Abstract: This study discusses the phenomenon of Islamic disruption among contemporary Muslims in Indonesia. There are three research questions discussed in this study; How is the existence of Muslim netizens in Indonesia today? What are the religious dynamics that occur among Muslim netizens in Indonesia? How does the disruption of Islam affect their religious patterns and behavior? By conducting an in-depth analysis based on the perspective of postmodern sociological theory, this study found three findings; First, contemporary Indonesian Muslims are Muslim netizens who have a high dependence on technology and information media with digital platforms. Second, the Islamic disruptions among native Muslims occur in two aspects, namely the aspect of worship marked by a shift in religious behavior from traditional rituals to modern rituals. Next is the education aspect, shifting the Muslim netizen’s religious learning tradition which is no longer centered in the conventional space, but shifts to a digital-based virtual space. Third, religious disruption affects the religious culture of Muslim netizens through three elements; speed, surprise, and finally a sudden shift.
الإندونيسيون المعاصرون هم من مستخدمي الإنترنت المسلمين الذين يعتمدون بشكل كبير على التكنولوجيا ووسائط المعلومات ذات المنصات الرقمية. ثانيًا، يحدث اضطراب الإسلام بين المسلمين المحليين في جانبي، هما جانب العبادة الذي يتميز بتحول في السلوك الدينى من الطقوس التقليدية إلى الطقوس الحديثة. التالي هو الجانب التعليمي، مما يؤدي إلى تحويل تقاليد التعلم الديني لمستخدمي الإنترنت المسلمين والتي لم تعد تتمحو في الفضاء التقليدي، ولكنها تحول إلى مساحة افتراضية رقمية. ثالثاً، الاضطراب الديني يؤثر على الثقافة الدينية لمستخدمي الإنترنت المسلمين من خلال ثلاثة عناصر. السرعة والملفالة وأخيراً تحول مفاجئ.

**Abstrak:** Studi ini mengkaji fenomena disrupsi Islam di kalangan Muslim kontemporer di Indonesia. Terdapat tiga pertanyaan penelitian yang dibahas dalam kajian ini; bagaimana eksistensi kalangan Muslim netizen di Indonesia saat ini? Bagaimana dinamika keagamaan yang terjadi di kalangan Muslim netizen di Indonesia? Bagaimana disrupsi Islam memengaruhi pola dan perilaku beragama mereka? Dengan melakukan analisa mendalam berdasarkan perspektif teori sosiologi postmodern, studi ini mendapati tiga temuan; pertama, Muslim Indonesia kontemporer adalah kalangan Muslim netizen yang memiliki ketergantungan tinggi terhadap teknologi dan media informasi berplatform digital. Kedua, disrupsi Islam di kalangan Muslim netizen terjadi dalam dua aspek, yakni aspek ibadah yang ditandai oleh bergesernya perilaku beragama dari ritual tradisional bergeser ke ritual modern. Berikutnya adalah aspek pendidikan, beralihnya tradisi belajar agama kaum Muslim netizen yang tidak lagi berpusat di ruang konvesional, namun bergeser ke ruang virtual berbasis digital. Ketiga, disrupsi agama memengaruhi kultur beragama Muslim netizen melalui tiga unsur; kecapatan (speed), kekagetan (surprises), dan terakhir adalah adanya pergeseran tiba-tiba (sudden shift).

**Keywords:** Islamic disruption, contemporary Muslim, Islamic Digitalization, Netizen
INTRODUCTION
In the last two years, the disruption phenomenon has been more and more massive as the impact of technology comes into all sectors of society’s life, including the religious sector.\(^1\) In the religious sector, the disruption is signed by the shift in religious ritual activities, from traditionally performed to virtually performed. A religious ritual practice identical to clumsiness and normative becomes more flexible and dynamic.\(^2\) Dealing with this, the technology and information media that is perceived as ‘negative’ consider reducing essential religious values in the society, but the fact is it is not. On the contrary, the current symptoms integrate religion into the digital space. Religion has a process of virtualization. Thus, it gives a new pattern and behavior of religion in society.\(^3\)

