
THE CONTROVERSY OF MUSLIM WORSHIP IN POST-PANDEMIC

CONTROVERSI PERIBADATAN KAUM MUSLIM PASCA PANDEMI

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Abstract

After the Covid-19 pandemic, the worship activities of Muslims have given rise to various controversies in the context of their principles, attitudes, and worship relations. In addition to explaining the controversies of Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic, this study also analyzes the factors and implications of this phenomenon. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Data was collected through direct observation and interviews with Muslims who carried out the five-time obligatory worship activities in the congregation at the mosque after the Covid-19 pandemic. The analysis in this study was carried out by reducing, describing, and inductively interpreting the data. The findings in this study show that post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversies have not only appeared in the form of regulations, fiqh, and worship norms. This context is influenced by the experience, knowledge, and meaning of Muslims, which has implications for the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship in a more personal and subjective direction after the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Controversy; Worship; Muslims; and Post-Covid-19 pandemic

Abstrak

Aktivitas peribadatan kaum Muslim paska pandemi Covid-19 tidak sedikit memunculkan pelbagai kontroversi dalam konteks prinsip, sikap, dan pola-relasi peribadatannya. Studi ini selain menjelaskan bentuk kontroversi peribadatan kaum Muslim paska pandemi Covid-19, juga menganalisis faktor dan implikasi dari fenomena tersebut. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui porses observasi dan wawancara secara langsung dengan kaum Muslim yang aktif menunaikan aktivitas ibadah wajib lima waktu secara berjemaah di masjid paska pandemi Covid-19. Analisis dalam studi ini dilakukan dengan cara mereduksi, mendeskripsikan, dan menginterpretasikan data secara induktif. Temuan dalam studi ini menunjukkan bahwa kontroversi peribadatan paska pandemi Covid-19, tidak sedikit muncul dalam bentuk regulasi, fiqh, dan norma-norma peribadatan. Konteks tersebut dipengaruhi oleh faktor pengalaman, pengetahuan, dan pemaknaan kaum Muslim, yang berimplikasi pada prinsip, sikap, dan pola-relasi peribadatan ke arah yang lebih personal dan subyektif paska pandemi Covid-19.

Kata Kunci: Kontroversi; Peribadatan; Kaum Muslim; dan Paska pandemi Covid-19

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INTRODUCTION

After the Covid-19 pandemic, the worship activities of Muslims have given rise to various controversies. This controversy has dominantly shaped Muslim values, norms, and worship practices which have become increasingly complex after the Covid-19 pandemic (Nadiyah et al., 2022; Halim dan Hosen, 2021; Tang, 2021). Halim dan Hosen (2021) further said that the worship controversy had brought worship patterns and practices to an increasingly dilemmatic direction; this context is an implication of the policies set by the authorities during the Covid-19 pandemic. Considering that the worship controversy has raised the dilemma of Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic (Halim dan Hosen, 2021), a study that explains and analyzes the forms, factors, and implications of the Muslim worship controversy after the Covid-19 pandemic is a very important study for done. This context is also emphasized by Nyanda (2021) that Muslim worship activities are a practice that is very important to explain in order to reflect on their knowledge and experience of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic.

The controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic is a cultural phenomenon that is very important to reflection. However, studies that discuss post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities only focus on three aspects, namely; First, studies that discuss changes in worship practices after the Covid-19 pandemic 19 (Halim dan Hosen, 2021; Masrurroh et al.,

2021; Syarif dan Hannan, 2021); Second, studies discussing worship adaptation in the new normal era (Maikomo et al., 2021; Wuryaningrat et al., 2021; Arifin dan Baharun, 2021); and Third, studies that discuss post-Covid-19 pandemic rules and recommendations for worship (Al Maliki et al., 2021; Subki, 2021; Piwko, 2021). From the studies conducted, it can be seen that Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic are very complex practices in transformation, adaptation, and regulation. Therefore, a study that discusses post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities is very important (McFadden, 2022) to reflect on the dynamics of Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic.

The controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic often leads to changes in Muslim principles, attitudes, and worship patterns in an increasingly subjective direction. However, studies conducted on Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic only focus on the context of transformation, adaptation, and regulation. Considering that Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic are very complex practices, according to McFadden (2022), this phenomenon is a very important context to be explained comprehensively, especially in reflecting on the principles, attitudes, and patterns of post-pandemic Muslim worship relations post-Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, this study, in addition to responding to the

shortcomings of the studies that have been conducted regarding Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic, also explains and reflects on the forms, factors, and implications of the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy on principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship of Muslims in a comprehensive manner.

The post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy has dominantly influenced Muslim principles, attitudes, and worship patterns in a more subjective direction. Therefore, to base the analysis on this phenomenon, this study focuses on three questions; *First*, what is the shape of the controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic?; *Second*, what factors led to the controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic?; and *Third*, what are the implications of the post-Covid-19 worship controversy for Muslim principles, attitudes, and worship practices? In line with this question, this study is also based on the argument that Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic have given rise to various controversies. The controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic also reflects that the principles, attitudes, and patterns of Muslim worship can never return to normal even though they have entered the new normal era.

Literatur Review

Controversy is interpreted as a contradictory action, where an attitude or action shown by an individual or group is contrary to the

values they believe in (Lindsey dan Steiner, 2016). This controversy can be seen in law enforcement, distribution, and fulfilment of rights (Kasman Bakry et al., 2021) and in determining religious fatwas (Lever, 2019). This context indicates that controversy can occur in several aspects with various social, cultural, and religious consequences (Rohmaniah et al., 2020). In line with that, Tahir dan Triantini (2017) also said that one form of controversy common in society is managing and applying religious values. Controversy over worship can be seen through contradictory discourses and worship practices due to the perceptions of individuals and society who are still conservative in responding to social change, thus giving rise to an attitude of resistance in the implementation of worship as it happened after the Covid-19 pandemics (Ingram, 2015).

Controversy is a difference in perspectives and opinions that often occurs between individuals and other individuals (Tarka, 2018) or differences in perspectives between community groups and organizations (Hussenot, 2014). Controversy is also interpreted as a contradiction, conflict, debate, and resistance to a problem, often creating tendencies and triggering conflict. Devrièsère (2020) said that controversy would have a destructive impact and trigger conflict if it is not resolved because it influences social relations and interactions. In this context, the roots of controversy are usually based on differences in perspectives in understanding data or information

available in society (Nguyen & Catalan-Matamoros, 2020). Data or information triggers differences in perspectives and authentic traits to generate high curiosity and stimulate different points of view on a matter being debated. Usually, this will be based on sociocultural, regional, belief, or political values (Lintner, 2018). Therefore, controversies usually occur in various matters, such as religion and (Sahoo et al., 2020).

Worship is an activity that can unite Muslims with their God, accompanied by prayers; worship is a necessary form, as is prayer worship practised by Muslims (Osama dan Malik, 2019; Ringmar, 2019). Chamsi-Pasha dan Chamsi-Pasha (2021) further say that worship activity is a commitment by Muslims to manifest their religious values as a form of concrete human devotion to their God (Achour et al., 2021). For Muslims, worship activities such as prayer are a service in a form and manner that refers to the teachings conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Nazish and Kalra, 2018). Apart from being a very important thing, prayer is also one of the most fundamental obligations in the religious life of Muslims because prayer is believed to be able to create a state of homeostasis for Muslims and can maintain spiritual and mental health in times of crisis and after a crisis period (Mahmood, 2001).

Worship activities for Muslims begin and end with prayers oriented toward all Muslim activities. In practice, Achour et al (2021)

said several conditions must be met in carrying out prayer services according to the time determined by the changing movements of the sun. Mauludi (2020) also said that worship activities such as prayer are embedded in the hearts of Muslims, and are a symbol of piety, so leaving prayer is also believed to have negative consequences. In other words, prayer services can strengthen the spiritual integration of Muslims with their God (Chen et al., 2021). In the Muslim community, apart from being the second pillar of Islam, worship activities such as prayer are also the most essential and fundamental practice that Muslims must observe as a form of obedience (Koubaa et al., 2020; Mahmood, 2001). Williamson (2018) further said that although prayer is a mandatory worship of the five pillars of Islam, most of these practices often need to be addressed under certain circumstances.

