



Religious Practices in *Pesantren*: Negotiation, Reflection and Adaptation during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

This article discusses the condition of *pesantren* in *Pantura* (the northern coast area of Java) during the pandemic of Covid-19. This phenomenon of the Covid-19 outbreak is worrying because *pesantren* is a collaborative community that carries out activities without fulfilling social distancing. How the *pesantren* community negotiates themselves amid the Covid-19 pandemic, and how it reflects and adapts each activity. This study aims to reveal the pattern and response of the religious community of *pesantren* related to activities during the Covid-19 pandemic. This research was field research that used a model to obtain data by observing *pesantren* and analyzed with three theories, namely Glock and Stark on religiosity and Max Weber for social action and Talcott Parsons' theory of adaptation. During the Covid-19, *pesantren* can negotiate conditions amid a pandemic by reflecting on maintaining and preserving the tradition of prayer and a form of adaptation to spirituality and morality while still adhering to health regulations.

Keywords: Adaptation, Spirituality, Religious Practice, Negotiation, *Pesantren*

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v7i2.309>

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas tentang kondisi *pesantren* di *Pantura* (wilayah pantai utara Jawa) selama pandemi Covid-19. Fenomena wabah Covid-19 ini mengkhawatirkan karena *pesantren* merupakan komunitas kolaboratif yang melakukan kegiatan tanpa memenuhi social distancing. Bagaimana komunitas *pesantren* menegosiasikan diri di tengah pandemi Covid-19, dan bagaimana mencerminkan dan mengadaptasi setiap aktivitas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap pola dan respon umat beragama *pesantren* terkait kegiatan di masa pandemi Covid-19. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian lapangan yang menggunakan model untuk memperoleh data dengan mengamati *pesantren* dan dianalisis dengan tiga teori, yaitu Glock dan Stark tentang religiositas dan Max Weber untuk aksi sosial dan teori adaptasi Talcott Parsons. Di masa Covid-19, *pesantren* dapat menegosiasikan kondisi di tengah pandemi dengan bercermin pada menjaga dan melestarikan tradisi shalat dan bentuk adaptasi spiritualitas dan moralitas dengan tetap berpegang pada kaidah kesehatan.

Kata Kunci: Penyesuaian, Spiritual, Praktik Keagamaan, Negosiasi, *Pesantren*

A. INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic that has hit the world has changed the established order, including Indonesia. Changes in the life order of the Indonesian people have almost hit all aspects of life, starting from health (Handayani et al., 2020, pp. 119–120; Ulfa & Mikdar, 2020, p. 124), economy (Fernandes, 2020, pp. 3–4; Nasution et al., 2020, p. 213), tourism (Gössling et al., 2021, pp. 2–3; Walakula, 2020, p. 50), social (Napsiah & Sanityastuti, 2020, p. 297) and even religious practice (Hadi, 2020, p. 188), especially among *Pesantren*. Changes in religious practice in Indonesian *Pesantren* occur so quickly and unexpectedly, so *pesantren* must persist in negotiating with more innovative conditions so that activities at *pesantren* can resume their normal activities amid the Covid-19 pandemic to maintain the continuity of religious education.

The government announced that the victim was infected with COVID-19 on March 2, 2020, and elicited a public response. In society, this situation is a healthy debate and a religious discussion. For religious communities like Indonesia, COVID-19 has created a discourse with various arguments, attitudes, and interpretations of the emergence of the corona virus, according to the built epistemological pattern. For some people, the phenomenon of the covid-19 pandemic is a theological event, and others believe that covid-19 is a scientific event (Maliki, 2020, p. 61). However, what has not been widely heard and discussed is how *pesantren* respond and adapt amid the COVID-19 pandemic, considering that *pesantren* is the center of Indonesian Islamic civilization as a place for cadres of ulama who teach traditional religious education and have proven their existence amid globalization. During the COVID-19 pandemic, *pesantren* faced new challenges, namely how *pesantren* negotiated, responded and adapted amid Covid-19, especially *pesantren* in the North Coast of Java (*Pantura*) which still maintain old traditions.