In the dynamic Islamic context of Indonesia, this Islamic disruption mainly occurs in contemporary Muslim societies, or it is called Millennial Muslim or Netizen. By utilizing several applications and modern digital platforms, these groups of hali Muslims (hallucinating people) like to spend their time in cyberspace better than in the real world.\(^4\) Numbers of social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and others become day-to-day housing. In that cyberspace, they are not surfing only for interaction and fun but also to create religious self-preferences, whether in comprehension or ritual. They tend to be comfortable ‘learning’ modern religious actors such as Felix Siauw and Hanan Attaqi better than old religious actors.\(^5\)

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1 L. Rudy Rustandi, ‘Disrupsi Nilai Keagamaan dan Komodifikasi Agama di Era Digital’ 3, no. 1 (2020): 12.
2 Ali Zaenuddin, ‘Fenomena Beragama di Era Disrupsi, Post-Truth Society dan Komoditas Simbolik’, KOMPASIANA, 23 June 2020, https://www.kompasiana.com/alizaenuddin_/5ef2275b097f3620e50da9fd2/fenomena-beragama-di-era-disrupsi-post-truth-society-dan-komoditas-simbolik.
3 Nandang Solihin, ‘Pendidikan Agama Islam di Era Disrupsi’, Jurnal Mathlaul Fatah 11, no. 1 (2020): 7.
4 Mite Setiansah, ‘Smartphonisasi Agama: Transformasi Perilaku Beragama Perempuan Urban di Era Digital’, Jurnal Komunikasi 10, no. 1 (5 August 2015): 1–10, https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.v10i1.iss1.art1.
5 Abd Hannan, ‘Cyberspace Dan Populisme Islam Di Kalangan Netizen: Studi Kasus Pada Akun Media Sosial Felix Siauw’, Sosiologi Reflektif 12, no. 2 (2021): 226–29.
So far, there are some previous studies on the Islamic disruption phenomenon in religious dynamics in Indonesia. One of them is Rudy Rustandi (2020). Based on the study conducted, Rustandi found the massive utilization of digital media today, the societies’ patterns of behavior change. Digitalization has made the sacred space that was closed open, even though it tends to be free. According to him, this situation is dangerous and full of risk. Open, and free religious patterns are potentially caused friction or even conflict among clusters of religions with others. Although digitalization has a risk, the religious disruption phenomenon is unavoidable. This finding is also supported by numbers of other researches such as the research conducted by Nandang Solihin, *Pendidikan Agama Islam di Era Disrupsi* (2020); I wayan Lasmana, *Era Disrupsi dan Implikasinya Bagi Reposisi Makna dan Praktek Pendidikan* (2019); Aris Risdiana dan Reza Bakhtiar Ramadhan, *Dakwah Virtual sebagai Banalitas Keberagamaan di Era Disrupsi* (2019).

It differs from the previous study, which studies the religious disruption phenomenon (Islam) in Indonesia from a general perspective. A study by Nandang and I Wayan Lasmana emphasizes religious and educational issues. This study is more focused on the case of the religious, sociological perspective, and postmodern sociology. In particular, this research will elaborate on the religious disruption phenomenon in contemporary Muslims in Indonesia. It is millennial Muslims and netizens, which the existence is not too exposed in particular previous studies.

This research used the qualitative research method. There were two data sources. Primary data were obtained from online or printed information, which was gathered from January to December 2022. Then, secondary data, the supportive data, were obtained from various literature sources. They were from a book, journal, or article

