

Covid-19 and the Disruption of Islamic Religiosity in Contemporary Indonesia; From Traditional Rituals to Virtual Rituals

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Abstract

This study examines the phenomenon of disruption of religious religiosity among Muslim communities in Indonesia, as well as their acceptance of digital platform-based religious facilities during the Covid-19 pandemic. By using qualitative research methods and analysis of studies based on postmodern sociological theory, this study obtained three findings; 1) During the Covid-19 pandemic, social activities in Indonesia experienced quite strict restrictions and tightening of crowds, including socio-religious activities. In this regard, sacred religious activities that were previously carried out openly in places of public worship such as mosques, prayer rooms, churches, were all carried out separately and separately, turning to virtual worship through the use of digital applications such as Zoom, Google meets, and the like; 2) In general, the emergence of these new rites is accepted by the majority of Indonesian Muslims, and has even become a new religiosity phenomenon that is often found in many religious activities. Mainstream Muslim organizations in Indonesia, Nahdhatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah support the policy of sterilizing public places of worship. However, for the virtualization of religion, within certain limits, both of them criticize and even refuse to virtualize religion in totality, except for religious rituals that are only celebrations or slametans such as tablilan and istigasah; 3) In the context of the dynamics of Islamic rites in Indonesia, the shift in religiosity among the Muslim community can be found in a number of socio-religious activities such as virtual tablil, virtual tarawih, virtual haul, virtual gatherings on holidays, even religious activities that have a mandatory law to be held regularly. The congregation is like the Friday prayer at the mosque.

Keywords: *Disruption, Islamic Religiosity, Traditional Rituals, Virtual Rituals*

INTRODUCTION

Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) has been infecting the world community for more than two years, but until now, since it was first discovered in Wuhan China in the range of September 2019, it is not clear if this virus will end (Naro et al., 2021). In this relatively long period, it must be admitted that the existence of Covid-19 has succeeded in changing the global order system quickly, radically, and thoroughly targeting many lines. Not only in the economic

sector, education, culture, policy, and political system but also broadly targeting a more essential sector, namely the religious sector which incidentally is thick with cult, sacred, sacred and transcendent meanings (Galang, 2021). In this area, Covid-19 with all the risks, threats and its fast and vicious transmission power has also forced religion to make adjustments. Health protocols such as implementing *physical-social distancing*, preventing crowds and crowds, eliminating worship activities or rituals in public places that allow inviting community gatherings (Campbell & Sheldon, 2021).

The entry of the Covid-19 discourse into the religious area has triggered various polemics and academic debates from many circles. That the Covid-19 pandemic is the stage of a constellation of two thinking authorities, between religion which emphasizes deductive-subjective logic on the one hand, and the santist group which emphasizes inductive-objective logic (Bernacer et al., 2021). For scientists, the Covid-19 pandemic is an arena for proving the truth of science. In the midst of an acute crisis due to the spread of the Covid-19 virus, science with its sophistication in conducting studies and predictions can offer concrete solutions such as medical and mitigation technology. On the other hand, for religious circles, science and all its products are too arrogant to claim to be the sole solution for handling the pandemic crisis. In fact, it has been more than two years since Covid-19 has infected the world, but until now science has not fully succeeded in handling it (Darmalaksana, 2021). In the language of Franch Lyotard, scientists' claims that science can solve the Covid crisis are nothing more than mere metanarratives or fairy tales (Muhammad et al., 2021).

Apart from this debate, the facts show that the world's social order is now facing a new normal, which is marked by a shift in daily activities, from what initially took place outside the network (*offline*) to now moving into the network world (*online*). (Department of Social Work, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 202002. India. & Perween, 2020). The new normal has presented a contradictory reality from the previous reality. The patterns and activities of the community which initially took place in public spaces and public places full of crowds and openness, have now undergone quite fundamental and radical changes. People's daily activities and activities have shifted to digital and virtual spaces, including various religious activities such as worship and worship rituals that are routinely carried out in public places (Lee & Oh, 2021). In Indonesia, the shift in religious activities from *public space* to *cyberspace* is marked by the rise of virtual-based religious activities. Among the Muslim community, the virtualization of religious rituals can be found in activities such as *tablil* virtual *taranib*, virtual *haul* virtual gatherings on holidays, even religious activities that have mandatory laws to be held in congregation such as Friday prayers and Eid prayers in mosques (Ayu Azanella, 2021).

