

Negotiating Religiosities among Indonesian Muslims amid the Covid-19 Pandemic: Acceptance, Resistance, and Transformation

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Abstract: The Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted religion. Provisions issued by religious authorities were imposed upon Indonesian Muslims to cope with. Various responses were identified representing how their religiosities negotiated. Here, direct participation in the implementation of Tarawih prayers in Surabaya was taken as a research unit. This study focused on (1) the diversity in negotiating religiosities amid the pandemic; (2) its underlying reasons; and (3) its potential implications. This qualitative research methodologically took a constructivist approach and phenomenological design by combining open-ended interviews, behavioral observations, and questionnaires in collecting data. The results demonstrated many factors playing a role in the shaping of diversity. They could include social, political, economic, and cultural considerations. The negotiation occurred through acceptance, resistance, and transformation embodying the tensions between logics of religion in addressing scientific contributions. The diversity of religious negotiation amid the outbreak subsequently confirmed the flexibility and adaptability of Islam in addressing historical dynamics.

Keywords: Covid-19, religious diversity, religious negotiation, *tarawih*.

Introduction

Covid-19 has not been completely resolved.¹ Seen as a global pandemic, its impact has spread to various aspects of people's lives and

¹ Mohammed Imad Mustafa and Nasser Mohammad Amjad, "Covid-19 Pandemic – An Apocalypse of Our Time", *IJUM Medical Journal Malaysia*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2020), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31436/imjm.v19i1.1322>.

this is not limited to only medical problems.² The most affected area is usually linked to economy. The problems begun from the market sluggishness³ that then leads to the increasing unemployment rate.⁴ The problem unfortunately then also has a social consequence indicated by the rise of crime rate.⁵ In relation to social aspect, religious life also is far from being immune from the covid-19 pandemic impact.⁶ As the largest Muslim nation, Indonesia offers an interesting picture on how the pandemic has affected religious affairs.⁷ This includes the ways in which society adapts with the government policy in handling the pandemic. The use of masks, social distancing and some other policies related to health protocols are undeniably challenging for Indonesian Muslims who congregate for many religious rites.

In order to deal with the pandemic, authorities like government and leaders within society like civil society organizations take responsive and serious steps handling the emergency caused by the outbreak. It manifested, for example, in the release of religious provisions containing regulations and restrictions such as the management of religious worship amid the pandemic.⁸ Indubitable, it has provoked heat controversies and debates. On the one hand, there are those who fully support the regulations while on the other hand

² Slavoj Žižek, *Pandemic! Covid-19 Shakes the World* (NY & London: OR Books, 2020).

³ Galuh Artika Febriyanti, "Dampak Pandemi Covid-19 Terhadap Harga Saham dan Aktivitas Volume Perdagangan (Studi Kasus Saham LQ-45 di Bursa Efek Indonesia)", *Indonesia Accounting Journal* 2, 2 (2020), pp. 204-214.

⁴ "Survei Dampak Darurat Virus Corona Terhadap Tenaga Kerja Indonesia," <http://lipi.go.id/siaranpress/survei-dampak-darurat-virus-corona-terhadap-tenaga-kerja-indonesia/22030> accessed on 20 May 2020.

⁵ Sigit Somadiyono, "Kajian Kriminologis Perbandingan Kejahatan yang Terjadi Sebelum Pandemi dan Saat Pandemi Covid-19," *Jurnal Belo* 6, 2 (2021), pp. 148-156; Mohammad Anwar, "Asimilasi dan Peningkatan Kriminalitas di Tengah Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar Pandemi Corona", *Adalah*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2020), pp. 101-106.

⁶ Jeanet Sinding Bentzen, "In Crisis, We Pray: Religiosity and the COVID-19 Pandemic," *The Virtual COVID-19 Seminar Series at University of Copenhagen* (May 2020).

⁷ Asfa Widiyanto, "Religion and Covid-19 in the Era of Post-Truth: The Case of Indonesia," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 18 (2020), pp. 1-12.

⁸ Suhadi, Zainal Abidin Bagir, Renata Arianingtyas, and Asnifati, *Pembatasan Hak Beragama di Masa Wabah Covid-19* (Yogyakarta: CRCS, 2020); Roedy Silitonga, "Respon Gereja atas Pandemi Coronavirus Disease 2019 dan Ibadah Rumah," *Manna Rafflesia* 6, 2 (2020), pp. 86 – 111.

there are people who oppose. There are also who can be categorized as in-between the two attitudes and take the middle step by trying to compromise according to their respective conditions. These attitudes are found not only at the national level but also at the local. To really get the picture of people's attitudes more accurately, observing reality at local realms is needed. As this paper tried to show the ways in which Muslims respond towards the restrictive regulations, practices and policy of mosques are good showcase.

Muslims in Indonesia are quite challenged by the so many regulations issued by government and or provisions and fatwa's issued by civil society organizations. Many of the requirements within the provisions seem to have touched a sensitive dimension of people's religiosities. The comfort in experiencing religion, which are performed communally in many rituals, seems to be disturbed or shaken.⁹ Tensions are then occurring between stakeholders with their religious interests and identities. This is where the pandemic has become a stage for negotiating religiosities. According to recent researches, adjustments in religious affairs during the pandemic are happening globally. Some following notes illustrated its scopes. First, the implementation of prayers during the pandemic has undergone changes or adjustments in several aspects.¹⁰ Religious provisions released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia,¹¹ the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI; Indonesian Ulama

⁹ Mass protests that had occurred in Pakistan as a reaction to the government's policy of banning congregational prayers in mosques can be a reflection of the sensitivity of this issue. Asif Shahzad, "God is with us': Many Muslims in Pakistan flout the coronavirus ban in mosques", *Reuters* <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-pakistan-congregat-idINKCN21V0T4>, accessed on 20 April 2020.

