. While the research was funded by the Ministry of Religious Affairs through the Litapdimas scheme, the funder had no role in determining the research questions, selecting the figures studied, interpreting the data, or formulating the conclusions; its support was limited to enabling the fieldwork and writing. Each author worked within a defined role, namely Muhammad Dirman Rasyid in the design, fieldwork, analysis, and drafting, Muh. Ilham Usman in leading, supervising, and validating the study as well as managing correspondence, and Muhammad Zakir Husain in supervision and review, and none of these roles involved any interest that could compromise the objectivity of the work. The authors also affirm that their institutional affiliations and their relationships with the informants, including the family of one of the figures studied, did not bias the analysis or the way the testimony was represented. Accordingly, the authors are confident that the integrity and neutrality of this article have been preserved.

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Declaration of Generative AI Use

During the preparation of this manuscript, the author utilized Writefull and Grammarly solely to assist with language polishing and copyediting. Writefull was primarily employed due to its specialized capability in refining academic phraseology, tone, and readability, while Grammarly served as a secondary tool for supplementary grammar and mechanics checks. These tools were applied strictly to enhance the syntactic clarity and flow of the academic prose without altering the original arguments, theoretical frameworks, data interpretations, or substantive meaning of the text. Following the use of these tools, the author thoroughly reviewed and edited the entire content, assuming full responsibility for the integrity, validity, and accuracy of the final manuscript.

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