Regarding the phenomenon of digitalization of Islamic rituals in Indonesia, there are a number of previous studies that examine it, one of which comes from Wahyudi Akmaliah and Ahmad Najib Burhani, *Digital Islam in Indonesia: The Shift of Ritual and Religiosity during Covid-19* (2021). According to him, the phenomenon of religious digitization among Muslims in Indonesia has emerged since before the Covid-19 pandemic. However, at this time, religious digitization is mostly dominated by young religious actors (millennials), or those who are popularly known as Ustadz. Along with the emergence of the Covid-19 crisis, the digitalization of religion began to target all groups. Even the two largest Islamic organizations, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, both support the government's policy to sterilize places of public worship, and urge their followers to worship from home *online*. In line with these policies and instructions, although at the beginning their implementation invited debate and controversy, nowadays the digitization of religious rituals has become a contemporary religious phenomenon that is almost universally accepted by Muslims in Indonesia (Akmaliah & Burhani, 2021). This finding was later strengthened by a number of other research results such as the study conducted by Abu Bakar, et al, *Have Attitudes towards Religiousness Shifted Due Covid 19 Outbreak? Evidence from Moslem Generations in Makassar-Indonesia* (Naro et al., 2021); Marcus Mietzner, *Populist Anti-Scientism, Religious Polarization, and Institutionalized Corruption: How Indonesia's Democratic Decline Shaped Its COVID-19 Response* (Mietzner, 2020); Zainuddin Syarif, *Fundamentalism and the Challenges of Religious Moderation in the New Normal Era* (Sharif & Hannan, 2021).

It is different from previous studies which focused more on the description of the digitalization of Islam from a general perspective, especially Marcus Mietzner's writings which emphasized the political aspect. This study tries to position its point of view from a more focused direction, namely by using the perspectives of the sociology of religion and postmodern sociology. Methodologically, this research uses qualitative research. There are two sources of data used, primary data obtained from information media, both *online* and in print, which was obtained from January to December 2021. Next is secondary data, namely a number of data obtained from previous studies or studies. Based on field data analysis, this study argues that the massive use of digital platforms in religious activities among the Indonesian Muslim community in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis can be read as a phenomenon of religious disruption. Sociologically, the phenomenon of religious disruption among the Muslim community in Indonesia is marked by the shift in community religious worship ritual activities, from what was previously based on traditional rituals to virtual rituals.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Pandemic and Religious Dynamics in Indonesia

In the early days of its implementation, the policy of tightening and socially restricting religious activities invited debate and criticism from all levels of society who considered social restrictions and restrictions in places of worship to be a form of excessive policy (Sadewo, 2021). Even in certain situations, it is not uncommon for these acts of criticism and rejection to end up being resistant, thus disrupting the situation for handling Covid-19 and disrupting social stability. That is why, in the early period of handling Covid-19, the social-religious tightening and restriction program in Indonesia did not run optimally (Tobroni, 2020). A number of certain religious groups persist in carrying out ritual activities openly in public locations, ignoring the health protocols issued by the government. Based on a study conducted by Abd Hannan (2021), generally those who still choose to hold mass religious events in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, are religious groups that understandably have a culture or tradition of conservatism, both conservatism in teachings and rituals (Syarif & Abd, 2021).

In the context of the dynamics of handling Covid-19 in Indonesia, continuing religious events amid the threat of Covid-19 has become a separate problem for the process of handling Covid-19. Interestingly, this problem is not only carried out by one religious group, but also involves many religious groups, including Muslims, Christians, Hindus and even Buddhists. Responding to this socio-religious phenomenon, Masdar Hilmy (2021) identifies it as a form of fighting between two contradictory logics, between adherents of deductive logic of thinking represented by religious circles on the one hand, and inductive logic of thinking represented by scientists. In the end, this heated upheaval finally gave birth to the fact that the use of inductive logic played by scientists currently finds more space in the public sphere than deductive logic (read: religion) (Hilmy & Niam, 2020). The dominance of scientism here can be traced from the increasingly massive use of scientific facilities such as technology and medical devices, both as instruments for handling Covid-19 and as tools to carry out daily activities.

Technology and information media, which have been perceived as 'negative' because they are considered to be able to shift the order of life, values, and norms (religion) in society, are in fact not entirely the case. On the other hand, the current phenomenon is the integration of religion into the information media technology space, religion is being digitized and virtualized, thus giving birth to various new religious phenomena (Sabaté Gauxachs et al., 2021). In line with this reality, a critical attitude and resistance to religion began to sag. Slowly but surely their existence began to accept the logic of science. Making science products a medium for adapting to and undergoing socio-religious activities in the midst of a social crisis

due to the transmission of Covid-19. This is clearly illustrated by the attitude of the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama, who support the government's steps to sterilize places of worship. He even advised his followers not to worship in public places of worship, and to change their worship at their respective places of residence (see picture 1) (2021c; Saubani, 2020).