¹⁰ Muhammad Fuad Zain and Hasanudin, "The Impact of COVID-19 in the Procedure of Religious-Worship and Social Life, In Islamic View," *European Journal of Molecular & Clinical Medicine* 8, 3 (2021), pp. 272-278; Mehmet Ozalp, "How Coronavirus Challenges Muslims' Faith and Changes Their Lives", *The Conversation*, April 2, 2020; Nicholas Kuipers, Saiful Mujani, and Thomas Pepinsky, "Encouraging Indonesians to Pray from Home During the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (2020), pp. 1-12; Mohammad Syahrul RA, Yusuf Hamdika, and Sholahuddin Al-Fatih, "The Impact of COVID-19 Through the Lens of Islamic Law: An Indonesian Case," *Lentera Hukum* 7, 3 (2020), pp. 267-278; Monsurat Abdussalam Al Haqiqi, "COVID 19 and Its Challenge on Muslim Prayers, a Discussion in the Light of Maqashid asy-Syariah," *Syaikhuna* 11, 2 (2020), pp. 138-157.

¹¹ A circular letter number 03 of 2021 regarding guidance for worship of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr 1442 Hijriyah/2021.

Council),¹² and various Islamic organizations are official signifiers regarding this matter.¹³ Second, the role and involvement of civil society are noticeable in educating people to comply with those religious provisions in dealing with the pandemic.¹⁴ Third, there are publications of manuals by religious stakeholders that have contents of practical guidance on the practice of religious activities amid the pandemic.¹⁵ These existing studies help confirming the general influence of the outbreak on religious affair. However, research that specifically investigated how religiosities are negotiated amid the pandemic has not been carried out extensively. Meanwhile, for policy makers and public literacy, research-based information on this topic is imperative.¹⁶ This qualitative research¹⁷ was conducted to fill in as well as complement the shortcomings of existing studies related to the influence of Covid 19 on religion.

This study focuses on the diversity in negotiating religiosities amid the pandemic seen through Indonesian Muslims' religious experiences¹⁸ manifested in the form of direct participation in the implementation of Tarawih prayers (*ṣalat al-layl* or *al-tarāwīḥ*). The

¹² MUI released a fatwa number 14 of 2020 on organizing worship in situations of the outbreak Covid 19.

¹³ LDII released a circular letter number SUM-26/DPP LDII/III/2020 regarding responding to the Covid-19 outbreak and its impact on Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institutions. NU released a circular letter number 3953/C.I.034.04.3030 regarding Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr 1441 H. Muhammadiyah released circular letters number 02/EDR/I.0/E/2020 regarding guidance for worship in Covid 19 emergency conditions and number 03/EDR/I.0/E/2021 regarding guidance for worship in Ramadan 1442 H/2021 M amid the emergency conditions of Covid 19.

¹⁴ AD Kusumaningtyas, "Komunikasi Publik Ormas Keagamaan Islam terkait *Social Distancing* pada Masa Pandemi COVID-10 (Studi atas Sikap Resmi NU, Muhammadiyah, dan MUI)," *Muttaqien* 2, 1 (2021), pp. 21-47; Syafiq Hasyim, "Covid-19, Islamic Civil Society and State Capacity in Indonesia," *Perspective* 39 (2020).

¹⁵ Syahrullah Iskandar (ed.), *Fikih Pandemi: Beribadah di Masa Wabah* (Jakarta: NUO Publishing, 2020).

¹⁶ Che Mohamad CA, Shahar MA, Md Tahir MF, Syed Abd. Hamid SAK, "Muslims Responses to Pandemics: Lessons from the Best Generation," *IJUM Medical Journal Malaysia* 19, 2 (2020), pp. 21-26.

¹⁷ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches, Fourth Edition* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014); Sheila Keegan, *Qualitative Research: Good Decision Making Through Understanding People, Culture and Markets* (London: Kogan Page, 2009).

¹⁸ Wolff-Michael Roth, *First-Person Methods: Toward an Empirical Phenomenology of Experience* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012).

temporal scope of that living religious behavior took place during the month of Ramadan 1442 H, which coincides April 13 to May 12, 2021 M. The research itself was spatially conducted in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia. Tarawih was chosen as a research unit because of its high intensity which is massively carried out in congregation by Muslims (*ṣalat jamā'ah*) for the whole month of Ramadan. Tarawih here was operating as a showcase offering picture of the diversity among Indonesian Muslims in negotiating their religiosities amid the pandemic. It could serve as a smart hub enabling us to grasp interior as well as exterior dimensions of those religiosities.

Primary data were gathered from 33 mosques (*masjid/muṣalla*) in Surabaya through (1) direct observation of the researchers by going to the mosques during Tarawih; (2) direct interviews by the researchers with Tarawih participants or mosque administrators (*ta'mir*); and (3) a questionnaire targeting those who directly experienced the implementation of Tarawih done in congregation at mosques in Surabaya. This research used also (4) official documents of religious authorities, both the government (the Ministry of Religious Affairs) and Islamic organizations, which are directly related to the implementation of Tarawih during the pandemic.

Map of the Diversity in Negotiating Religiosities

The study has provided us with descriptions of the diversity among Indonesian Muslims in negotiating their religiosities amid the outbreak, how it happened, what the rationale playing, and what might imply upon contemporary religious life. The diversity has been mapped through the identification of some aspects of the implementation of Tarawih prayers. They varied in choosing patterns of performing Tarawih in congregation. Differences are noticeable from (1) the number of *rakaat* (2) the presence of Tarawih lectures (*tamṣiyah*), (3) the chanting of Salawat or the praise to the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him¹⁹ between every 2 *rakaat* of Tarawih after greetings; (4) the invocation (*du'ā*) led by Imam after Tarawih and Witr; (5) the jointly recitation of fasting intention led by Imam in the end of all rituals; (6) the Qunut (*qunūt fi al-witr*) in the mid of until the end of Ramadan; and (7) the compliance with health protocols in performing Tarawih. The first six can be traced to traditional differences among Indonesian

¹⁹ Imam Ghazali Said, "Saluting the Prophet: Cultural and Artistic Expression in Javanese Society," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 12, 1 (2018).

Muslims before the pandemic. While the latest is considered as a new phenomenon during the outbreak of Covid 19.

