

## Religion, Identity and Solidarity: *Emile Durkheim's* Perspective

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### Abstract:

*This study analyzes the ritual community as an association of people who try to get closer to God through religious rituals. The focus of the community is not to carry out joint rituals but on studies, sharing religious experiences, and how to increase religious obedience. There are two types of ritual communities; those formed by religious leadership and by similar interests in studying religion. This study examines the second community, by examining the values, principles, and beliefs that unite community members. Research is needed to understand religious phenomena, increase understanding, and religious tolerance. The study was conducted by library study of ritual community, in this case, the community of Salat Khusuk, and Emile Durkheim's theory contained in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Descriptions, interpretations, historical continuity, internal coherence, and holistic are methodical elements in this study. The results of the study show that the attachment and social relations of the community are built by the value of identity and inward solidarity inherent in each member of the ritual community.*

**Keywords:** *Community of religion, ritual, identity, solidarity, Emile Durkheim's Sociology.*

## INTRODUCTION

The living Qur'an, the ways in which the Quranic tenets and fundamental principles are internalized in Muslim daily lives and their peaceful interactions with others, has been highlighted in Indonesia as a new phenomenon and continues to transform in exploring the possibility of Quranic studies. The Qur'an is studied not only by employing the perspective of interpretation, but also by analyzing the external aspects which have been neglected, namely: portraying communities in reciting the Qur'an (Syamsuddin, 2007: xiv). In this overlook, Ahimsa-Putra (2012: 236) asserts that the Qur'an is interpreted as not only a holy book, but also the Muslim scripture that tries to be realized in daily routines as a guideline of Muslim authenticity.

It is worth mentioning that the living Qur'an is a study of phenomena that live amid Muslim communities in terms of the Qur'an as the object of study. Social paradigms that occur in the Muslim communities are used as the archetype to be further investigated. Even though it deals with the Qur'an, the study of living Qur'an does not rely on its intellectual existence. Nonetheless, this depicts emerging social phenomena related to the presence of the Qur'an that covers a wide array of geographical areas and a certain period (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012: 238).

For this reason, positioning the living Qur'an as an object of study basically offers the phenomenon of the interpretation of the Qur'an in a broader and more varied perspective. It requires the use of socio-cultural symptoms in a more thorough investigation. In Ahimsa-Putra's (2012: 239) point of view, this approach places the paradigm assumptions of hermeneutic or interpretive anthropology as the basis for thinking in examining the phenomena.

Interestingly, the Quranic approach illustrates new stretches in the Quranic studies. Additionally, this approach also reinforces that the Qur'an cannot be separated from the social context. At least, it is revealed by the fact that the existence of the Qur'an among societies is regarded as not only a holy book, but other functions, including playing a role as an amulet and luck, facilitating prosperity, and balancing spirituality, in accordance with the human needs and understanding. Borrowing Esack's (2005) term, the dialectic of the Qur'an and the Muslim communities proposes that the Qur'an can fulfill a variety of uses in Muslims' daily lives (Dawing, 2017).

Concerning the portrait of the Qur'an and the Muslim communities, Rasmussen (2010) initiated the exploration of the issues in his interesting work entitled *Women, the Recited Qur'an and Islamic Music in Indonesia*. Rasmussen brings the readers to the heart of religious music praxis in Indonesia – the country that is deemed to be home for the largest Muslim population around the globe. Rasmussen also investigates the landscape of tremendous public voices, in which women recite the divine texts of the Qur'an and where the diversity of styles and genres of Arab-influenced Islamic music, is also carried out by female reciters. This book focuses on music styles, women's roles, and ideological and aesthetic issues.

Before Rasmussen wrote his previously mentioned work, Esack (2005) presented in-depth elaboration through his work entitled *The Qur'an: A User's Guide* published by Oneworld Publications, Oxford. Esack points out that the Qur'an plays a very pivotal role in providing comfort and healing in the world in addition to something promised later in the hereafter for those who believe.