Figure 1. Documentation of the *Call for Fardhu Prayer at Home by Muhammadiyah* on March 20, 2020



Source: UNISA Website, Yogyakarta (03/2020)

Pandemic and Shifting of Islamic Rituals in Indonesia

In Indonesia, before the Covid-19 pandemic emerged, the phenomenon of the shift in religious activity from the offline world to the online world was actually not new. This phenomenon has been going on for a relatively long time and has even become a contemporary reality that invites the attention of many people. However, in the pre-pandemic period, the shift in religious activities from offline to online was more targeted at certain Muslim community groups, especially Muslims at a relatively young age (read: Muslim *netizens*) who psychologically have the power of attraction and dependence on social media. stronger (Akmaliah & Burhani, 2021). Likewise with the actors, the use of digital platforms before the Covid-19 pandemic was not much loved, except by contemporary da'wah activists such as Felix Siau and Hanan Attaki. A study conducted by Abd Hannan stated that these two figures were categorized as the most influential modern preachers in Indonesia. The number of their followers as religious

figures 'online' to reach millions of followers. Hanan Attaki, for example, has 8.5 million Instagram followers, while Felix Siuaw has *followers* 4.8 million Instagram. By utilizing internet networks and the sophistication of digital application services in the form of *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Youtube*, *Instagram*, and the like, they appear in public spaces, delivering religious materials to millennial Muslims who actually spend more time in the echo room or *online*.

Since Covid-19 attacked Indonesia and affected the global social order system, the digitalization of religion is no longer centered on young religious actors or figures, nor is it targeting millennials and *netizens*. Covid-19 seems to be the starting point for the reduction of socio-religious activities in Indonesia as a whole into a network system (online) (Brien, 2020). Various types of digital platforms, such as the *Zoom meeting*, *Google Met*, *Wastapp* media, and various other similar applications, have turned into a new religious space that is loved by people from all walks of life. Everyone can enter and access it without any further classification or classification, both age, social status and type of belief. In the *offline*, religious rituals only take place in places of worship in accordance with their beliefs or religion. However, with the advent of digitalization of religion due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the landscape has undergone quite a drastic change.-based digital platforms *Online* starting to take over the roles and functions of public places of worship such as mosques, churches, pagodas, temples and the like. In this situation, the *online* undergoes an involution process, becoming a place of shared worship that can be easily accessed and used by religious groups of cross faiths (Rustandi, 2020).

Apart from being at the level of the subject or perpetrator, the phenomenon of digitalization of religion during the Covid-19 pandemic also experienced a shift at the level of the object or target of its use. If in the period before the Covid-19 pandemic the practice of religious virtuousness tended to be used solely as a da'wah requirement to target the existence of millennial Muslim groups or *netizens*. But now, with the emergence of the Covid-19 crisis, the phenomenon of religious virtualization is undergoing a transformation and expansion, developing into more complex religious areas, even targeting transcendent spaces that were previously taboo, sacred, and sacred. In this phase, the digital space with all its sophistication and excellence has succeeded in forcing religion into its world, as well as placing itself as a mirror. contemporary religiosity (Leal, 2021). The virtualization of religion is not only intended as a medium for conveying messages (da'wah), but has been transformed as a medium for the actualization and expression of communal religiosity in all activities. Starting from educational activities, ritual activities, slametans, celebrations, prayer together such as *tablilan* to even the most noble and sacred religious activities *istigasah*, Friday prayers, for example. In Jean

Baudrillard's language, the digitalization of religion is like a simulacrum space, where images of worship and religious rituals are simulated in such a way as to allow new religious behavior (read; culture) to occur among contemporary Muslim communities that are different, or even different—not to say contradictory—with previous religious traditions and cultures (Kirby et al., nd).

Virtual Islam in a Time of Pandemic; from Virtual Worship to Virtual Celebrations

The pandemic has influenced and changed the religious behavior of the Muslim community, which used to carry out traditional rituals in the form of congregations in public places of worship such as mosques, prayer rooms, and *langgar*, now has shifted to a new pattern, namely virtual worship in public places. each by utilizing *teleconference* internet-based *zoom meetings*, *google meet*, and the like (Kominfo, 2020; Widodo, 2020). There are no more physical meetings or communal religious gatherings. Digital spaces such as *smartphones*, tablets, and computers are the only option for holding religious events. In Indonesia itself, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the implementation of religious events using digital platforms was rife. Both religious events in the form of worship and celebrations. Based on field data searches, religious activities such as *tahlil*, *istigasah*, birthday celebrations, are the most popular religious events and are often held *online*. And the most controversial and inviting debate among Muslim clergy, namely the implementation of Eid prayers and *online* (2021e).