Table 1. Traditional variations in the practice of Tarawih

Variations	V.1	V.2	V.3	V.4	V.5
Total of <i>rakaat</i> (Tarawih + Witr)	23 (20+2+1)	11 (8+3)	11 (8+3)	11 (8+3)	Combination of 11 and 23 (8+12+2+1)
Pattern of doing Tarawih	Each 2 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	Each 2 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	Each 4 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	Each 2 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	Each 2 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings
Pattern of doing Witr	3 <i>rakaat</i> separated into 2 <i>rakaat</i> and 1 <i>rakaat</i> . Both are ended with greetings.	3 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	3 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	3 <i>rakaat</i> ended with greetings	3 <i>rakaat</i> separated into 2 <i>rakaat</i> and 1 <i>rakaat</i> . Both are ended with greetings.
Salawat led by Imam	Practicing	Not practicing	Not practicing	Practicing	Practicing
Invocation led by Imam ²⁰	Practicing	Not practicing	Not practicing	Practicing	Practicing
Jointly recitation of the fasting intention	Practicing	Not practicing	Not practicing	Practicing	Practicing
Qunut	Practicing	Not practicing	Not practicing	Practicing	Practicing
Tarawih lectures ²¹	Mostly not practicing	Practicing	Practicing	Mostly not practicing	Mostly not practicing

In conducting the tarawih, health protocols as required and or suggested within the regulations or fatwas were upheld variously by mosques in Surabaya. One important finding is that most of the mosques did comply with provisions released by religious authorities in

²⁰ In the mosques which do not practice Salawat, invocation, and recitation of fasting intention led by Imam leave them optionally to individuals of participants.

²¹ It might be done after the Isha prayer (*ṣalat 'Ishā'*) before Tarawih or after Tarawih before Witr.

addressing the pandemic. This compliance could manifest into several acts and or policies including furnishing sterilization chamber in front of the mosque, supplying hand sanitizers or a running water and soap for washing hands and appointing caretakers who checked the temperature of every person who would enter the mosque. In addition, those mosques also take precaution in order to promote and ensure social distancing by opening only 50% or less of the mosque doors for participants before Tarawih and open all the doors only after it. Some mosques also provide masks for free, prepare plastic wrappers that enabled participants to bring sandals or shoes into the mosque, and even install a glass partition in the face of the pulpit. The social distancing also is achieved by rearranging the formation of congregational prayer rows (*s. şaf*, pl. *şufûf*) to be spaced and avoiding handshake among participants as well as with Imam of Tarawih. Interestingly, even though tarawih is still performed, they annul a communal recitation (*tadârus*) of the Qur'an after Tarawih. Before pandemic, there is a tradition in some mosques that a group of the people (congregation) gather to recite the Qur'an interchangeably in a group. This so called *tadârus* is believed to help them consistent in reading the Qur'an and also even help improving their capacity. Due to the high risk of being too close between one and another, the tradition is pended.

Admittedly, not all mosques were supportive for those stipulations. Some took them fully in practice while some others conformed partially. Interestingly, there are mosques that required the wearing of masks during Tarawih. Those who did not comply will be reprimanded or even prohibited to join. Some others encouraged their use but still allowed those who disobeyed to participate. At the same time, there were also that indicating indifferent or even resistive attitudes. They seemed to free participants whether wearing masks or not. Fortunately, the resistive attitude is shown to that extent only. There has not yet found any mosque in Surabaya, so far, that officially prohibited participants from wearing masks in Tarawih.²² Nevertheless, there are indeed some Muslims who think that covering the face in prayer is not

²² There was an incident of rejection toward the implementation of health procedures at one of the mosques in Bekasi in which a participant was refrained from wearing masks in prayer. "Only in Masjid Al Amanah Bekasi, WHO, Virologists to World Scientists on Their Knees," <https://voi.id/en/news/48780/only-in-masjid-al-amanah-bekasi-who-virologists-to-world-scientists-on-their-knees>. accessed on 21 May 2020.

justified. This issue will be elaborated further in the next sub-discussion.

Another example for the diversity is also observable through the formation rearrangement in Tarawih. It is first related to the distance between the participants in the same row. Their space in some mosques was not less or more than 50 cm apart, while in the others was less than 50 cm, particularly in small mosques. In addition, there are also mosques in which participants of congregational prayers stucked to each other (stand very closely as prescribed in the normal era). Second is related to the formations taking certain distances between their participants. Variations could be seen from the patterns appearing between the rows. They might be shaped in a stucked, crossed, straight, or irregular patterns.

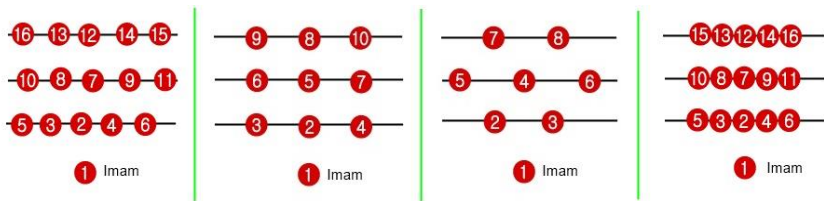


Figure 1. The illustration of various formations of Tarawih congregation. From L to R: irregular, straight, crossed, and stucked patterns

The diversity as displayed above, particularly beyond the traditional ones, is not merely enabling the study to locating the role of mosques in enforcing communal efforts to confront the pandemic. It is also giving an additional ground for claiming that religious negotiation amid the pandemic was evident. The variations are actually a materialization of how they had negotiated the on-going circumstances that challenging their religiosities.

The two patterns, irregular and stucked ones, seemed to be familiar practiced in many mosques in Indonesia long before the pandemic. While the two others, straight and crossed patterns, are definitely new arrangement appearing since the outbreak to follow the health protocols of physical distancing. Regarding the chosen pattern itself, *ta`mir* of the mosque Al-Hikmah Kebonsari and Takhobbar Ketintang, among research informants, admitted no official references for the choice. It was based on the discussions and independent decision taken by the mosque managements. However, they believed that the decision was necessary and religiously justified



Straight pattern at Al-Hikmah mosque, Kebonsari (May 5, 2021)



Crossed pattern at Takhobbar mosque, Ketintang (May 9, 2021)

Figure 2. Two different images of *şaf* patterns that newly appearing in the midst of pandemic