The Qur'an, furthermore, which has the nature to be uttered should have an accurate transmission path, reaching the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Likewise, the Qur'an is also known to have a variety of recitation. Each of it has the narration that was promoted by the transmitters, namely: Nafi' (d. 169 H), 'Ashim (d. 127 H), al-Kisa'i (d. 189 H), Ibn 'Amir (d. 118 H), Abu Umar (d. 154 H), and Ibn Kathir (d. 120 H). The narration of these transmitters is considered valid and authentic from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Meanwhile, recitation of the Qur'an in public spaces, according to Nelson (2001: xiv), is a common phenomenon that occurs in Muslim communities, as it constitutes a usual symptom in Egypt and all contexts of Islamic societies.

This current study highlights that the Qur'an recitation by applying the *Kempekan* model in Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon, West Java-Indonesia has been introduced by Kiai Tamam Kamali since 1955. Kiai Tamam studied *qira'ah* (recitation and reading) of Imam 'Ashim from Kiai Umar Soleh bin Kiai Harun, Kempek. Meanwhile, Kiai Umar himself was a student of Kiai Munawwir bin Abdullah Rasyad, Krapyak, Yogyakarta (Interview with Jamaluddin Muhammad). Kiai Munawwir chose *qira'ah* of Imam 'Ashim bi-riwayati Hafsa as the standard of recitation taught to his students.

Due to the Kiai Munawwir's effort, the *qira'ah* of 'Ashim has been well-known as variant readings of the Qur'an in society and promoted prominent students, such as Kiai

Umar Solo, Kiai Arwani Kudus, Kiai Murtadlo Buntet, Kiai Mufid Pandanaran, Kiai Yusuf, and Kiai Umar Kempek, which becomes the focus of the study on the *Kempekan* tradition.

In line with Nelson (2001), the variation of the Qur'an readings in Egypt copes with forms of practice, polemic discourse, mapping of assembly points, and separation between music and the Qur'an recitation. It illustrates how Nelson conducted grounded research, attended *qira'ah* events, interviewed reciters, understood their recitation techniques, and observed relating issues. Since this study emphasizes the phenomenon of *Kempekan* tradition, it does not elaborate much on the songs used in reading the Koran itself, such as how the character of the song or composition in it.

## DISCUSSION

### Rituals and Communities

Rituals are religious activities carried out by people or groups of people in certain ways (Suprayoga, 2001: 41) conducted repeatedly, reverently, are both personal and communal, and inspire deep feelings, which aim to be grateful, get closer, and ask forgiveness to God. A ritual that can perfectly reveal all that is not easily created or conditioned. However, investigations can be focused on existing rituals that are taught by religion (Baum, 1975: 33-48).

Rituals are a series of activities executed for symbolic purposes. Rituals are executed based on a religion or can also be based on the traditions of a particular community. Activities in rituals are usually arranged and determined, and cannot be carried out carelessly (Koentjaraningrat, 1985: 56).

Religious anthropology sees ritual as a particular procedure that is formal in nature, carried out at certain times periodically, not merely as a technical routine, but rather refers to actions based on religious belief in mystical powers. While sociology defines it as a rule that is used in the implementation of religion which symbolizes the teachings and which reminds people of the teachings (Koentjaraningrat, 1990: 190).

Carrying out rituals can help create a strong sense of group identity. In other words it is used to create social ties and even to maintain interpersonal relationships (Sontani, 2016). The Big Indonesian Dictionary states rituals are matters concerning rites or procedures in religious ceremonies, a system or series of actions arranged by custom or applicable law in the community that are related to various types of events that usually occur in the community concerned (Dorar, 2016).

Rituals in the broad sense not only include organized worship and sacraments of religion, but also those created by certain communities, whose forms can include redemption and purification, loyalty oaths, ceremonies of dedication, coronation and inauguration of leaders, marriages, funerals, even popular culture like club meetings, sporting events, Halloween parties, parades, Christmas parties and more (Sontani, 2016).

C. Anthony Wallace (1966) in *Religion: An Anthropological View* distinguishes rituals into five types: first, ritual as technology, such as ceremonies relating to agricultural activities and hunting; second, ritual is as therapy, such as a ceremony to treat and prevent undesirable things; third, rituals as ideological-myths to control the mood of feelings of the heart, behavior, people or groups, such as initiation ceremonies which are a group confirmation of new status, rights and responsibilities; fourth, ritual as salvation, for example someone who has a mystical experience turns into a new person. Actors feel connected to the cosmos, the sky, and the universe, which in turn affects their relationship with the profane

world, the everyday world; fifth, ritual as revitalization (reinforcement or livelihood) that is similar to salvation rituals but the focus of the community.