1) Virtual Tahlil

In the Big Indonesian Dictionary, *tahlil* contains the meaning of reading the sentence *monotheism*, a song containing praise to God.(nd-a) *tablil* is carried out at rituals and/or special salvation events for Muslims to commemorate and pray for the dead (Mas'ari, 2017). Generally, the *tahlil* event lasts for seven consecutive days from the first day of death to the seventh day. Furthermore, *tablilan* is carried out on the 40th, 100th, first year, second year, third year to the 1000th day. In the Islamic culture of the Indonesian people, *tablil* is categorized as a sacred religious event, containing a collective prayer devoted to the deceased. In practice, usually the *tablian* held in a crowded manner and the congregation is attended directly by the community or neighbors voluntarily. If the deceased is a figure such as an *ulema/kyai*, the number of *tahlil* congregations can reach hundreds, or even thousands (Neti Suprihatin et al., 2021).

During the pandemic, *tablilan* experienced a spatial shift, from mass) to virtual space (*online*). The *tahlil* activity , which in normal situations is traditionally carried out at the funeral home, gathers together reciting the Koran, sings praises to God and prays for salvation, in the

current situation of the Covid-19 pandemic, the implementation has shifted to the virtual world (Munandar, 2021). *tablilan* is the only option for the community to continue to pray, pay respects, and show sympathy for families who have died. The shift in the implementation of *tablilan* from traditional rituals (*offline*) to virtual rituals (*online*) practically creates new nuances and brings changes of its own. Especially related to the experience of *tablilan* which is more or less eroded or reduced than the *tablilan* traditional (*offline*). Therefore, the *tablil* during a pandemic cannot be identified as the peak of strengthening communal religious awareness, but rather a space for self-expression to show condolences to the deceased and their bereaved families. In the Indonesian context, the practice of *tablil* during the Covid-19 pandemic can be found in many areas, especially in urban areas which incidentally apply a strict health protocol system (see figure 2) (Febriyana, 2021).

Figure 2. Virtual Tahlil Documentation of the 100th Anniversary of Gus Sholah's Death on May 11, 2020



Source: KOMINFO East Java Website Page, Surabaya (05/2020)

2) Istigasah Virtual

Istigasah is a prayer to ask God for help in order to eliminate calamities or disasters. A number of Muslim clerics define istigasah as a call for people who can eliminate difficulties and help people to get rid of distress. Different from tahlil, the istigasah activity contains more varied reading materials consisting of praise, istighfar, sholawat, dhikr, and ends with a series of prayers. As with the implementation of *tablilan*, istigasah is usually carried out openly in public (private) places such as mosques and fields, attended directly by religious leaders and the community as a whole.

Since the Covid-19 pandemic crisis hit, the government has forbidden religious activities to be carried out *offline* and openly. As a consequence, the implementation of the istigasah shift is carried out *online* media *teleconference* based on internet social networks such as

zoom meetings, google meet, and the like. For most Muslim communities, *online* istigasah rituals offer quite different experiences and nuances of religiosity, considering that during this time istigasah activities are identical with chanting dhikr, istighfar, and a series of prayers together so that there is a value of solemnity and sincerity (read: solemnly) that can be obtained. However, even though the digitalization of religion has reduced the practice of istigasah along with the meaning of religiosity and the level of solemnity contained in it, virtualization is the only option to continue to be able to carry out istigasah amidst the threat of a pandemic. In Indonesia, virtual istigasah is mostly carried out by the public and state institutions in government ranks. One of them is the Virtual Nationality Istigasah which is organized by the ministry of religion at the regional level in commemoration of the 2021 National Santri Day.

3) Virtual Eid Prayers

The next phenomenon of virtualization of Islamic rituals is the implementation of Eid prayers. Eid is *prayer* a two rakaat sunnah prayer that is recommended to Muslims during the celebration of two holidays, namely Eid al-Fitr in the month of Shawwal and Eid al-Adha in the month of Zuhijjah (Budiawan, 2014). Eid al-Fitr is synonymous with the meaning of victory after Muslims undergo a full fasting for one month. Therefore, at the moment of this holiday, the Muslim community always welcomes and implements it with a sense of joy and joy. Therefore, even though it is classified as a sunnah, the Eid prayer is always held in congregation in places of worship and open spaces such as fields. Usually, in addition to holding sunnah prayers together, on these two holidays the Muslim community also conducts silaturahmi activities. Visiting the homes of relatives, relatives, and neighbors to strengthen bonds or brotherhood and forgive each other.

When Indonesia was experiencing a crisis due to the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, several Muslim community groups in Indonesia took progressive steps by holding Eid prayers *online*. (Firdaus, 2021). It is called progressive, because those who are members of this group take a stand against the opinion of the majority Muslim groups such as the Islamic organizations Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, including the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).(2021g). In this case, MUI asserts that virtual Eid prayers during the Covid-19 pandemic are not valid, as stated in the MUI Fatwa Number 28 of 2021 concerning the Law of Virtual Friday Prayers. In Indonesia, virtual Eid prayers are performed by KH. Wawan Gunawan, a young academic and lecturer at the Faculty of Sharia and Law, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta. The virtual Eid al-Fitr prayer will be held on May 13, 2021, while the virtual Eid al-Adha prayer will be held on July 20, 2021. The virtual Eid

prayer will be held through the *Teleconference* form of Zoom, with a sermon theme, *Hugging and Being Embraced by Religion in the Pandemic Season* (Najib Burhani, 2021).