After the Covid-19 pandemic was marked by the end of the emergency response situation and conditions known as the new normal (Muhyiddin, 2020), Brouder et al. (2020) further said that the post-Covid-19 pandemic could also be seen through the policy landscape adopted by the authorities in the process of restoring economic, social, and religious activities. In this context, the post-Covid-19 pandemic has also been shown by religious and social practices in public spaces, which during the Covid-19 pandemic were not uncommon in private spaces (Bonacini et al., 2021). In line with that, in Yang's view (2020) said that the post-Covid-19 pandemic is often marked by the return to

normal activities and social mobility of society; the cycle of the Covid-19 pandemic period will be followed by the post-Covid-19 pandemic period or what is known as a continuum, related to the present and the future. In other words, the post-Covid-19 pandemic is transforming people's activities and mobility towards a new normal (Buheji dan Buheji, 2020).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study was conducted when worship activities began to be practised in congregations at the mosque after entering the post-Covid-19 pandemic era. However, post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities have raised controversies in practice and ideology. Accordingly, the worship controversy was chosen as the object and focus of discussion in this study based on three considerations, namely; *First*, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy is a central issue that has not been comprehensively considered; *Second*, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy is a contextual practice, so it has a very important meaning to reflect on as a lesson learned. *Third*, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy has also had implications for the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship of Muslims more subjectively. These three reasons form the basis of this study to choose the controversy over Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic as the object and focus of discussion.

In the post-Covid-19 pandemic, several

countries have experienced unique decision-making challenges to maintain changing values and norms during the Covid-19 pandemic (Tria, 2020). Therefore, several policies have accommodated socio-religious-based interests as a force in making decisions in the post-Covid-19 pandemic (Naimi & Amini, 2021). This context can be seen in the worship policies in Indonesia, which still emphasize the rules enforced during the Covid-19 pandemic before vaccination was carried out evenly (Pragholapati, 2020). In line with that, Shah et al (2021) also said that the post-pandemic Covi-19 had introduced the idea of a new normal in society's social and religious life, both ideologically and practically. However, understanding this context through effective communication can assist the government in conveying the right messages to increase compliance in the post-Covid-19 pandemic (Rahmanti et al., 2021).

This study was conducted on Muslims at the Kotagede Mataram Gede Mosque, Yogyakarta, Central Java, representing the characteristics of Muslims in various places in Java and even Indonesia. These Muslim worship activities are generally practised following their experience and contextual knowledge passed down from generation to generation. However, the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship often change from static to more dynamic so that in manifesting their values, Muslims do not in the least show a form of controversy from their collective experience and knowledge after the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, the

worship controversy was chosen as the object or foundation of this study to explain and reflect on Muslims' principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic in religious and cultural discourse.

This study is a descriptive qualitative study that relies on primary and secondary data. The primary data in this study were obtained through a structured and unstructured interview process with congregations who actively practice the five daily prayers in the congregation at the mosque after the Covid-19 pandemic using the Indonesian language. Accordingly, the structure of the interview questions focused on three dimensions, namely; *First*, the dimension of knowledge and experience of Muslim worship during the Covid-19 pandemic; *Second*, the values and norms of worship practised by Muslims after the Covid-19 pandemic; and *Third*, the dimensions and attitudes of worship practised by Muslims after the Covid-19 pandemic. These interviews resulted in three dominant classifications regarding forms, factors, and implicit controversies of Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic as important findings in this study. In line with that, this study also uses secondary data collected through relevant books, online news, and journal articles.

The data analysis process in this study went through three stages, as previously done by Fernando et al. (2023) including; *First*, data reduction, which is a process carried out to organize data into a more systematic form; *Second*, displaying data, which is a process

carried out to describe research data in the form of tables containing excerpts from interview results which have been translated into English; *Third*, verifying data is the process of concluding data based on the classification of the data that has been collected. In the three processes, the data that has been collected is analyzed inductively and then described as a basis for interpreting the data. The stages of analysis and analytical techniques used to make it possible to obtain a conclusion regarding the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship of Muslims after the Covid-19 pandemic.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings in this study, in addition to showing the controversial form of Muslim worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic, also explain the factors and implications of this phenomenon for the increasingly subjective principles, attitudes, and patterns of Muslim worship relations after the Covid-19 pandemic. This context can be seen through the three findings and discussion below.