Rituals can fulfill religious obligations, fulfill spiritual or emotional needs, strengthen social ties, provide social and moral education, show respect or surrender, allow someone to declare one's affiliation, get social acceptance or approval for some religious events that are sometimes carried out only for the pleasure of the ritual itself (Sontani, 2016).

According to Dorar (2016) rituals in general have three objectives, namely thanking God, getting closer to God in order to get salvation and mercy, and asking forgiveness for mistakes made.

Rituals can help create a strong sense of group identity. Humans have used rituals to create social ties and even to maintain interpersonal relationships (Sontani, 2016). There is a general tendency for some people to regard ritual as a rigid and closed formality, which is why it is deemed necessary to add modifications and even improvisations which instead can replace ritual formalities to be interesting and deep. Improvised rituals and modifications actually overturn meaning and are boring. What is meant in this study is a ritual without modification and interference from human form, but the ritual that we have had and lived. Communities respond to rituals like this when they feel they are part of it, when they understand its meaning and can be practiced well. Religious people can be comfortable and solemn in carrying out their rituals of worship when they feel the presence of something special or special with them, when people of various ages, economic stages, social status, and education feel the unity that overcomes that diversity.

In reality, everyone already has an established and perfect ritual taught by religion. Unfortunately, the development of religion today is not always related to social context, rites and real behavior, such as the emergence of non-social virtual diversity (Sleigh, 2017: 251-262). In addition, there are also a number of problems, not all religious followers carry out their rituals, and even if done they understand only a little meaning and purpose; even some rituals are not carried out at all or abandoned.

Community is a social group consisting of diverse backgrounds, but has the same interests. In the community, individuals can have intentions, beliefs, resources, preferences, needs, risks, hobbies and a number of other similar conditions (Paul, 2006).

Derived from the Latin word *communitas*, *communis*, which means people, public, shared property, and many people (Jasmadi, 2008), communities are defined as groups of people interacting in certain locations. This definition continues to develop and expand into individuals who have similar characteristics regardless of location or type of interaction. Jasmadi (2008) provides an illustration of the four main characteristics of a community: 1). Presence of members; 2). There is mutual influence between members; 3). Integration and fulfillment of members' needs; 4). Emotional ties between members.

Viewed from the media interaction, the community is divided into two called offline and online communities. The offline community is united by the similarity of work, hobbies, or other unifying factors where media integration and communication still use non-internet technologies, such as physical meetings, telephone, correspondence, and so on. Online communities are united by the similarity of work, hobbies, or other unifying factors, where media integration and communication are already using the internet. Usually, the scope of this online community is wider and global throughout the world (Jasmadi, 2008).

The social collective approach to religion offers the same choices to researchers. What is the meaning belong to a ritual community and what groups are considered to represent? Religious ties can occur at several different levels. It is possible to identify successively closer forms of religious affiliation that can better distinguish the religious perspectives of community members.

Diversity is a necessity. The reality of plurality in society becomes a shared awareness, but each religious group lives in splendid isolation (perfect alienation) and indifferent tolerance. They have not moved to get to meet each other to learn from and help each other. In such situations religious groups are very easily utilized by groups.

Religious people who have not learned from and help each other usually tend to be exclusive and view interfaith relations from 'superior' and 'inferior' perspectives. As a result, they consider their religion to be all-encompassing, including state affairs. Religion that interferes with state affairs is as dangerous as a state that seizes religious territory.

### **Emile Durkheim's Social Theory**

David Emile Durkheim, was born on April 15, 1858 in the town of Epinal, the capital of Vosges, Lorraine, eastern France. Together with Max Weber, Durkheim was recognized as the most important Father of Modern Sociology Theory (Therik, 2014: 22). He came from a pious French Jewish family, proven to be his father and grandfather were Jewish priests (rabbis) who worked in France since 1784. Indeed Durkheim was expected to become a rabbi, obeying his father's footsteps, but later he turned to education, philosophy and sociology. Durkheim's life was entirely secular. In fact, most of his work is intended to prove that religious phenomena originate from social factors and not divine. However, the Jewish background and the majority of students and coworkers are fellow Jews, and often still have blood relations with them to form the sociology of Durkheim (Holil, 2014).