Rationale of the Diversity in Negotiating Religiosities

There are various reasons behind the diversity in negotiating religiosities. They include (1) the need for adjustment to the changing context or situation with reference to religious norms; (2) the need for adjustment to government policies as legitimated leaders that must be adhered to; (3) the inclination to comply with provisions released by affiliated religious authorities; and (4) the need for accommodating certain contextual-pragmatic demands related to the characteristics of communities' members and the institutional circumstances. The very reason to argue for choosing certain pattern is a belief that what they practiced normatively in accordance with Islamic teachings. They saw Islam justifying religious adjustments during the pandemic including in the practice of Tarawih. As long as it fulfills the fundamentals of prayer (*şhurūf wa arkan al-şalat*), its implementation is justified to adapting certain situations. For example, outside the pandemic, prayers are usually carried out by sticking between participants in all rows. During the pandemic, they are arranged to be distanced. Not only that, they are also not covering their faces with masks in prayer before the pandemic. Meanwhile, risk of the contagion through the air leads to the use of mask in the outbreak for prevention.²³

²³ Jeremy Howard et.al., "An evidence review of face masks against COVID-19," *PNAS* 26, 4 (2021), p. 118; Steffen E. Eikenberry et.al., "To mask or not to mask: Modeling the potential for face mask use by the general public to curtail the COVID-

In spite of this, it is noteworthy that some Muslims insisted to refuse any adjustments imposed through health protocols. They did so, likewise, with a strong feeling of being normatively correct. It is inseparable from the existence of religious references which textually indicate the command to connect the rows in prayer and also the prohibition not to wear a face-covering when praying.²⁴

It is also interesting to elaborate the dynamic of religious discussion regarding these matters. Different from the above views, some scholars view quite differently and believe it as not obligatory but optional (*sunnah*). They viewed the meaning of stucked between participants in a row does not have to be very close or clung (*taẓābum*). It just needs to be sufficiently close enough with indicator that a lamb is unable to pass through (*tarāshy*). In relation to this, loosening rows is not *ḥarām* or prohibited to do. It is just a light *makrūh* or not preferred or encouraged to do. Row clinginess is also not a condition for the validity of congregational prayers.²⁵ It is only a part of perfection or imperfection, not of being right or wrong in prayers. In short, it is

19 pandemic,” *Infectious Disease Modelling* 5 (2020), p. 293-308; Hiroshi Ueki et.al., “Effectiveness of Face Masks in Preventing Airborne Transmission of SARS-CoV-2,” *American Society of Microbiology* 21 (2020).

²⁴ The following hadith narrated by Abū Dāwūd is, for instance, mostly cited to refuse making spaces in a row of communal prayers.

أَقِيمُوا الصُّفُوفَ؛ حَازُوا بَيْنَ الْمَنَاكِبِ وَسُدُّوا الْخَلَلَ، وَلَا تَدْرُوا فُرَجَاتِ الشَّيَاطِينِ وَمَنْ وَصَلَ صَفًّا وَصَلَهُ اللَّهُ وَمَنْ قَطَعَ صَفًّا قَطَعَهُ اللَّهُ

“Straighten your rows. Align your shoulders. Close the gaps. Don't leave any gaps for the devil. Whoever connects a row, Allah will connect with him; and whoever breaks a row, Allah will cut him off.” (Hadith 666. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abi Dawud* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Ma'ārif, 2003), 120)

While another reference is often put forward to argue against mask-wearing in prayers.

أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ نَهَى عَنِ السِّدْلِ فِي الصَّلَاةِ وَأَنَّ يَغْطِيَ الرَّجُلُ فَاةَ

“The Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him forbade *al-sādl* (trailing garments) in prayer and forbade a person to cover his mouth.” (Hadith 643. Ibid., p. 117.)

²⁵ It is mentioned by the forum of Bahtsul Masail NU at Ma'had Aly Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Situbondo, East Java, as reported by Alhafiz Kurniawan and Husain, “Hukum Merapatkan Shaf pada Shalat Berjamaah di Masa Covid-19,” <https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/120666/hukum-merapatkan-shaf-pada-shalat-berjamaah-di-masa-covid-19>. Accessed on 3 July 2021.

basically permissible and does not fall in the category of being a violation in Islam.²⁶

The issue is also approachable using *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*. In short, with the existence of certain factors or conditions such as a pandemic, along with the negative risks or threads, the modification from the view used to be held is justified. According to *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*, the conduct is permissible in order to avoid fatal dangers.²⁷ The width of the distance could be “determined by custom and the local practice of the people” (*yarjī' fih lil-'urf namā jarat bibil-'adat*) with a distance one meter or more.²⁸ Religious justification also can be used to justify the wear of mask. Wearing masks or something that covers faces in prayer is also not *ḥarām* or invalidating the ritual. Even in the normal condition without pandemic, the conduct only falls to the category of *makrūh*. When a pandemic occurs, the principle of Islamic law that changes a legal status of thing that was originally *makrūh* to become permissible (*mubāḥ*) or even required, can be applied for the existence of legal reasons (*'illah*) to justify it.²⁹

Another reason that shapes the diversity, adjustments in conformity to government policy was widely stated. Here, the government represented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and some other ministries involved in dealing with the outbreak is still seen as a representative of the religiously legitimate leaders (*uli al-amr*) that must be obeyed. According to Ahl al-Sunnah tradition, which is the

²⁶ Syamsuddin. “Hukum Renggangkan Shaf Shalat Antisipasi Covid-19,” <https://pwmu.co/138513/03/19/hukum-renggangkan-shaf-shalat-antisipasi-covid-19/>. Accessed on 4 April 2020.

²⁷ Imam Syarbini, “Hukum Merenggangkan Shaf dalam Shalat Berjamaah Saat Pandemi Covid 19,” *Al-Adillah* 1, 1 (2021); Agus Nasir, “Social Distancing dalam Saf Salat Berjamaah: Perbandingan Ulama dalam Mazhab,” *Mazāhibuna* 2, 1 (2020), pp. 29-35; Sri Mulyani, “Sadd al-Dzari'at dan Korelasinya pada Permasalahan Covid-19: Shaf Distance,” *Syariah: Journal of Islamic Law* 2, 2 (2020); Eko Misbahuddin Hasibuan and Muhammad Yusram, “Hukum Salat Berjamaah di Masjid dengan Saf Terpisah Karena Wabah Covid-19,” *Bustanul Fuqaha* 1, 2 (2020), pp. 106-124; Ahmad Syahid, “Living Hadith in the Practice of Distancing the Line (Saff) in Congregational Prayers during Corona Pandemic,” *Jurnal Living Hadis* 5, 2 (2020), pp. 345-366.