Post-Covid-19 Pandemic Worship Controversy Forms

Table 1
Regulations and recommendations for worship after the Covid-19 pandemic

Forms	Statement
Regulation	Now, after the pandemic, praying at the mosque by regulations no longer prohibits congregations from performing their prayers at the mosque. You can pray in a congregation and pray alone in this mosque. However, there are still

	<p>regulations that are enforced here to order the congregation to remain vigilant, bring their worship equipment, not stay in the mosque for too long, wear masks, and pray; they are still asked to keep their distance, and for those who feel unwell or have an abnormal body temperature, the mosque management it was forbidden to worship in the mosque even though this is no longer a pandemic (Si, 57 years old).</p>
Norm	<p>After this pandemic, the spirit of congregational worship at the mosque has decreased because some people think that praying at home after a pandemic is also an excellent norm to protect oneself and prevent another pandemic from occurring. Because for them, the norms of worship during the pandemic still have to be practised, even though it has been said that their pandemic is none, there are still concerns (Si, 57 years old).</p>
Fiqh	<p>After the pandemic, this mosque announced prayer services as much as possible. However, it did not do it as recommended, according to Fiqh. We are as much as possible to invite worshipers to keep their row distance; if they do not want to have a few meetings, that are fine, but in principle, the jurisprudence of worship as it should be cannot be implemented at this time, even though the government has allowed it. However, we are still worried because we do not know whether the pandemic still exists (Sb, 63 years old).</p>

Source: Interview with informants, 2022.

Controversies about worship after the Covid-19 pandemic emerged in the realm of Muslims' regulations, norms, fiqh, or worship practices during the post-Covid-19 pandemic. Based on the display of **Table 1**, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy can be seen through the

application of worship principles and standardization in determining the number of congregations, ways of worship, interaction, and communication between congregations before and after performing worship at mosques after the Covid-19 pandemic. The term said by the informant with the initials Si (57 years old) says:

"Even though the pandemic period has ended, there are still recommendations and rules for worship that are enforced as during the Covid-19 pandemic, such as wearing masks, bringing your prayer equipment, and even keeping the distance between rows and rows. However, this activity was not fully acceptable to the congregation and did not raise pro and contra attitudes. So worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic were often practised following what the congregation believes in"

Post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities often give rise to various kinds of controversies in their recommendations and rules of practice. The worship controversy also indicates that regulations, norms, and the jurisprudence of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic cannot be accepted or returned to the way before the Covid-19 pandemic. This context has led to a dilemma experienced by Muslims in practising their worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic. The continuity of regulations, norms, and religious jurisprudence has dominantly influenced Muslims' principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship in an increasingly problematic direction that often leads to controversy. In line with that, in Tarka's view (2018), the controversies experienced by the community often trigger

the emergence of a dilemma regarding principles, attitudes, and patterns of social-religious activity relations, especially in the adaptation process to the application of specific rules and recommendations. Therefore, the controversy over post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities has dominantly influenced Muslims' principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship in a more dilemmatic direction.

The dilemma of worship activities after the Covid-19 pandemic is also not least caused by the characteristics of regulations, norms, and Fiqh, worship which is often top-down and implemented coercively by social authorities. In other words, the controversy over post-Covid-19 pandemic worship activities is a continuation of the implications of recommendations for regulation and recommendations set by social authorities during the Covid-19 pandemic. The application of rules and recommendations for worship activities during the Covid-19 pandemic is not infrequently implemented using intervention and intimidation through all the power possessed by the authorities. In addition to ignoring the interests of Muslims, recommendations and rules of worship during the Covid-19 pandemic have received a lot of rejection from Muslims in practice and ideology. Therefore, the continuity of the rules and recommendations for worship during the Covid-19 pandemic underlie the emergence of post-Covid-19 worship controversies. Even though the rules and recommendations for worship during the Covid-19 pandemic were adaptive, in

Jasanoff's view (2019), they were considered contradictory after the Covid-19 pandemic.