After getting a basic education and graduating brilliantly, Durkheim continued his studies in Paris, entering the École Normale Supérieure in 1879-1882. He became acquainted with Fustel de Coulanges, one of the leading pioneers of modern French historiography, which made him interested in consensus issues and the role of tradition. He also studied with Boutroux, the philosopher who introduced him to the writings of Auguste Comte, which greatly influenced his thinking. Graduated from the Ecole Normale in 1887 he lived in Germany and taught in a German school for a year. In 1887 he taught at the University of Bordeaux and the Sorbonne University in 1902. In 1906, he became a professor of science and sociology (Therik, 2014: 23).

Durkheim built a framework for analyzing social systems for sociology and anthropology. Durkheim's sociology is characterized by tension between science, morality, politics and ideology. Many of his scientific work display moral change with the aim of generally describing a stable condition in the midst of modern society. The main theme of Durkheim's work relates to efforts to reconcile the August Comte concept of the 'positive' stage of society with Saint Simon's demonstration of the distinctive features of 'individualism' (Giddens, 1986).

Durkheim was considered a conservative and liberal politician when he assisted Alfred Dreyfus, an army captain who was convicted of defection, which Farrel said in (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003) was considered anti-Semitic. Although disappointed with this accusation Durkheim did not regard it as an issue of racism but rather as a symptom of the disease (patology) of the morals of French society in general.

Durkheim died on November 15, 1917 as a French intellectual figure. Emile Durkheim's main work according to Holil (2014: 35) is the four classic books of social science. First, *De la Division du Travail Social: Etude Des Societes Superieurs*, or in the Indonesian language 'Pembagian Kerja dalam Masyarakat', this book was published in 1893, translated in English by George Simpson in 1933 entitled '*The Division of Labor in Society*', with the publisher of The Free Press, New York, America. This book is Durkheim's doctoral dissertation. The second book is *Les Regles de la Method Sociologique*. This book was published in 1895 and published in English in 1938 by Sarah A. Solovay and Jhon M. Meuller under the title 'The Rules of Sociological Method' with the publisher of The Free Press, New York, USA. Third, in 1877, Emile Durkheim published *Le Suicide: Etude de Sociologie*. In this book he defines suicide as "a death that is directly or indirectly the result of a positive or negative act of the victim". This book is translated in English by John a. Spaulding and George Simpson in 1951 under the title "Suicide: A Study in Sociology" by the publisher of Free Press, Glencoe. The fourth book is *Les Formes Elementaires de la Vie Religieuse: Le Systeme Totemique en Australie* (Basics of Religious Life) published in 1912. Published in English in 1915 with the title '*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology*' by John Ward Swain, Allen, London, and Unwin, McMillan, New York. Through his keen analysis, Durkheim was able to present various sociological works (Aldous, Durkheim, and Tonnies, 1972: 1191-1200).

### ***Durkheim's Identity Theory***

One identity theory is put forward by Billig (1976), which is a process that ties individuals to their groups and causes individuals to realize their social self. A person's identity is a process, not an action or behavior. In the process there are objects and subjects of identification which between them occur dialectical relations. The dialectical nature causes the identity process to be related to time (Sarwono, 2005).

According to Liliweri (2005) there are three types of identities, personal, social, and cultural. Personal identity is based on the uniqueness of a person's personal characteristics that are different from others, such as ability, talent, choice, and so on. Cultural behavior, voice, body movements, tone of voice, manner of speech, color of clothing, hair cuttings show a characteristic of someone else. These personal factors must be placed in a cultural structure because each culture teaches values and self-esteem for its members. Culture acts as a social identity that influences self-concept and social identity. In this context people often behave in a certain way towards other groups in the form of prejudice, racism, and ethnicity.

Social identity is formed as a result of membership in a cultural group. The types of groups include age, gender, work, religion, social class, place, and so on. A group of people can be distinguished from other groups based on age and characteristics of behavior. Young people are generally passionate, angry, not careful, impatient, whereas parents are more patient, wiser, and slower (Liliweri, 2005).