4) Friday Virtual

Virtualization of Islamic religious rituals next is Friday prayers *online*. Of all the virtualization practices of Islamic rituals carried out during this pandemic, arguably the *online* have attracted the most attention and debate among the public. Friday prayer itself is a obligatory prayer that must be performed in congregation by male Muslims (Ardyanto, 2021). There is no truth law against him to be carried out personally or alone, except in emergency situations which have been clearly and firmly regulated in Islamic jurisprudence (read: sharia). These emergency situations include being on a trip, being sick, going to the mosque, heavy raining, a feeling of dread, so that it is feared that personal safety will be threatened (Abubakar, nd). If someone experiences one of these emergency conditions, he is justified in replacing it with the midday prayer, not performing the Friday prayer alone by using an *online teleconference*.

Friday prayers *online* not as massive as other Islamic rituals. This is because Friday prayers are obligatory prayers and have a rigid and normative implementation procedure. Friday prayers *online* generally found in progressive Islamic groups, namely those who try to interpret religious texts by paying attention to the situation or social context that occurred at that time. Those who enter this group, one of them is a young Muhammadiyah intellectual figure, KH. Wawan Gunawan. (Editor, 2021) In this case, apart from making *the* Eid prayer online, he also orders that it is permissible to perform Friday prayers online. Based on field data searches, Friday prayers *online* Eid prayers *online*. Interestingly, even though it invites debate and strong criticism from many groups, ranging from the Islamic organizations Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and the Indonesian Ulema Council, the practice of *online* continues. (2021d) Even during this pandemic, *online* are not held once or twice. Field data shows that September 4, 2020 is the *online* 15th *Efforts to Serve in Different Ways*. (Firdaus, 2021).

Islamic Virtualization and Some of the Pros and Cons in It

The closure of places of worship such as mosques and prayer rooms requires Muslims to find other ways to continue to be able to carry out daily worship activities, both *ubudiyah* and social *worship (muammalah)*, one of which is by utilizing the existence of *online* (Michelle, 2021). As the implementation of *online* growing and houses of worship are sterilized from religious activities, various criticisms and objections arise in the community. prayer activities *online*. The meaning of prayer here refers to two types of worship that are usually carried out in

congregation, namely the Eid prayer (festival day) and Friday prayers, both of which during this pandemic are held virtually (Damayanti, 2021).

Based on field data searches, the pros and cons began when an invitation to perform Eid prayers *online* was initiated by Wawan Gunawan Abdul Wahid, an activist at the Muhammadiyah Islamic Organization as well as a young Muslim academic from the Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta (Nugroho & Hidayat, 2021). Not only online martial arts, Wawan Gunawan at that time also invited Muslims to perform Friday prayers *online*. According to him, this is a solution so that Muslims in Indonesia can still perform their prayer obligations without any worries or fear of contracting the Covid-19 disease. One voice with Wawan Gunawan, namely the public policy foundation, *Public Virtue Research Institute; Hilful Fudul*. According to them, *online* are a solution for residents who still want to attend Friday prayers but the mosque is closed, or the mosque is opened for congregational prayers but members of the congregation are worried and afraid of being affected by a cluster outbreak of worship activities.

Regarding the legal basis for the permissibility of performing Friday prayers *online*, Gunawan conveyed three arguments; First, that one of the privileges given by Allah to the Messenger of Allah is to make the land entirely holy, so that its existence can be used as a place of prostration to perform prayers. In this regard, according to him, the house as part of the entity on earth that occupies the land and is made of soil can be classified as a place of prostration. Therefore, for Gunawan, it is legal to perform Friday prayers at home. Second, the analogy to the law of the permissibility of carrying out marriages online. That the marriage contract is a sacred worship that requires the presence and presence of many witnesses. This requirement has similarities with Friday prayers which require the presence of more than one person. Third, if so far the law is not allowed to pray *online* application *online* can bridge these conditions. In Islamic jurisprudence, this opinion is based on the opinion of Ibn Qudamah of the Zahiri school, and Ahmad bin Hanbal. In this case, the Zahiri School is of the view that if the makmum and the imam are physically separated by a river, as long as the imam's voice is heard from across the river, the congregational prayer is valid (Akmaliah & Burhani, 2021; Wahid & M.Ag, 2020).