This study examines the patterns and responses of the *pesantren* community expressed in religious practices in the *Pantura* areas, namely Rembang and Kudus, amid the covid-19 pandemic. The decisive reason this research was conducted in *pesantren* in three districts is based on three arguments; first, historically, the *Pantura* was an early Islamic broadcasting channel with charismatic scholars and unique religious practices (Abimanyu, 2013, p. 18). *Second*, in terms of religious culture, the *pesantren* in the two districts have the same characteristics; namely, they still adhere to the teachings of the ulama and accommodate local culture (Syam, 2005, pp. 4–5). *Third*, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, *pesantren* in the north coast, especially Rembang and Kudus, are still active and teaching. The high mobility of activities in *pesantren* is a matter of concern, and Vice President KH conveyed this. Ma'ruf Amin, quoted by Irwan Syambudi (2020), if the *pesantren* does not take precautions with health protocols, it is feared that a new cluster will be formed. This concern is not without reason because *pesantren* is a communal society that upholds social values.

In dealing with the spread of COVID-19, *pesantren* are required to negotiate with the situation; namely, *pesantren* can maintain the ongoing tradition as the center of Indonesian Islamic civilization and survive amid the covid-19 pandemic. This negotiation is shown in the form of reflective actions, namely actions that are aware of the wisdom possessed by a *Kiai* or cleric as a legacy that must be preserved again, such as reading *qunut nazilah*, reading special prayers after Friday prayers and reading *shalawat*. In Max Weber's theory of action quoted by Supraja (2015), the religious practice that developed in *Pesantren* during the COVID-19 pandemic is a traditional action, which is an action that has been practiced by predecessors and becomes wisdom without planning in implementing it.

B. DISCUSSION

The religious practice that developed during the COVID-19 pandemic is a form of adaptation to the sustainability of education in *Pesantren*. *Pesantren* adjusts to the conditions in carrying out activities at *Pesantren* while still complying with health protocols, such as washing hands, wearing masks, and keeping a distance. This action is not necessarily empty from the spiritual aspect of religion because *pesantren* as a system of teaching religious values and adapting to the environment and *pesantren* can define the COVID-19 pandemic as a disaster that must be handled wisely so that the primary goal of *pesantren* can be achieved. In terms of social

action, Talcott Parsons cited by Narwoko and Suyanto (2004, p. 350) as a system must be able to adapt, define, to achieve its primary goal

The religious phenomenon in *pesantren* amid the Covid-19 pandemic illustrates the strength of the religious system that flows in students' lives so that religious practices that develop in *Pesantren* reflect religious values. One of the mudzir *pesantren* in Kudus stated that as a form of preventing the coronavirus transmission in *pesantren*, every *santri* or community living around the *pesantren* participates in guarding the mosque because the mosque is a place where people gather to perform religious rituals. Likewise, the *pesantren* in Rembang carried out the rapid test when returning to the lodge. This is one of the religious teachings to maintain human values, as revealed by one of the *pesantren* administrators whom Syaefudin covered in detikNews (2020), which stated that the number of students was approximately 3,500, so that a quarantine room was provided for students from outside the city. This religious practice is the placement of a symbol system believed to be a value in institutionalizing behavior, where all practices are lived as a meaningful process. According to Glock and Stark quoted by Jalaluddin (2012, p. 221), religion is a system of beliefs, symbols, values, and institutionalized behavior centered on internalized and meaningful.