Cultural identity is a characteristic that someone shows because that person is a member of a particular ethnic group. It includes learning and acceptance of tradition, nature, language, religion, descent from a culture, for example identifying Flores people as Catholics, Rote and Sabu people as Protestants, and Lamahala people in Adonara as Muslims. For example, it also identified a group of descendants (mestizo) in East Timor as a group of people who had their own culture. They are synonymous with parliament, like to drink, rejoice, do not want to be regulated, like parties, etc. (Sarwono, 2005).

### *Durkheim's solidarity*

Emile Durkheim lived in a French era experiencing a moral decline. He proposed a solution through moral education, which he said would guide their social life. This is why Durkheim is known to be conservative and prioritizes order in society. With a high level of morality, the ideals of forming a peaceful, orderly and conflict free society will be achieved by itself (Holil, 2014).

Society in Durkheim's thinking is a group of people who are organized because of social ties in it (social order). The requirement for the formation of a community is a number of people who live together for a relatively long time, where each member feels bound to his group. In society there is not always something in common but there is something outside that makes it a part of something (Dzulfikar, 2014). The ideals of collective solidarity and community are characteristic of the sociology of Durkheim (Smith, 2017: 305-351).

The factors that encourage order are similarities because of the bonds of Solidarity (solidarity or compactness), achieving a common goal (Hidayati, 2014). Durkheim divided Solidarity into two, called Mechanics and Organic Solidarity.

Mechanical Solidarity emphasizes the awareness of collective consciousness, which relies on the totality of mutual trust in citizens. Mechanical Solidarity depends on individuals who have the same traits, beliefs, and norms. The nature of individuality does not develop and will continually be paralyzed by pressure for conformity. Individuals actually do not have to undergo crippling pressure because awareness of other issues may also not develop. This is the root of the diminishing value (disintegration) in Mechanical Solidarity (Setiawan, 2014).

The clearest indicator for Mechanical Solidarity is the scope and values of a pressing nature (Durkheim, 1964). These values justify every behavior as something evil, threatening or violating the collective consciousness and are seen as damaging social order. Punishment does not have to reflect a deep rational consideration of the objective amount of loss that intimidate the community, nor does it constitute a consideration given to adjusting the sentence to its crime. In contrast, the reward represents and expresses collective anger that arises. What is important about Mechanical Solidarity is that it is based on a high degree of homogeneity of beliefs, sentiments and so on. This homogeneity is only possible if the division of labor is minimal (Johnson, 1986).

Contrary to Mechanical Solidarity, Organic Solidarity arises from a growing division of labor. This solidarity is based on a high level of interdependence due to the increasing occupational specialization, which ultimately triggers differences between individuals (Dzulfikar, 2014: 53).

The emergence of individual differences overhauled collective consciousness, which in turn became less important as the basis of social order compared to the functional interdependence of specialized and autonomous individuals. As stated by Durkheim "that is the division of labor that continues to take on a role that was once filled with collective consciousness".

Durkheim stated that the strength of Organic Solidarity was marked by the importance of laws which were correct, healthy and restitutive rather than repressive ones. The purpose of the two forms of law is very different. Repressive law expresses collective anger that is felt strong while restitutive law functions to maintain or protect complex patterns of interdependence between various specialized individuals or community groups (Therik, 2014: 33).

Mechanical Solidarity emphasizes the awareness of collective consciousness, which relies on the totality of trust and sentiment with members of society. Mechanical Solidarity depends on individuals who have the same traits, beliefs, and norms (Setiawan, 2014).

In the development of Organic Solidarity it changed again into Mechanical Solidarity, an awareness based on the level of interdependence due to the increasingly diverse division of labor and specialization. Each individual has a certain expertise and skill in a job so that without his presence it will result in other individuals not being able to fulfill their desires or dependence on individuals who are functional (Emirbayer, 2003).