Factors in the post-Covid-19 Pandemic Worship Controversy

Table 2
References to Muslim worship after the Covid-19 pandemic

Factors	Statement
Experience	When the Covid-19 pandemic ends, we will return to worship as ordered by the previous Apostle. So if there are rules that are not following the Apostle's orders, of course, there will be questions as to why they were enacted even though they are not following the Apostle's orders as there is an appeal to continue to worship at home, with the reason that it can be more solemn and does not cause concern. Nevertheless, that is not following the Apostle's order, so it is impossible to be accepted after this pandemic ends (Si, 57 years old).
Knowledge	If rules such as limiting the number of congregations, and keeping the distance between the rows, such as during the Covid-19 pandemic, are implemented now, in our opinion, that would be inappropriate. Because in our opinion, worship in a normal situation like this must be practised as it should be; before we understood during the Covid-19 pandemic, now there can no longer be such rules in our view. Because, in our opinion, the more congregational prayers, the better (Ko, 51 years old).
Meaning	Suppose I interpret the restrictions on worship during the Covid-19 pandemic as something natural. However, after the pandemic has passed, this policy is no longer appropriate to the context. Because worship as our meaning must be done in a congregation without any restrictions or keeping the row distance because it has entered the post-pandemic period. So we must interpret worship as an order from Allah and the Messenger, no longer according to the meaning of the authorities (Ad, 63 years old).

The controversy over worship after the Covid-19 pandemic was predominantly caused, not least by the knowledge, experience, and spiritual meaning of Muslims, which were inherited from generation to generation. If seen through the display of **Table 2**, the factors that caused the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy were not least influenced by Muslims' knowledge, experience, and spiritual meaning in practising their worship activities in the new normal era. As said by an informant with the initials Ad (63 years old) says:

"After the Covid-19 pandemic has passed, the policy of limiting worship activities is no longer by the context. Because worship as your meaning must be done in congregation at the mosque without any restrictions or keeping the distance between the rows of fellow congregations because it has entered the post-pandemic period. So we must interpret worship as an order from Allah and the Messenger, no longer according to the meaning of the rulers."

The worship controversy that occurred after misperceptions between authorities and Muslims also caused the Covid-19 pandemic in interpreting the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship relations after the Covid-19 pandemic. This misperception has predominantly influenced the relational relationship between authorities and Muslims in a more contradictory direction. In the perception of the authorities, the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic cannot wholly ignore the rules and recommendations for worship during the Covid-19 pandemic.

However, in the perception of Muslims, principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic must be practised following concrete recommendations and rules as commanded by God and His Messenger. In Adnan's view (2021), this context is often the main factor that encourages tendentious perceptions, so the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship relations after the Covid-19 pandemic have not been the least received in controversy. Therefore, the controversy over worship after the Covid-19 pandemic is not least based on misperceptions between authorities and Muslims.

The misperception between the authorities and the dominant Muslims sparked worship controversies after the Covid-19 pandemic. This misperception is often caused by the motivation, orientation, and relationship the authorities apply, which differ from the knowledge, experience, and meaning of Muslim worship. In the view of Shah et al. (2021), this context is not uncommon in communicating and implementing new ideas, rules, and norms imposed by social authorities. In other words, the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship policies that are recommended and stipulated often ignore the spiritual interests of Muslims after the Covid-19 pandemic. This neglect is a form of principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship policy relations during the Covid-19 pandemic, which is still being continuously applied after the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy was not only caused by

misperceptions between the authorities and Muslims but was also caused by the continuity of recommendations and worship rules during the Covid-19 pandemic, which was still being applied after the Covid-19 pandemic.

Post-Covid-19 Pandemic Worship Controversy Implications

Table 3
Post-Covid-19 pandemic attitudes of Muslims

Implications	Statement
Principle	After being allowed to worship at this mosque, some congregations continue to worship at home. Because they adhere to the principle that worships at home can be more solemn, without feeling worried, than congregational prayers, worship at home is interpreted as a better way, even though the Covid-19 pandemic has ended. So that the principle of congregational worship is no longer interpreted as worship that must be practised at the mosque after the end of the pandemic (Wn, 65 years old).
Attitude	The ban on praying and interacting in mosques during the Covid-19 pandemic changed the congregation's attitude after this pandemic ended. After this pandemic, the interaction between congregations still feels very awkward. Even congregations do not want to shake hands and talk with other congregations before and after performing prayers. Even though people used to like to talk, maybe there was a trauma during the pandemic, so he did

	not want to talk (Si, 57 years old).
Relations	During the pandemic, worship practices here followed government and palace regulations. However, after the pandemic, practices such as congregational worship, shaking hands, and communicating with fellow congregations were practised as the congregation wanted; there was no regulation. It can be said that the practice of worship after the pandemic is carried out at will by the congregation. So if you want to shake hands, do you want to sit in a meeting or not, there are no more rules, so the congregation has different worship practices after the pandemic (Wn, 65 years old).