The emergence of such religious practices is a form of adaptation that must be done to prevent the spread of COVID-19. This situation requires the students to be extra in managing the hours in the *pesantren* environment because each activity takes quite a long time. This is believed to be effective in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic in *pesantren*, and it must also be acknowledged that the *pesantren* community can negotiate both outwardly and inwardly. Negotiation as a reflective action outwardly is by obeying the protocol, and internal negotiation is practicing the legacy of the *Kiai* or *ulama*, so that *pesantren* can adapt and be active amid the covid-19 pandemic. The reality that exists in *pesantren* in carrying out activities is very dense, and almost every time, it is filled with recitation activities, which are in the form of *sorogan* and *bandongan*. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1994, pp. 28–29) in the *pesantren* system, the *bandongan* and *sorogan* methods are characteristic of *pesantren* in exploring religious knowledge, and both reinforce each other. But amid the current covid-19 pandemic, there are different things that *Pesantren* practices in the *Pantura* - amid the density of activities - namely religious expressions that are practiced, namely praying with distanced rows, reading *qunut nazilah* every five daily prayers, reading *istighatsah*, reading the caretaker every Tuesday night, read *manaqib*, read *dalail al khairat*, read *shalawat tibbil qulub* after finishing the maghrib and isya prayers, read *shalawat li khamsatun* and after finishing Friday prayers read a special prayer. This phenomenon emerged amid the covid-19 pandemic and became wisdom as a medium to ask God for help to avoid the covid-19 pandemic.

At the same time, *pesantren* in *Pantura* also pay attention to the health protocols socialized by the government through the Covid task force, namely maintaining distance, wearing masks, washing hands, exercising, providing handwashing, and some even do not allow *mushafahah* (shake hands) which has long become a tradition. In *Pesantren* as a form of respect as an effort (effort) to avoid the spread of covid-19, because of the busy activities, such as performing congregational prayers in mosques, reciting *Bandongan*, reciting *sorogan*, *madrrasah diniyah*, *musyawarah Kitab kuning*. So far, quite a few studies have examined *pesantren* in particular or *Pesantren* amid the covid-19 pandemic, especially about *pesantren* and globalization, *pesantren* and terrorism, the existence of *pesantren* amid law, and the history of *pesantren*. Likewise, *Pesantren* and the covid-19 pandemic were researched around; management of *pesantren* amid a pandemic in Bojonegoro, education of *pesantren* amid a pandemic, the role of religious leaders in deciding the Covid-19 pandemic, reading prayers by Muslims and preparing for the new normal for *santri* in Lumajang. However, as far as the researcher observes, almost no specific studies have been found on religious practices in *pesantren* along the northern coast of Java (*Pantura*) during the pandemic. Therefore, this research is part of an effort to complement the studies carried out previously. This, of course, will emphasize that the religious practice in *pesantren* in the north coast is an exciting issue to be studied in more depth. According to Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula (2020, p. 125), religious leaders have a strategic role in breaking the chain of the spread of Covid-Religious Practices in *Pesantren* ... (Moh. Muhtador, et al)



19 because religious leaders are role models in people's lives who have three roles motivator, communicator and idol. In the context of *pesantren*, religious figures, including *Kiai* and *ustad*, are important figures in the sustainability of *pesantren*, so that every fatwa or behavior that is practiced will become an example for the *santri*. From the sociological aspect, the *Kiai* plays a vital role in the structure of the *pesantren*, which is to unify and unite students from different races, ethnicities and cultures in one perspective, namely religious teachings.

1. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN SOCIOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Linguistically, the word religiosity is a verb that comes from the noun religion. Religion comes from the words *re* and *ligare*, which means reconnecting what has been broken, namely reconnecting the relationship between God and humans whom their sins have cut off. While religious is obedient to religion (*sholeh*). The word religion comes from the Latin *Religio*, from *Religare*, which means to bind. The point is the human bond with sacred supernatural power. Religion is the spiritual tendency of humans to relate to the universe, the all-encompassing value, the ultimate meaning, and the essence of all. While Daradjat (1993, p. 76), two terms are known in religion: religious awareness and religious experience. Historically-sociologically, religion or religion does not originate from a single aspect but is part of several aspects that must be realized. In psychology, religion is known as religious awareness and religious experiences.

Glock and Stark have carried out the division of aspects of religiosity that is quite detailed. This concept is the most widely used religiosity theory in religious psychology studies. According to Glock and Stark, there are five aspects or dimensions of religiosity: first, Religious Belief (the Ideological Dimension), or the dimension of belief, namely the degree to which a person accepts dogmatic things in his religion. Second, Religious Practice (the Ritual Dimension) is the degree to which a person performs ritual obligations in his religion. Third, Religious Feeling (the Experiential Dimension) or the dimension of religious experience and appreciation, namely religious feelings or experiences that have been inspired and felt. Fourth, Religious Knowledge (the Intellectual Dimension), or the dimension of knowledge, namely how far a person knows about his religious teachings, especially those in the Holy Scriptures and others. Fifth, Religious Effect (the Consequential Dimension) is a dimension that measures the extent to which a person's behavior is motivated by the teachings of his religion in social life (Glock & Stark, 1965, p. 86).