The two forms of Solidarity experience dynamics, intensity, and shift. Research conducted by Rima Setyawati (2014) shows the symptoms of shifting the form of Organic Solidarity into Mechanical Solidarity. Simple life patterns are a form of organic solidarity. They initially chose a *dukun* to help with the delivery process, but after this community became advanced and the social bonding complex of Mechanic Solidarity would choose a midwife and leave the *dukun*.

Maryanski (2014) revealed in her research results, why Durkheim overhauled his theory of solidarity, discarding the famous difference between mechanical and organic solidarity. In the work of Robertson Smith, Durkheim found the basis for more inclusive and long-lasting solidarity in the social universe (Maryanski, 2014: 352-376). This spirit of change can also be applied in all matters, including in cultural management. (Johnson & Duberley, 2011: 563-584).

Society has the duality of life for work and ritual. Two things that according to Durkheim underlie this religious belief are called "the Sacred" and "the Profan". The sacred is related to things and has a mystery both awesome and frightening. Sacredness is manifested by the mental attitude of feeling which is a combination of worship and fear (Zainal, 2014).

If the sacred includes things that are protected by a prohibition (taboo), then the Profan is the place where the prohibition is applied and left spaced from the Sacred, in the form of ordinary things that do not contain mysteries and are amazing (Muhammad, 2013). The Sacred and the Profan are kept separate even though sometimes they contain the same charge. In the Profan there is something sacred but it will not turn into the Sacred, otherwise in the Sacred One there can also be evil and goodness at the same time, but it will not turn into the Profan (Zainal, 2014). In the context of Buddhism, Durkheim's main basic ideas were criticized, on the one hand, Buddhism recognized the existence of supra-worldly beings not as secondary, but as the main component of religion; on the other hand, it shows that differences between sacred and profane are marginal to Buddhist thought (Orrù & Wang, 1992: 47-61).

The essence of religion lies in the Sacred in the form of holiness, and religious ritual itself is intended to approach the Sacred One. Humans are profane and can approach sacredness only through religious rituals. Thus, religious rituals unite the world of the Profan with the world of the Sacred (Zainal, 2014). Besides, it can build teleological capacity to feel beauty, pleasure, and perfection not only eschatologically oriented, but also contemporary (Manoussakis, -2016: 147-168). It is at this level that religion has power and is a healing instrument, social change and sustainable development (Zinnbauer, Camerota, 2004: 50-65; Basedau, Gobien, & Prediger, 2017: 1-65). However, the sacred and profane study has now surpassed "archeology" or the natural understanding of religion, towards the phenomenology of religion based on temporality (Manoussakis, 2019: 41-55).

Religion according to Durkheim comes from the community itself, namely as the embodiment of the *collective consciousness*. God is seen as a symbol of society itself, which as collective consciousness later transformed into a *collective representation*. God is just the idealism of the people who consider it to be the most perfect creature, only the assumption of society, or society wants and agrees on something as God. In other words God is the personification of society or the desires of a sacred society (Durkheim, 1984: 251).

### **Identity and Solidarity in Ritual Communities**

Empirically, religious identity in general can be transformed into a long-term ethnic and cultural identity (Durkheim, 1984: 252). A religion often begins as an abstract creed with a universal appearance and scope. In subsequent generations, religion became more concrete as a set of liturgies and practices that were limited to certain communities and perhaps in certain regions. Then religion crystallizes into a more concrete set of rituals and habits that distinguish certain communities from other communities. The religious community in turn becomes an ethnic and cultural community. In many cases, religion is ethnicity; religious identity is the main element forming ethnic identity. However, like the characteristics of identity, religion also undergoes transformation, conversion, even towards non-religious transformation. (Mahoney & Pargament, 2004: 481-492).

The background awareness of diverse members of the ritual community presupposes a process of feeling and experiencing the transformation of interpersonal relations to have a sensitivity that transcends personal boundaries to very different togetherness and returns to oneself with a new, richer awareness. This is the first spiritual encounter that usually results in shock as a result of direct contact with "other people", different views of life, other worldviews. This encounter to experience another world is confusing and sometimes creates vulnerability to the presence of foreigners, foreign cultures, other religions, and so on. However, this is a good start to recognize and understand others who are spiritually reunited (Durkheim, 1954: 346).