²⁸ Dar al-Ifta al-Misriyyah, *Keeping a Distance between Worshippers during Prayers to Avoid Infection* (Fatwa number 15699 on 6 April 2020), available at <http://dar-alifta.org/Foreign/ViewFatwa.aspx?ID=15947>. Accessed on 7 August 2020.

²⁹ See MUI's fatwa number 24 of 2021 about the implementation of prayers during Ramadan and Syawal 1442 H; Dar al-Ifta al-Misriyyah, *Lūbs al-Kimamah fi al-Salāt* (Fatwa number 15664 on March 31, 2020).

dominant tradition among Indonesian Muslims, obedience to legitimate leaders in non-conflictual matters with the principles of religious teachings is obligatory. At this point, they view the policies taken by the government regarding the pandemic should be supported. *Ta'mir* of the mosque Al-Badar Dukuh Menanggal, near to the office of Muhammadiyah East Java Provincial Board, for instance, told the importance of this matter. In the time of pandemic in which people are encountering hardship and distress, the government and religious authorities must cooperate and support each other to maintain a conducive atmosphere. The policies related to the outbreak that have been issued are nothing but to be guidance and to ensure those objectives. All provisions were also be released after studies and considerations that were religiously justifiable. In addition, one of the interviewees, Akh. Mukarram, highlighted the need for Islamic organizations and their leaders to maintain and strengthen a mutual understanding among Muslims particularly in terms of the diversity of religious practices during the month of Ramadan in the midst of pandemic.³⁰

Affiliation to certain Islamic cultural tradition apparently matters in orientating mosques' preferences in negotiating religiosities. Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, seem to have religious authority in dictating certain patterns upon those who affiliate to them. It is known that mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia are in agreement and therefore support the government's policy which calls for making adaptive adjustments to the pandemic situation in carrying out their religious activities. In other words, in the context of facing the impact of the pandemic, the government is actually greatly helped by the presence of these Islamic organizations.³¹ They are also called to participate in educating and encouraging their communities to be more concerned about this issue; to support the government's efforts to limit and minimize the impact of the spread of Covid 19 in the community. Steps they take include strengthening mass obedience in complying with health protocols, including in the houses of worship and their rituals.

³⁰ Interview (May 8, 2021).

³¹ Nyong Eka Teguh Iman Santosa, "Resiliensi Beragama di Tengah Pandemi", in *Refleksi Kebangsaan di Masa Pandemi Covid-19* (Sidoarjo: UMSIDA Press, 2021), pp. 45-55.

However, this relationship is loosening in practice. Some mosques that belonged to certain Islamic organization did not conform to the official provisions of its affiliated organization, such as in distancing between participants of Tarawih. It is supported by field findings such as in the mosque Al-Michrob Sawahan, Al-Hidayah Genteng, Al-Hakim Gubeng (which are affiliated to NU), Al-Azhar Gubeng (affiliated to Muhammadiyah), and Bafaddhal Nyamplungan (affiliated to Al-Irsyad). Those mosques kept communal prayers without changing pre-pandemic practices wherein no distance made between participants of Tarawih. The similar phenomenon were also taking place in non-affiliated mosques. In example, the mosque Al-Ikhlâs Keputih that practiced the stucked pattern and the mosque Al-Muttaqien Kenjeran that implemented spaced *şaf* between participants of communal prayers.

A number of mosques in Surabaya stated that among their consideration in making religious adjustments was due to contextual-pragmatic needs. For example, a mosque combined the patterns of 11 and 23 *rakaat* of Tarawih to accommodate the diversity of Islamic cultural background, not only from one exclusive Islamic cultural tradition, brought by members of its congregation. Another mosque implemented the pattern of 11 *rakaat*, but also performed Salawat and supplication led by Imam of Tarawih which were commonly conducted by the mosques that followed the pattern of 23 *rakaat*. The reason underlined this choice was to avoid low participation in the congregational prayers. Here, they saw that people tend to attend and rigorously participate in Tarawih which costs a shorter duration of time rather than lengthier ones. Despite that, they still also accommodated Islamic cultural tradition that most of its members ascribed to and this is done for example by maintaining the practice of Salawat, communal invocation, and recitation of the intention of fasting together led by Imam of Tarawih. This could be found in the mosque Darul Hijrah Dukuh Kupang and Raudhatul Falah Ngagel. Both are affiliated to NU which is traditionally practicing 23 *rakaat* of Tarawih. But the two mosques did contrary to the usual practice of NU, they implemented the pattern of 11 *rakaat* which is commonly associated to Muhammadiyah. Nevertheless, both were maintaining the tradition of Salawat and supplication led by Imam of Tarawih in practice.

Contextual-pragmatic adjustment was also shown in the cancelation of Tarawih lectures during the outbreak. The researchers

found two reasons that might play behind this decision. First, it is purely to get physical distancing more effective in conformity with health protocols. Second, it could also be influenced by financial consideration in which the donations received by mosques relatively decreased amid the pandemic. The cut of some expenditure such as honorariums for preachers of Tarawih lectures might help to save their financial balance. Testimony of the mosque Takhobbar's *ta'mir* in Ketintang revealed this phenomenon. They informed that religious lectures within Tarawih are removed from the mosque's programs of Ramadan since the outbreak. It was claimed as a compliance act with religious provisions and health protocols issued by the authorities.

Implications of the Diversity in Negotiating Religiosities

The factual diversity has generated potential implications toward Indonesian Muslims' religious life, particularly in Surabaya. It could possibly threaten religious harmony³² if the existing differences are not managed properly. History has taught us much of this.³³ It can be abused to incite and amplify hatred such as intolerance among Muslims, disharmony between Islamic organizations, and indifference or even resistance toward government and religious authorities. Traditionally, differences as happening in Tarawih could lead to controversy or even conflicts among Indonesian Muslims.³⁴ Such differences deserves even more attention nowadays since post-truth and Islamophobia are getting strengthened. The phenomenon has contributed negatively to communal efforts in maintaining peace and tolerance within a very plural society like Indonesia.³⁵ Therefore, any potentials that could harm religious harmony must be put into

³² Thameem Ushama, "Islamophobia in India during the Covid-19 Crisis: A Surge of Stigmatization, Vilification and Murder," *Al-Shajarah: ISTAC Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 26, 1 (2021), pp. 71-98.