Weber believes that social life must also be explained in human behavior that encourages them to take action. Therefore Weber describes each type of human action in social life, divided into four: *First*, instrumental rationality (instrumental rationality), which is also known as purposive rationality, which is an action that is directed rationally to achieve a goal, besides that humans can determine the tools that will be used to achieve a goal (Carroll & Akademia Ignatianum, 2011, p. 120). *Second*, value-oriented rationality (value rationality) in which people see value as a goal in their social actions, even though that goal is not visible in everyday life (Ritzer & Douglas, 2009, p. 322). *Third*, affective rationality is a type of social action involving very deep emotions and feelings (Veeger, 1985, pp. 173–174). These actions are considered irrational due to a lack of logical considerations (Johnson, 1990, p. 325). *Fourth*, traditional rationality (traditional rationality), actions carried out based on habits that are carried out repeatedly and without planning. This rationality is carried out to fight for the traditions built-in society (Jones et al., 2016, pp. 172–173).

To carry out one's religion during the pandemic itself requires adjustments to the surrounding community's conditions and the rules used as references. Therefore, this study also uses the theory of AGIL from Talcott Parsons, which can be described as follows: *First*, Adaptation or adaptation (A), the system must adapt, adapt to the environment and be able to adapt to the environment to its needs. *Second*, Goal attainment or goal achievement (G), the system must have, define, and achieve its main goals. *Third*, Integration (I), a system must regulate and maintain the relationship of the parts that are its components. In addition, the system must manage and manage the three functions (AGI); *Fourth*, Latent pattern maintenance or maintenance of latent patterns (L). The system must function as pattern maintenance, and a system

must-see and improve the motivation of individual and cultural patterns (Johnson, 1990, p. 326; Martono, n.d., p. 111; Ritzer & Douglas, 2008, pp. 334–337).

2. PESANTREN'S STRATEGY IN RESPONDING TO COVID-19

Pesantren as centers of Islamic knowledge have given birth to a cadre of tough and pious scholars. The cadre that *Pesantren* carries out in supporting students in learning religious knowledge is carried out every day and minimal rest hours because learning is the main obligation that is turned on in *Pesantren*. Usually, students start studying religious knowledge from waking up to bedtime (Kusdiana, 2014, p. 77). Amid covid-19, which began to enter Indonesia in early 2020, *Pesantren* in Indonesia experienced a sock culture due to restrictions and even bans on activities and activities that caused crowds. *Pesantren* is a sub-culture; almost all activities involve students, such as the Koran, school and worship (Isbah, 2020, pp. 66–67). This condition becomes a dilemma for the activities carried out in *Pesantren*, especially in Kudus and Rembang as centers for the spread of religion in the *Pantura*.

Amid the COVID-19 outbreak, *Pesantren* cannot completely stop their activities. As the center of Indonesian Islamic civilization, *Pesantren* has long existed and run amid social, political and cultural shocks (Dhofier, 1994, p. 114). At the time of covid-19, there were several strategies taken to maintain the existence and dignity of the *pesantren*, namely by negotiating with the conditions in responding to the covid-19 outbreak, reflecting on spiritual strength as a tradition of wisdom and adaptation as a form of effort to get closer to the Almighty One.

a) Negotiations in Responding to the Covid-19

The Covid-19 outbreak that hit the world, including *Pesantren*, has changed the social order, including in *Pesantren*. The students who have the freedom to interact with the environment are starting to be limited, and some even prohibit them from leaving the *pesantren*, such as the *pesantren* in Kudus and Rembang. The two regions limit the socialization of students from engaging with the general public as a form of avoiding the spread of COVID-19. This was a teaching of Islam that the Prophet once did when there was an epidemic of infectious diseases "don't you go out in an area that transmits disease".