Eid prayers *online* the argument against it came from the caretaker of the Ummul Qura Islamic Boarding School, South Tangerang, KH. R. Sharif Rahmat. According to him, the law on the permissibility of performing Eid prayers *online* has a fairly clear foundation in Islam, both originating from hadith or the opinions of fiqh scholars. According to him, in the book *Sabih Al-Bukhori*, al-Hasan said, "It doesn't matter if you pray (in congregation), while between you and the

imam there is a river." In the same book, Abu Mijlas also said, *"It is permissible to speak to the priest even though the priest and the congregation are separated by a road or wall, as long as the congregation can hear the voice of the imam's takbir."* Eid prayers *online* according to him, can be traced in the book of *al-Majmu'* by Imam An Nawawi. In the book of *Al-Majmu'* it is explained that if the prayer is done outside the mosque (at home) it may be carried out in congregation provided that the distance between the imam and the congregation is not too far away. Apart from that opinion, there are also other fiqh foundations that contain a more lax view, in this case KH. R. Syarif Rahmat quoted Imam Atha' explanation, that it is absolutely valid to pray in congregation with an imam even though the distance between him and the imam is a mile or more as long as he knows the imam's prayer (Muhyiddin, 2021).

In subsequent developments, information about the implementation of Friday prayers and *online* that spread widely in the community, eventually received criticism and even strong rejection from many parties. One of them came from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). MUI through its authority stated that the law of performing Eid prayers and Friday prayers virtually using an online-based digital platform is illegal. The MUI's stance and statement are summarized firmly and clearly in the MUI Fatwa Decision Number 28 of 2021 concerning the Law of Virtual Friday Prayers (Skanaa, 2021). The virtual terminology here means that the Friday prayers where the location of the imam and the congregation are not in the same place or location (*ittihad al-makan*), and there is also no physical connection (*ittishal*), only connected via a virtual network (Masyafrina, 2021). Included in the scope of this decision is the implementation of the two Eid prayers, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, which have provisions for implementation similar to Friday prayers, namely that they must be performed in congregation with the presence of the imam and the congregation connected both physically and locally (Mukhtar, 2021).

A number of Islamic organizations in Indonesia have also expressed a similar rejection. One of them is Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah through the Tarjih Council and Tajdid Muhammadiyah Central Executive issued a fatwa related to Friday prayers, including the fatwa in the book Questions and Answers Religion (TJA) Volume 1 page 64 on Zuhur prayer instead of Friday prayer. In addition, the Muhammadiyah Central Executive Decree Number 01/MLM/I.O/H/2020 dated March 14, 2020 concerning Guidance for Worship during the Covid-19 Pandemic (Murikustijah, 2021); Muhammadiyah Central Leadership Circular Number 05/EDR/I.O/E/2020 dated June 4, 2020 regarding Guidance and Guidelines for Facing the Pandemic and Impact of Covid-19 (Mappanganro, 2021, p. 19). In general, the conclusion of the fatwa, edict, and circular is that there is no strong argument that allows replacing Friday

prayers with Friday prayers *online*, thus holding virtual Friday prayers cannot be accepted or performed. Apart from Muhammadiyah, the same rejection came from a number of regional administrators of the largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia, namely Nahdhatul Ulama' (NU), which in this case was conveyed by the administrator of the Katib Syuriah Regional Board of Nahdhatul Ulama (PWNU) East Java, KH. Syafruddin Sharif. According to him, the conditions for performing Friday prayers must be in one assembly or one place. When there is an emergency situation that does not allow Friday prayers at the mosque, it is permissible to pray at home with the midday prayer, not the *online*.

Ritual Virtualization as a Phenomenon of Islamic Disruption in Indonesia; Theoretical Perspective

Etymologically, in the Big Indonesian Dictionary, disruption is a noun word that contains the meaning of being uprooted. In English, the word disruption is synonymous with the word *disruption*, which means, *traditional way that an industry or market operates by using new methods or technology*. their new technology. Based on the two definitions above, it is possible to draw a common thread that disruption implies a fundamental change marked by the dominance of technology over traditionalism so that its existence (traditional) is uprooted from its origin. Industry 4.0-5.0 which in their daily lives has a fairly large dependence on computerization and internet data (Bongomin et al., 2020). In the context of this study, the disruption of Islam means a shift in religious ways and behavior from those that previously tended to be traditional to modern device-based ways. virtual like *messenger*, *zoom meeting*, *google meet*, and the like.

Genealogically, in social science discourse, the term disruption was first introduced by Clayton M. Christensen and Joseph Bower in 1995, in one phrase "*Disruptive Technologies: Catching the Wave*" published in the Harvard Business Review (1995) (Bower & Christensen, 1995). 1995a). Initially, this term was created to describe the presence of a new technology based on a digital platform that produces something completely new, more efficient, and also more useful. With these advantages, disruption can set aside the old methods that are all physical and all manual. Christensen emphasized that if the existence of this disruption is not properly anticipated by the world community, its emergence will cause disturbance, damage, and even fall. Disruption work patterns that are centered on information technology, especially digital systems based on big data, make it easy to enter and influence the global order system across aspects (Bower & Christensen, 1995b). Not only the economic system, but also the cultural system, education system, political system, even in the socio-religious system.