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6 See Rustandi, ‘Disrupsi Nilai Keagamaan dan Komodifikasi Agama di Era Digital’.
7 See Solihin, ‘Pendidikan Agama Islam di Era Disrupsi’.
8 I Wayan Lasmanaw, ‘Era Disrupsi dan Implikasinya Bagi Reposisi Makna dan Praktek Pendidikan: Kaji Petik dalam Perspektif Elektik Sosial Analisis’, *Jurnal Media Komunikasi Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* 1, no. 1 (9 May 2019): 54–65, https://doi.org/10.23887/jmppk.v1i1.13.
9 Aris Risdiana and Bakhtiar Ramadhan, ‘Dakwah Virtual Sebagai Banalitas Keberagamaan Di Era Disrupsi’, *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Agiáhid Dan Studi Keagamaan* 7, no. 1 (2019).
elaborating on current issues about digital society and religious disruption in Indonesia. This research’s theoretical analysis used the perspective of three S theories from Rhenald Kasali: speed, surprises, and sudden shift. These three S theories are the mindset of Rhenald Kasali, specifically for elaborating how the disruption phenomenon occurs and implies in society’s life. This mindset is in the comprehension or perspective that the disruption phenomenon is not a natural phenomenon. He is not ‘given,’ but it occurs in a lengthy social process and complex. Disruption is the current reality resulting from technological growth, progress, and development. Technology, with its sophistication, offers various facilities and mediums of life for humans to make their social activity (religiousness) running easier. In the context of this study, the mediums or facilities are (speed), (surprises), and (sudden shift).

Based on the data analysis, the massiveness of utilizing the digital platform in religious activity in contemporary Muslim society, Millennial Muslims and Netizens, has become a religious disruption phenomenon. In sociology, it is signed by the shift of religious ritual activities of society, which was a traditional ritual to be digital device based on internet networks and social media.

**GENERATION OF NETIZENS AS CONTEMPORARY MUSLIMS IN INDONESIA**

A netizen has become popular in society, the universe, and information media in the last few years. The generation of netizens has quite a difference compared to previous generations. Principally, their patterns and social activities depend on technology and information media. The term netizen is introduced firstly by Michael F. Hauben in his book, *The Net and Netizens: The Impact the Net Has on People’s Lives* (1998). Hauben used netizens to describe global netizens in this book, which first introduced the internet world.10 Etymologically, netizen combines two words: internet and citizen, which means resident.11 Thus, a netizen in its grammatical sense means a citizen or

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10 Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben, *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet*, First Monday, vol. 3, 1997, https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v3i7.605.

11 Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben, ‘The Net and Netizens: The Impact of the Net on People’s Lives’, First Monday 3, no. 7 (July 1998), https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v3i7.607.
resident of the internet. It can also be interpreted as an active group of people involved in online communities. They spend their daily time in cyberspace and surf in digital spaces utilizing online-based application platforms.¹²

Netizen’s life is identical to the digital platform and internet networking. They are who, including in these groups, have recognized and been able to operate technology and information media tools. The main question right now is which group does include this group? Every generation has its clusters, which are different. Strauss and Howe their book, Generations: The History of America’s Future (1992), elaborate that the generation of the world population today can be categorized into five groups, namely generation of baby boomers, generation of X (baby bust), generation of Y or Millenial 1980 to 1995. Generation of Z was born from 1995 to 2010, and the last recent generation is the Alpha generation. A group of the generation born in 2010 and up with the older age is in 2020.¹³

The first two generations, baby boomers and baby bust, are large growth generations in the early development of entirely new technology for them, such as mobile phones and laptops.¹⁴ Currently, technology and information media are not growing except focusing on some locations and particular societies. Therefore, most of these generation groups have insufficient education and ability toward technology and information media, mainly based on networking on the internet. In this era, these clusters are easy to have a cultural shock as they have problems and difficulties adapting to the rapid growth of media and information technology.¹⁵ The Millennial Generation, the Z generation, and the Alpha generation are the living groups of people who live and are born in the racing era of information

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¹² Ronda Hauben et al., ‘The Origin and Early Development of the Internet and of the Netizen: Their Impact on Science and Society’, Springer, Boston, MA, 1 January 2007, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-47650-6_4.

¹³ William Strauss and Neil Howe, Generations: The History of America’s Future, 1584–2069, 1992.

¹⁴ George N. Heller, ‘Book Review: Generations: The History of America’s Future, 1584–2069’, The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education 14, no. 2 (1 July 1993): 151–56, https://doi.org/10.1177/153660069301400207.