The meaning of this teaching indicates that a person should not go out or enter an area that is exposed to the pandemic. The phenomenon is practiced among students who invite students to stay in *Pesantren* to reduce the spread of the Covid-19 virus as a form of negotiation over currently dangerous conditions. At the same time, every *santri* still has to maintain the *pesantren* tradition as the noble teachings of the founders of the *pesantren* in dealing with Wahab. The *pesantren* tradition, in this case, is to preserve the environment as theological teaching that is studied every day. According to Hidayati et al (2020, pp. 143–145). *Pesantren* is a good and suitable environment for implementing environmental education because it is not just a theory but can be directly applied in everyday life. Application of environmental education in *Pesantren* during the pandemic by providing facilities for students always to maintain cleanliness, such as hand washing and trash bins.

Activities that take place in *Pesantren* are not only theoretical but also practical. Every teaching contained in the classical *turats* comes alive in front of the students because the students carry out sincerely and patiently in carrying out activities at the *pesantren* amid the covid-19 virus outbreak. From the point of view of social theory, every religious experiment that develops in *Pesantren* does not mean that it is value-free because there are doctrines, beliefs and values contained, such as *pesantren* religious acts negotiated as religious doctrines that must be obeyed. Knowing the orders of *Kiai* and *ustad* is a strong doctrine in *Pesantren*, because *Kiai* and *ustad* are obeyed, and every command is obedience that must be fulfilled by every devout *santri* (Fadhilah, 2011, p. 107).

Some practices, such as staying in the dormitory, maintaining the tradition of cleanliness and being patient in dealing with the virus-19 outbreak, are a struggle of several dimensions inherent in the students, such as the practical, intellectual and ritual dimensions. Each of these dimensions can be found in the life of the *santri*, because the *santri* do not play a single role in Religious Practices in *Pesantren* ... (Moh. Muhtador, et al)

the *pesantren*. Each student has a role, such as a cleric, administrator, courtiers and ordinary students. This is a lesson and trains the mental and energy of the students when living in the community. Such behavior cannot be separated from religious teachings' doctrine, knowledge, and influence (Glock & Stark, 1965, p. 188). The *santri* practice the beliefs and knowledge they have acquired in everyday life. This is a sign that the *santri* have carried out religious teachings obediently and resignedly

b) Spirituality as Local Wisdom

This action requires special and additional activities in the *pesantren* environment, where the *santri* reflects the form of the negotiation not only in the outward but inward form. The students were asked to read more *shalawat*, *wirid* and pray to Allah in the inner form. In addition, the *Kiai* also prayed for the students and the local community after every Friday prayer with a special prayer found in the Prophet's hadith related to rejecting the plague. The *santri* took the two actions in carrying out the *wirid* and the *Kiai* who pray every Friday are socio-religious actions. This socio-religious action is meaningful as a mere request and as a form of theological awareness. A form of theological awareness of a *santri* is to understand his weaknesses in dealing with the covid-19 outbreak. Likewise, the awareness that Allah is the center of the cosmos that regulates and determines all events that occur in the universe so that students must return every phenomenon with a prayer to Allah and realize that the reality of nature is not only scientific but also non-scientific (Akhwanudin, 2013, p. 88). The actions of a *santri* and a *Kiai* when chanting prayers and *wirid* can be seen as a mere religious reality because social actions are intertwined. The tradition of doing *wirid* and praying by *santri* and *kiai* is a religious awareness with a tangible goal, namely hoping for the disappearance of the covid-19 outbreak.