Referring to Kasali's (2017) explanation, the phenomenon of disruption has consequences for shifting previous methods to new ways. That is, the main characteristic of disruption is the birth of innovation and renewal of work systems by offering much greater convenience, affordability, effectiveness, fantasy, and productivity (Kasali, 2017). and accepted by the community at crossroads. Disruption and its artificial reality have become a kind of new vehicle that attracts the interest of many people, especially millennials and other generations after it (generation Z and generation alpha), who generally spend more time and daily activities in cyberspace than the real world. It is in this perspective that the meaning of piety and religiosity undergoes a leap, from ritual piety to digital piety, from hidden piety (private) to public piety.

Theoretically, Kasali (2015) in an article explains that disruption as a global phenomenon operates on three elements which are abbreviated as 3S, *speed*, *surprise*, and *sudden shift*. *Speed* or means fast, necessitates the acceleration of time and space so as to trigger the birth of radical and fundamental changes. This acceleration of change occurs because of the support or role of technology and information media that flows rapidly, developing massively in all spaces of people's lives without exception (Kasali, 2015a). Paul Varilio discusses this phenomenon as accelerating culture, or what is theoretically popular as dromology (Bagherzadeh Samani et al., 2018). The consequence of all this is the increasing movement of the fast-paced and fast-paced mobility flows. Acceleration becomes part of a self-adaptation system, or even a survival strategy to carry out daily social activities, including socio-religious activities. If it is related to this study, we can also find the phenomenon of acceleration in this disruption study in patterns of religious behavior (Islam) during the current pandemic. In general, this is illustrated by the widespread virtualization of worship, which used to be *offline* shifted to *online*. The integration of religious events, both celebratory (*muammalah*) and worship (*ibudiyah*) into digital platform application screens such as *online* through the use of *zoom cloud meetings* *istigasah online* through the use *Google meet*, and a number of other Islamic religious rituals, shows that there are aktivitas percepatan ruang ibadah—atau dalam bahasa Yasrif Amir Piliang disebut pelipatan ruang-waktu) melalui gelombang suara-visual, yang itu hanya dapat dilakukan dengan cara memanfaatkan kecanggihan dan keunggulan perangkat digital berbasis jejaring internet (S. et al., 2021).

Besides *speed*, another element contained in the phenomenon of disruption is *surprises*. In the English Dictionary, the word *surprises* contains the meaning of *the feeling caused by something unexpected happening* (2021b). In Indonesian, *surprises* has a synonym (synonym) with surprise, which means anything that causes surprise; shocks; anything that appears suddenly and

unexpectedly. If drawn into the discourse of social science, the term *surprise* contains almost the same meaning as *culture shock* or cultural shock. It's just that the difference is that *surprises* refer to the object causing it, while *culture shock* is more of a result or impact on its appearance (*surprises*). In the perspective of social science, *culture shock* occurs because of the emergence of sudden and unexpected changes (*surprises*), at the same time the people who live in it do not have the full readiness and ability to adapt themselves, so that their emergence often brings debate and pros and cons among the community (Sulaiman & Saputri, 2019). That's because not all people who experience it have the same ability to live it. Some feel enjoy, others find it difficult to make adjustments, so it is difficult to accept and live side by side with it (Winkelman, 1994).

If it is correlated with this problem, the element of *surprises* in the phenomenon of religious disruption can also be found in the reality and dynamics of religion among contemporary Muslims. As described earlier, during this pandemic, the pattern of religious behavior of the Muslim community in Indonesia is rapidly being virtualized or digitalized. Internet-based digital networking platforms that were once considered a threat to the existence of religion because of their vulgar content and offer freedom, are now being used sporadically by religious circles to fulfill their spiritual needs. Starting from carrying out the slametan routine, conducting religious studies to carrying out even sacred religious worship, such as praying, for example. Along with the virtualization of religious events and activities, debates and pros and cons emerged in the Muslim community, between groups who fully support the total virtualization of religion on the one hand, and other groups who are more cautious or even reject it. It is in this connection that the pros and cons of religious virtualization such as Eid prayers and virtual Friday prayers can be read as part of a series of religious (Islamic) disruption phenomena, which occur due to a sudden, rapid change (read: *surprises-shock culture*) or even radical (*speed*) in the fundamental structure, such as the structure of worship in the form of prayers, rituals, and the like.