Source: Interview with informants, 2022.

The controversy over worship after the Covid-19 pandemic has long-standing implications for Muslims' principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship in an increasingly subjective direction. As seen from the display of **Table 3**, the implications of the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy often influence the principles, attitudes, and patterns of relations among fellow congregations in an increasingly personal direction. As said by the informant with the initials Wn (65 years old) says:

"After the pandemic, practices such as congregational worship, shaking hands, and communicating with fellow congregations were practised as the congregation wanted; there was no regulation. It can be said that the practice of worship after the pandemic is carried out at will by the congregation.

So if you want to shake hands, do you want to sit in a meeting or not, there are no more rules. So that the congregation has different worship practices after the pandemic."

Post-Covid-19 pandemic Muslim worship activities have not only led to increasingly subjective principles, attitudes, and relationships. This context often puts Muslims' principles, attitudes, and relationships in a more personal direction after the Covid-19 pandemic. In other words, Muslims prefer to practice their worship activities in a pattern and way they believe in rather than obeying the recommendations and rules of worship set after the Covid-19 pandemic. In line with that, the subjectivity of worship is also an evaluative form of expression from Muslims towards the rules and worship recommendations established after the Covid-19 pandemic. Halim and Hosen (2021) also said that the subjectivity of worship is an evaluative form of expression from religious people in interpreting policies that often subordinate their worship values. Therefore, apart from being a cultural response, the subjectivity of worship is also a form of evaluative expression of recommendations and rules for worship after the Covid-19 pandemic.

The subjectivity of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic has also led to the resistance shown by Muslims towards recommendations and rules that are established as common sense. In other words, the subjectivity of worship after the Covid-19 pandemic is a form of resistance

from Muslims against the legitimacy of the authorities' principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship. For Muslims, the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship legitimized by the authorities tend to be coercive and ignore the interests of worship, so Muslims prefer to resist the recommendations and rules of worship set by the authorities after the Covid-19 pandemic. In the view of Chamsi-Pasha and Chamsi-Pasha (2021), this context says that, in principle, worship activities for Muslims are a form of devotion that is interpreted objectively. However, the authorities delegitimized worship activities during the Covid-19 pandemic had implications for Muslim worship's principles, attitudes, and patterns in a more subjective and personal direction during the Covid-19 pandemic.

CONCLUSION

The finding in this study shows that the controversy over worship after the Covid-19 pandemic has led to a religious dilemma which has not least led to a misperception between authorities and Muslims. This misperception of worship between the authority holders and the Muslims has dominantly given rise to subjective principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship. This subjectivity is not only an evaluative expression. It is also not uncommon to be oriented towards a form of resistance from Muslims in responding to suggestions and rules of worship during the Covid-19 pandemic, which was still

continuously applied after the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, the post-Covid-19 pandemic worship controversy not only raises the subjectivity of Muslim worship but also represents that the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship cannot return to how they were practised before the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The worship controversy, apart from giving rise to the subjectivity of worship, also represents a principle, attitude, and pattern of worship that cannot return to how it was practised before the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, the conception of this phenomenon has not been comprehensively conceptualized in previous studies. Therefore, this study conceptualizes this phenomenon as a continuous form of action or expression so that worship activities practised after the Covid-19 pandemic cannot return to normal even though they have entered the new normal era. Hopefully, this conceptual contribution can become an initial discourse for developing anthropology-religious concepts, especially in discussing Muslims' principles, attitudes, and worship relations after experiencing a social crisis.

This study also has limitations in explaining and analyzing the phenomenon of worship controversy after the Covid-19 pandemic, which is only limited to the scope of Muslims in the Great Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta. However, it is hoped that the limitations of this study will serve as a reference for further studies,

especially those wishing to explain and analyze the controversy over worship after the Covid-19 pandemic, by comparing the principles, attitudes, and patterns of worship in several Muslim communities in different regions after the Covid-19 pandemic.

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