This awareness is instrumental and rational awareness simultaneously because each is aware of using reading tools that are believed to have transcendental values in the eyes of religion as a medium to eliminate the covid-19 virus outbreak (Ritzer & Douglas, 2009, pp. 87–88). In the same area, the awareness of reading *wirid* and praying is an ancient tradition passed down from generation to generation by the *pesantren* community. Every *wirid* chant and prayer performed involves the emotions of each reader as a form of religious expression so that goals and expectations can be achieved. The practice of tradition and emotion in carrying out religious practices in the *pesantren* environment is an effective action, and theological values commonly referred to as charisma in spreading Islamic teachings are carried out to fight for the traditions built-in society (Jones et al., 2016, p. 135). Anthropologically, this tradition is a religious expression of the students who are theologically attached. Talal Asad (2003, pp. 43–45) called it a process of cultural secularization that was initiated by each adherent of a belief that was inherent in life, so that religion could not only be seen as a normative teaching but also have cultural norms and traditions attached. This practice developed in *pesantren* along with the development of studies carried out by *kiai* and *ustadz*. Religious practice with the expression of locality is a simple form of carrying out religious teachings that are believed by each individual. In many cases, students usually imitate and practice every teaching carried out and taught by seniors and *kiai*, such as how to behave, worship and prepare for health as a form of fighting COVID-19.

c) Adaptation as a Form of Ikhtiyar and submission to Allah

Pesantren as communal areas that easily spread the covid-19 virus must be able to adapt to reality; there are at least two things, namely physical adaptation and inner adaptation. The first adaptation is mostly in the material sector, such as washing hands, keeping distance, wearing masks and not actively mobilizing. The second adaptation is on the inner element that moves on the immaterial aspect such as reading *shalawat*, *wirid* and prayer, which are religious teachings. The social reality of adaptation in *Pesantren* is an effort to deal with the COVID-19 outbreak. According to Talcott Parsons, steps to be taken in a difficult situation to choose. Therefore, three things must be done in dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak, namely adaptation to adapt to the

environment and adapt the environment to its needs. The need, in this case, is to face the epidemic which is carried out with material and immaterial.

Understand the goals to be achieved with the effort put in. Likewise, the system must regulate and maintain the relationship of the parts that are its components. In addition, the system must be able to regulate and manage the three functions. The system must function as pattern maintenance; a system must-see and improve the motivation of individual and cultural patterns (Johnson, 1990, p. 322; Martono, n.d., p. 211; Ritzer & Douglas, 2008, p. 343). Each system that occurs in *Pesantren* is intertwined and supports each other in dealing with the covid-19 outbreak, such as the material system tasked with awakening cleanliness outwardly and the immaterial system maintaining balance mentally. Spiritually, *pesantren* do not make significant changes in worship behavior, but *pesantren's* social activities are limited to the surrounding community. Restricting social activities outside the *pesantren* as a step in avoiding the spread of COVID 19, as the Prophet taught about not approaching infectious diseases. This teaching is understood and becomes a religious practice in *pesantren* as a tradition carried out by *Kiai*. The tradition is believed to be theological teaching that is taught practically.

This phenomenon cannot be interpreted only as a religious practice, but must also be interpreted as a defense practice for *pesantren* in the face of COVID-19. *Pesantren* has spiritual potential as inner defense. This defense signifies the students' awareness of their capacity as servants so that they must also be aware of the shortcomings that must be entrusted to God who controls the cosmos. Taftazani (2003, p. 56) a person's awareness of his capacity as a servant and has no power before God is the highest awareness, so that one can judge something that exists essentially. However, one does not necessarily give up every behavior to God, because humans must be aware of the competencies given that must be preserved and developed so that they are useful.

C. CONCLUSION

As for the reflective form, *pesantren* carry out two religious practices: outward and inner reflection. By birth, a *santri* gets used to *dhikr* and adds to the practice of prayer, prayer and *shalawat*. This phenomenon is a socio-religious act that has the meaning of theological awareness. Theological awareness of students by realizing their weaknesses in the face of the covid-19 outbreak and believing in Allah as the center of the cosmos that regulates and determines all events that occur in the universe.

Pesantren's adaptation actions in dealing with the COVID-19 outbreak with three religious behaviors, namely adaptation to adapt to the environment and adapt the environment to material and immaterial needs. In addition, the system must regulate and maintain the relationship of the parts that are its components. In addition, the system must be able to regulate and manage the three functions. The system must be able to function as pattern maintenance; a system must-see and improve the motivation of individual and cultural patterns

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