This kind of encounter requires courage to enter and cross one's limits, along with awareness of opening up to others and keeping a distance from old habits and mindsets. The members learn habits and new ways of interpreting the different new reality. This will all eliminate the prejudices that have been inside each member before joining.

Interpersonal encounters, thus, give birth to new identities and encourage excitement in discovery, in experiencing new and different spiritual experiences, having a new understanding of the religion that has been hidden. Now community members are reborn with a number of new knowledge about how to think and act and even adopt religious knowledge and experiences that arise from the process of worship and obedience to God.

Identity unites community members because the action is jointly carried out by members. Thus rituals must be explained as acts of particular groups with their own interests and not spontaneous overall actions. Rituals are held for the common interest by emphasizing the roles of individuals in them, not on their sacred values. Thus Solidarity which then grows is produced by the particular awareness of members which then spread and evoke the same awareness to all members of the community (Durkheim, 1954: 434). Solidarity is built through social emotions (Weyher, 2012: 364-383).

Solidarity is formed because people do things together and not only because each member adheres to the same values or beliefs. Physical experience and joint actions that occur in the sharing process, joint self evaluation, discussing religious experiences, become

co-existential experiences that foster Solidarity. This joint action allows Solidarity to be formed even though it does not have to be based on uniformity of understanding. Therefore, solidarity among community members is built more on personal friendliness formed by the habit of sharing and discussing the experience of spiritual worship. Rituals are messages, more or less a way of communicating information. Rituals are called lacking, because it is impossible for all to be revealed in view of the amount of information encoded and dependent on the association of the perpetrators. In contrast, ritual is called more because it can be a means to send information in the sense that rituals create solidarity, both between community leaders and members, as well as between members of the community itself. For example, Solidarity can be called an event on the 10th of Muharram, the Shiites in the world mourn the death of Husayn ibn Ali at Karbala. They held lamentations and torture rituals as a form of solidarity with Husayn's death. Just like the behavior of some Christians who held a ritual of torturing themselves, as a form of solidarity with the suffering that struck Jesus on the cross of the Cross. In a broader context, understanding religion in solidarity shows the emphasis on Durkheim's moral side on the aspect of humanist sociology (Prus, 2011: 56-111), which is more comprehensive as Durkheim developed in *The Evolution of Educational Thought* (1904–1905), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912) and *Pragmatism and Sociology* (1913–1914).

## CONCLUSION

The ritual community refers to the meaning of a group of people or followers of religion (in this case Islam) who specialize in efforts to increase religious obedience, personal and social piety, and improve the quality of worship. Activities carried out by the ritual community are regular meetings which discuss the practice of their religion relating to the practice of worship and its application in daily life. The ritual word embedded in the terms of the ritual community does not refer to the implementation of certain ritual services such as prayer, fasting, and dhikr, but more on the study of ritual aspects in the form of positive effects of ritual implementation in spiritual and social life. Emphasis is not on the procedure of performing rituals but on the benefits, such as increasing obedience and devotion to God as the fruit of carrying out rituals. The ritual community consists of members with diverse social, educational, economic, ethnic backgrounds. The diversity of these backgrounds does not appear to be a mark on each member when they join the community, replaced by a new identity as seekers of truth and closeness to God. The process is not initiated or *baiat* members, because there is no procession, but gradually formed after joining and realizing the similarities between them. This reality is possible because of the underlying mechanical and organic solidarity and binding to the inner members.

The community's mechanical solidarity is based on collective awareness, togetherness, and discipline or rules that are shared together. In such mechanical solidarity there is a totality of trust and shared sentiments between members. Individuality, egoism, feeling more does not develop because the basic values of the community are more oriented to conformity (shared interests). This is indicated by one of the absence of religious leaders such as ustad or mursyid. The hallmark of this community's mechanical solidarity is based on a high level of homogeneity in trust, sentiment, and togetherness achieving common interests.

Organic solidarity arises because of the division of labor or specialization so that the interdependence between members is very high. Organic solidarity of ritual

communities is characterized by interdependence among members, but there is no specialization or division of labor. In organic solidarity the motivation of its members is largely because they want to get the wages received in return for participation in the group. It is different in the ritual community. Members want to get wages in the sense of obtaining benefits in the form of increasing religious quality after joining it.

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