The third letter S behind the emergence of the disruption phenomenon (religion) during the Covid-19 pandemic is the element of *sudden shift*. In Indonesian, *sudden shift* translates to a sudden shift, a shift in reality from one type to another. *Sudden shift* occurs simultaneously in space and time, space is narrowed and at the same time time is shortened (read: dromology) (Kasali, 2015c). Sociologically, a *sudden shift* results in the loss of territorial boundaries between one region and another. Not only that, with the sophistication of capital, *sudden shift* can also control and change the order of global society from a small device in the form of a rectangle, a *smartphone*, tablet, computer, and its kind. phenomenon *sudden shift* does not operate to eliminate

and eliminate reality, but simply to shift and divert it from the *offline* world to the *online world*, from the real world to the image world. Jose Casanova in his book, *Public Religion in The Modern World* (1994), abstracts religion in this phase as an entity that is experiencing *deprivatization* (Jelen & Casanova, 1995; Reuter, 2019). The existence of religion which was originally a sacred, cult, and sacred area that was once dominated by certain places and groups such as mosques, prayer rooms, churches, monasteries, kyai, ulama, priests, monks, and others, has now become accustomed and transformed into public consumption. , it can even be found in digital spaces which are synonymous with freedom and vulgarity. Through digitization, places of worship are currently living side by side, or even in one space with dirty places such as localization, entertainment venues, discotheques, and the like. simply, *sudden shift* is marked by the reduction of reality (religion) to an echo chamber and frequency so that it can break through and sneak in quickly in all directions and places (Febi University of Indonesia, 2015; Kasali, 2015b).

In relation to this study, the conceptual explanation above can actually be used as an analytical tool to understand the religious behavior of the Muslim community in Indonesia, which in the current Covid-19 pandemic situation is undergoing a ritual transformation, from traditional patterns or methods to contemporary ritual patterns based *platforms* tools digital religious activities *online* Istigasah *onlinetahlil* , *online* Eid prayers , congregational prayers , religious studies (Islam) *online*, all of which are part of a *sudden shift*, which occurs because of the phenomenon of social disruption in the religious (Islamic) sector. At this limit, the presence of information media technology along with all its sophistication and advantages, makes the face and existence of religion (Islam) undergo transformation and derivation. In Yasrif Amir Piliang's language, a *sudden shift* causes the Muslim community during a pandemic to fold like paper. Everything changes and shifts so fast, it happens suddenly, even radically. References to worship for praying and dhikr are no longer in cult and sacred places such as mosques and prayer rooms, but have shifted to *teleconference* internet-based *zoom meetings*, *google meet*, and the like. In this context, the transition of religious activities from offline to online, from *public space* to *cyber space*, from the real world to the virtual world, from the social to the artificial realm, from factual to digital, and traditional to virtual, are all concrete manifestations of religious disruption that caused by a *sudden shift* that slipped into the religious fundamental sector, both in terms of teaching and practice.

CONCLUSION

The Covid-19 pandemic has given birth to new realities for the life of the Muslim community in Indonesia, one of which is the shifting of patterns and behavior in religion, from

what was originally traditional to modern methods in the form of *teleconference* such as *zoom meetings*, *google meet*, and its kind. Through a number of these applications, Muslim communities in Indonesia fulfill and carry out their routine religious events such as online istigasah , tahlil *online* to Eid prayers and Friday prayers *online*. In the perspective of postmodern sociology, the shift in religious rituals among Muslim communities in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic, from traditional patterns to modern patterns, can be interpreted as a phenomenon of religious disruption. In Indonesia, the phenomenon of religious virtualization invites debates and pros and cons. Generally, the debate is centered on legal clarity on whether or not it is permissible to perform *online* that should be performed in congregation, such as Eid prayers and Friday prayers.

Apart from the pros and cons surrounding the virtualization of religion in the two types of worship (salat), the dominant Muslim community in Indonesia agrees with the practice of virtualization of religion (Islam), especially in the form of celebrations such as *tablilan*, istigasah, and religious studies. In general, the phenomenon of religious disruption among Muslims in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic is characterized by three elements; *First*, disruption (religion) is identical with acceleration (*speed*), there is a condensation of time and space that triggers the birth of radical and fundamental changes in parts of the system or fundamental religious structures such as worship and the like. The concept of acceleration in this disruption has sufficient relevance to the religious dynamics of the Muslim community in Indonesia, which during this pandemic tends to take advantage of the use of information media technology tools to fulfill and carry out daily religious rituals. Both personal and group religious rituals such as *tablilan*, istigasah, and the like. *Second*, disruption is synonymous with *surprises* and everything that causes shock and shock. This understanding has a strong correlation with the phenomenon of religious virtualization that befell the Muslim community in Indonesia, which during the Covid-19 pandemic crisis experienced *culture shock* in the religious sector. *Third*, the emergence of a sudden shift phenomenon , namely a sudden shift of reality from one type to another. religious activities *online* Istigasah *onlinetahlil* , *online* Eid prayers , congregational prayers, religious studies (Islam) *online*, all of which are part of a *sudden shift*, which occurs because of the phenomenon of social disruption in the religious (Islamic) sector.

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