³³ Muhammad Efendi, Masriyah, and Selamat Riadi, "Islamic Contribution in the Covid-19 Pandemic from History," *Abjad: International Journal of Education* 5, 2 (2020), pp. 157-165.

³⁴ Nurma Ali Ridwan, "Pendekatan Sejarah Kajian Hadits-Hadits Tarawih," *Komunika* 6, 2 (2015).

³⁵ Zainuddin Syarif, Syafiq A. Mughni, and Abd Hannan, "Post-truth and Islamophobia narration in the contemporary Indonesian political constellation," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 10, 2 (2020), pp. 199-225.

caution.³⁶ The pandemic must be approached as a momentum of awakening³⁷ for constructing transformative religious awareness and supporting the development of a moderate and tolerant multicultural life.³⁸ Covid 19 has taught a very valuable lesson about it as well as contributed to strengthening our faith.³⁹

Potential disharmony does not emerge only among individual Muslims, but may also induce problems institutionally. It could be imminent when religious identities converging with political interests. The issue of blasphemy which addressed the figure of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, a Christian and Chinese-descent and the governor of Jakarta in 2017 is an example.⁴⁰ It actually also shows the fact that Islamic organizations in Indonesia do have different approaches.⁴¹ There is a typology of mass organizations that put forward politics of identity against other different elements of the nation. On the other hand, some other Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah persistently took an approach by placing a larger

³⁶ In the age of media social, young generation becomes more vulnerable toward radicalism. However, radicalized youth have an opportunity to free and deradicalize themselves from involving radical networks. Channeling them with moderatism is then necessary (Rahma Sugihartati, Bagong Suyanto, and Medhy Aginta Hidayat, "Channelization Strategies of Radicalism Among Muslim University Students in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, 2 (2020), p. 325; Mun'im Sirry, "Muslim Student Radicalism and Self -Deradicalization in Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 31, 2 (2020).

³⁷ Yuval Noah Harari said, "Every crisis is also an opportunity," <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2020-3/yuval-noah-harari-every-crisis-also-opportunity>.) "The World After Coronavirus" [https://www.ft.com/content/19d90308-6858-11-
ea-a3c9-1fe6fedcca75](https://www.ft.com/content/19d90308-6858-11-ea-a3c9-1fe6fedcca75)

³⁸ Jaco Beyers, "A Historical Overview of the Study of the Theology of Religions," *Herv. Teol. Stud.* 73, 6 (2017).

³⁹ Pew Research Center, "What Lessons Do Americans See for Humanity in the Pandemic?," <https://www.pewforum.org/essay/what-lessons-do-americans-see-for-humanity-in-the-pandemic/> accessed on 8 October 2020; "Advanced Economies Say COVID-19 Has Strengthened Religious Faith," [https://www.pewforum.org/2021/-
01/27/more-americans-than-people-in-other-advanced-economies-say-covid-19-has-
strengthened-religious-faith/](https://www.pewforum.org/2021/-01/27/more-americans-than-people-in-other-advanced-economies-say-covid-19-has-strengthened-religious-faith/).

⁴⁰ Saiful Mujani, "Religion and Voting Behavior: Evidence from the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election," *Al-Jami'ab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, 2 (2020), pp. 419-450.

⁴¹ Wahyudi Akmaliah, "When Islamism and Pop Culture Meet: A Political Framing of the Movie *212: The Power of Love*," *Studia Islamika* 27, 1 (2020), p. 11.

interest, namely the integrity and unity of the nation, in order to address this issue.⁴²

Indonesian government has endeavored to deal with the pandemic, but the results might not meet public's expectations. Up to date, there are still lots of dissatisfaction among people toward the ways of the government in handling Covid 19. Some policies have been considered entailing disadvantages rather than being useful.⁴³ Several studies related to the level of public trust in the government in dealing with the pandemic show an inconclusive level in general. Specifically, the figure among civil servants or *Aparatur Sipil Negara* (ASN) and politicians is still quite high.⁴⁴ Among the factors that cause low public trust is the view of inconsistency and weak coordination between government agencies. In addition, there is an increasing public anxiety over the lack of people in complying health protocols.⁴⁵

People of Surabaya themselves indicated that their health behavior is actually quite good.⁴⁶ However, socio-economic conditions in general have a significant impact on the low rate of risk perception. In addition, people's attitudes toward Covid tests also tend to be low. This kind of situation, of course, still opens up opportunities for violations or indifference over provisions issued by the government. The cause is a low public trust. This reality is certainly interesting to observe that apart from the literacy level of the local community, socio-cultural factors as well as religious reasons cannot be ignored.⁴⁷

⁴² Syamsul Huda, "The Local Construction of Religious Blasphemy in East Java," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, 1 (2019), pp. 96-114.

⁴³ Rosidin, Fenty Andriani, and Aprilya Fitriani, "Maqasid Shari'ah –Based Multidimensional Criticism toward the Implementation of Indonesian Pre-Employment Card (Kartu Prakerja) Program Amidst the Covid-19 Pandemic," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 11, 1 (2021), pp. 375-395.

⁴⁴ Muslim Mufti, Asep A. Sahid Gatara, Astri Afrilia, and Rina Mutiarawati, "Analisis Pengukuran Tingkat Kepercayaan Publik Terhadap Pemerintah: Kekuatan bagi Penanganan Covid-19 Berbasis Masyarakat," http://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/31704/1/Kel-%209_FISIP_KTT%202020_2_OK.pdf

⁴⁵ Nanang Indra Kurniawan, Wegik Prasetyo, Warih A. Pamungkas, Vendi Ardianto, and Miftah Farid, *Policy Brief: Kepercayaan Publik Terhadap Pemerintah dalam Penanganan Covid-19* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2020).

⁴⁶ "Survei Persepsi Resiko Covid19: Surabaya," <https://laporcovid19.org/post/persepsi-risiko-surabaya>.

⁴⁷ Sukmawani Bela Pertiwi, "Why do people still reject COVID-19 vaccines in Indonesia? We need to solve structural problems behind the anti-vaccine movement,"

Negotiating Religiosities: Between Acceptance, Resistance and Transformation

The negotiations shown by some mosques in Surabaya in regards to regulations and their religious practices were manifesting through various efforts. These adjustments were made by leaning toward some references as justifying reasons.⁴⁸ From this process of negotiating religiosities, the response of Indonesian Muslims toward new normality can be described as a process that might involve the states of acceptance, resistance, and transformation.

Acceptance vividly appeared in their efforts to do conformity with religious provisions issued by the government as well as affiliated Islamic organizations. They adapted with a changing context and perceived compliance with health protocols amid the pandemic did not contradict Islamic teachings but encouraged and truly justified. This kinds of attitude and action are considered as double truths: religion and social legitimacy. The ways of acceptance might be appeared into fully or partially supportive attitudes. *Resistance* emerged through the attitudes of indifference from or rejection of adjustments as regulated by religious authorities. They, for example, ignored to wear masks or refused to do physical distancing between participants in a row of congregational prayers like Tarawih.

Such attitude however is a representation of a minority of people which is certainly dissenting from the new normal social order.⁴⁹ The

<https://theconversation.com/why-do-people-still-reject-covid-19-vaccines-in-indonesia-we-need-to-solve-structural-problems-behind-the-anti-vaccine-movement-154568>.

⁴⁸ In Gordon W. Allport's terms, there are two motives behind religious behavior. The intrinsic orientation moves someone to live based on religion, while the extrinsic to utilize religion as likely 'reinforcement' in the Skinnerian perspective. The third motive added by C. Daniel Batson is to seek knowledge and answer to existential questions in life (Sekar Ayu Aryani, "Orientation of Religiosity and Radicalism: The Dynamic of an Ex-Terrorist's Religiosity", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 10, 2 (2020), pp. 297-321.

⁴⁹ The phenomenon of refusal or reluctance to comply with health protocols does not only occur in Indonesia. In other countries similar 'minority of people' are also found with various reasons behind it such as 'medical issues', 'disliking emotions', 'distorting the science', and 'personal freedom' (Jonathan Jarry, "Why Some People Choose Not to Wear a Mask", *the OSS Weekly Newsletter*, 3 Sep 2020, <https://www.mcgill.ca/oss/-/article/covid-19-health/why-some-people-choose-not-wear-mask>). Another reason that infused the lack of trust, including of 'a vocal minority' among Muslims, to support the curbing efforts of Covid-19 spread was conspiracy theories. Zuleyha

mainstream of Muslim communities in Indonesia, particularly in Surabaya, do not oppose health protocols issued by the government as well as religious authorities. From 33 mosques in Surabaya which were observed, there were only 6 mosques that continued the practice of communal prayers without physical distancing and provide flexibility to participants to wear masks or not. Furthermore, no single Islamic organization in Surabaya that officially did not support the implementation of religious provisions related to the pandemic.

Transformation might be relevant attributed to those who did adaptability as a factual consequence of the outbreak. Transformation also denoted to the development of religious consciousness that embraced the diversity among people as blessings. Covid 19 has made them being more aware with others and their environment. Their religiosities gradually improved to welcome diversities while at the same time being faithfully committed to maintain their traditions. The ways in which some mosques practice a combinative pattern of 11 and 23 *rakaat* in Tarawih is one big example. In addition, mosques also chose to conduct the 11 *rakaat* pattern while still performing Salawat and supplication led by Imam of Tarawih. All these were concrete transformative actions that approached plurality with positive manner.⁵⁰

This phenomenon of religious negotiation can actually be read as a struggle between different logics of religion.⁵¹ The common thread that can explain this occurrence is the stance toward the contributions of science in deepening religious knowledge and maturing religious attitudes. A closed attitude toward science will tend to make a person reactive and less adaptive to changes, especially those that are disruptive. On the other hand, an open attitude toward science will

Keskin, "Why Some Muslims Embrace Conspiracy Theories about Coronavirus", *ABC Religion & Ethics*, 30 Sep 2020, <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/muslims-coronavirus-and-conspiracy-theories/12716984>.

⁵⁰ M. Amin Abdullah described sensitivity and ability to accommodate the presence of different others as "an intersubjective pattern of religiosity". See M. Amin Abdullah, "The Intersubjective Type of Religiosity: Theoretical Framework and Methodological Construction for Developing Human Sciences in a Progressive Muslim Perspective," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58, 1 (2020), pp. 63-102.

⁵¹ M. Amin Abdullah distinguished between 'the logic of religion' (*logika agama*) and 'the logic of science' (*logika sains*) in describing this phenomenon. M. Amin Abdullah, *Multidisiplin, Interdisiplin, & Transdisiplin: Metode Studi Agama & Studi Islam di Era Kontemporer* (Yogyakarta: IB Pustaka, 2020), p. 313.

help a person to be responsive and adaptable to various changes. Moreover, in Islam, the conception of religion is not at odds with or even hostile to science. Religious understanding and action should not be anti-science. In the context of the current pandemic, ignoring or rejecting the provisions issued by religious authorities can actually be perceived as anti-scientific attitudes and actions.

The phenomenon also can be analyzed using Claude Lévi-Strauss' structuralism and Talcott Parsons' functionalism. The primary data in this study are phenomenological expressions that are captured through verbal and physical intentional behaviors and practices related to Tarawih. Field facts are seen as the result of subjective and intersubjective constructions that can be distilled into meanings. Through interpretation, the texture of experiences or the epistemic structures behind an event, here is the Tarawih prayer, are explored to find their rationality and projective implications. This framework of understanding, theoretically, is what Lévi-Strauss' structuralism could operate within. It does not merely identify appearances or expressions but goes beyond to capture and decipher inter-connected elements behind them.⁵² This 'order of orders' model does not, said Lévi-Strauss, "postulate a kind of pre-existent harmony between the different levels of structure. They may be—and often are—completely contradictory, but the modes of contradiction all belong to the same type."⁵³

The varied patterns in performing Tarawih in Surabaya have disclosed structures of certain religious epistemes in the theoretical framework of Lévi-Strauss. There are at least three key concepts that can be applied to explore the meanings of the diversity. First, *the surface structure*, namely the Tarawih prayers that are performed, experienced, and observed. Second, *the deep structure*, namely the understanding of the practice of Tarawih prayers that are judged or believed to be correct or true during the pandemic. From this structure, the reasons behind the practice of praying are sought as well as the basis for normative and ethical behavior related to. Third, *innate structuring capacity* or *innate capacity* that gives shape to a pattern of religious understanding and behavior or religious practice.⁵⁴

⁵² Robert Deliége, *Lévi-Strauss Today: An Introduction to Structural Anthropology*, trans. Nora Scott (Oxford & NY: Berg, 2004), p. 32.

⁵³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (NY: Basic Books, 1963), p. 333.

⁵⁴ These three concepts of structures were borrowed by Kuntowijoyo in developing his works on prophetic or Islamic paradigm epistemology as transcendental

The differences in the number of *rakaat*, the presence of lectures, the chanting of Salawat, the Imam-led invocation, the use of masks, and the rearrangement of rows of congregational prayers in accordance to health protocols, could be read as a representation of *the surface structure* of a particular religious understanding. Analysis on the deeper layer then shows that each of the existing variations is also supported by certain argumentative structure serving as the basis for its justification. The group that viewed wearing a mask or being spaced in rows of congregational prayers as *makrūh* tend to reject it. On the other hand, the groups who think that this pandemic situation considered as an emergency are welcoming the adjustment as permissible or even necessary. Furthermore, this was religiously justifiable as correct in accordance to religious principles. It is *the deep structure* that provided them with the sense of intellectually and ethically having a sturdy basis. Considering the implementation of the law that imposes the principle: “Do not endanger yourself and others!” (*lā darar wa lā dirār*). Henceforth, we might move on to examine *the innate structuring capacity* that shaped that epistemic variation. It would lead to the Islamic faith that dictating Muslims to be open minded for differences in interpreting religious teachings.⁵⁵ Consequently, there is always a diversity of religious understanding and experiences, even though the normative basis used to uphold is actually the same.

In addition to the epistemic structure, the phenomenon could also be approached by using Parsonian AGIL analysis which includes *Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration, and Latency*.⁵⁶ Within this framework, Muslims experienced their religion as something living and attached to their daily lives. It made their religious life inseparable from the aspects of surrounding relations and interactions. It indicated that religious comprehension and practices were not sterile from social,

structuralism. Kuntowijoyo, *Islam sebagai Ilmu: Epistemologi, Metodologi, dan Etika* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2007), pp. 32-34. See also Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, *Paradigma Profetik Islam: Epistemologi, Etos, dan Model* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2016), pp. 7-10.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Mushtaq and Muhammad Riaz Mahmood, "Governing Diversity: Reflections on the Doctrine and Tradition of Religious Accommodation in Islam," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 10, 2 (2020), pp. 191-205.

⁵⁶ Uta Gerhardt, *The Social Thought of Talcott Parsons: Methodology and American Ethos* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 127-131; Stephen P. Savage, *The Theories of Talcott Parsons: The Social Relations of Action* (London: Macmillan Press, 1981), p. 150.

political, economic, cultural, or theological influences.⁵⁷ For Talcott Parsons, “*acts do not occur singly and discretely, they are organized in systems.*”⁵⁸

The element of *adaptation* was certainly carried out by a Muslim person or group in accordance to their understanding, preferences, or definition of self-identity. It could explain the nature of relationship between the adjustment patterns chosen by certain mosques. Likewise, the element of goal attainment is in play here. Religious authorities released provisions concerning how Muslims should perform their religiosities amid the pandemic had to be driven by certain objectives to attain. Religious provisions about Covid 19 then could be conceived as an instrument constructed to function in favors of their designers.

The element of *integration* emphasized on how parts of certain function could operate orderly and inter-connectedly. New components such as religious provisions in the midst of the pandemic were absorbed and incorporated as a whole with existing ones. The new things here might include following a recommendation to pray at home instead of in the houses of worship; reducing the quota or number of participants allowed to attend congregational prayers; resetting the distance between participants in a row of communal prayers; complying with health protocols prior to or during prayers such as taking hand sanitizer and wearing a mask; and cancelling other religious activities that invite a crowd of mass. A step to integrate could also manifest in efforts taken by certain mosques to connect with a larger framework such as in the context of religious cultural tradition with affiliated Islamic organizations or in the context of national interests through compliance to the government’s policies.

Latency or *pattern maintenance* that sustained and refreshed motivation for action in this research could be identified through the role played by social institutions such as mosques in Surabaya and affiliated Islamic organizations; cultural institutions such as religious cultural identities in which someone, for example, identified her/himself as NU or Muhammadiyah; and political institutions also such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs that representing the legitimate government. Those institutions contributed in giving and shaping people on certain patterns in developing their religiosities.

⁵⁷ The way Functionalism put everyday practices (that each of them whose functional ‘value’) within a bigger picture of life is like a common ground wherein Structuralism is also functioning. John Sturrock, *Structuralism* (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), p. 54.

⁵⁸ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 7.

Overall, this study has provided a deeper understanding of why Indonesian Muslims seemed to be disunited in negotiating their religiosities amid the Covid 19 pandemic. The research has not only disclosed aspects of observable differences, but also the reasons that developed the justifying framework. The religious negotiation apparently functioned under influences of many factors that might open possibilities for acceptance or politics of recognition and accommodation, resistance or politics of disagreement, and transformation or politics of change.

Conclusion

The outbreak of Covid 19 has affected religion. It challenged religious communities to cope with a shifting context. In response, Indonesian Muslims have negotiated their religiosities with new provisions released by religious authorities that required compliance with health protocols. The results were various. They included acceptance, resistance, and also transformation. Many factors such as social, political, economic, and cultural considerations influenced this diversity. Somehow the tension between logics of religion is taking part in the development of religiosities in which attitude toward scientific contributions. Religious negotiation amid the pandemic, furthermore, has affirmed flexibility and adaptability of Islam in dealing with historical dynamics. Here, the nature of faith that welcome plurality in interpretation played its role. Its innate capacity had ability to shape and reshape religious understanding and action according to ever-changing circumstances.

Results of this research including the map of diversity in negotiating religiosities and their underlying argumentative structures can contribute to various scientific disciplines and intellectual discourses particularly related to religious studies or Islamic studies. Nonetheless, this research was conducted with certain limitations. Its data sources were taken in relatively a small-scale covered areas and numbers of informants, at 33 mosques in Surabaya, East Java. It is then plausible that there are bigger variations or subtler diversity among Indonesian Muslims in negotiating religiosities than this research can cover. Therefore, further studies and collaborations on this topic are always welcome to do. []

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