¹⁵ Nidya Dudija, ‘Digital Transformation: Is Gonna Be Culture Shock?’, in Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Psychology (International Conference on Psychology, Banda Aceh, Indonesia: SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, 2019), 269–75, https://doi.org/10.5220/0009447602690275.
media technology. They grow in a world full of social media and smartphones. So automatically, they are very adept at technology.\textsuperscript{16} The frequent group of these generations is considered lazy because more spend time playing on smartphones rather than moving in public spaces. A study conducted by Emma Scott’s studios found that almost half (48\%) Alpha generation often spends time without technology tools.\textsuperscript{17}

Suppose referring to Strauss and Howe’s generation theory elaboration. It can be inferred that netizen society includes the last three generations, namely the millennial generations, Z generations, and Alpha generations. These three generations are preferences societies that are not only known to have birthed playing the product of technology. But more than that, they tend to spend their time in the world of digital. In the society of baby boomers and baby busts, social activity is more spent in the traditional world, physically and face-to-face social interactions and communications. In contrast, the group or generation of netizens tends to fill their daily social activities in the echo or frequency room, including social relationships.

The great question now is what about the dynamics of residential clustering in Indonesia, especially the existence of the Netizen Community Group? Based on the citizen census conducted by the national Central Statistics Agency (BPS), a survey from February to September 2020 found that netizen clusters dominate the citizen population. They were the Z generation, Millennial generation, and Alpha generation by 64.69\%. It is equivalent to 176.47 million people.\textsuperscript{18} In detail, 75.49 million people (27.94\%) are Z generations, 69.90 people (25.87\%) are millennial generations, (and 10.88\%) it’s equivalent to 29.17 million are Alpha generations. Others are

\textsuperscript{16} William Strauss, ‘In Generations: The History of America’s Future’, 27 December 2021.
\textsuperscript{17} CNN Indonesia, Download Apps CNN Indonesia sekarang https://app.cnnindonesia.com/, and CNN Indonesia, ‘Mengenal Gen Alpha, Generasi Setelah Milenial Dan Gen Z’, www.cnnindonesia.com, 13 August 2019, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/gaya-hidup/20190812144950-284-420574/mengenal-gen-alpha-generasi-setelah-milenial-dan-gen-z.
\textsuperscript{18} Rr. Ariyani Yakti Widyastuti, ‘Sensus Penduduk 2020, BPS: Generasi Z Dan Milenial Dominasi Jumlah Penduduk RI’, Tempo.co, 23 January 2021, https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1425919/sensus-penduduk-2020-bps-generasi-z-dan-milenial-dominasi-jumlah-penduduk-ri.
baby boomers, 31.01 million people (11.56%); the minimum is *pre- baby boomers* for 5.03 people (1.87%).19

The next follow-up question, what about the level of internet use of the population in Indonesia? The latest data found that in January 2021, active users of social media reached 274.9 million people, equivalent to 73.7 percent of the total population. And according to a report by *Kompas Tekno*, the average time spent by Indonesian people accessing internet networks is an average of 8.52 hours per day.20 In line with the data above, the current situation of Indonesian population clustering can be used as an illustration to photograph the existence and dynamics of the Muslim community in Indonesia today. Moreover, as we all know, the percentage of the Muslim population in Indonesia reaches 86.88 percent, or equivalent to 236.53 million people. The fact that 73.7 percent of Indonesian are active internet users explains why the Muslim community’s religious pattern in Indonesia today is experiencing a significant shift and change. Much different from the religious traditions of previous Muslim groups, especially the Baby boomers and baby bust generation Muslims who tend to be traditional and classical.21

The statement that the netizen group is currently dominating the Muslim segment in Indonesia is directly proportional to the religious behavior of the Muslim community in Indonesia. They prefer to express their religiosity in the online world rather than offline. Various social media such as YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, and so on are listed as unique places to study religion. This behavior differs from the Muslim generation, who traditionally prefer to study religion by utilizing the recitation assembly, Madrasah, Mosque, Mushalla, Langgar, and others. A study states that as many as 58 percent of

19 Kompas Media, ‘Generasi Z dan Milenial Dominasi Jumlah Penduduk Indonesia Halaman all’, KOMPAS.com, 22 January 2021, https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/01/22/145001126/generasi-z-dan-milenial-dominasi-jumlah-penduduk-indonesia.

20 Kompas Cyber Media, ‘Riset Ungkap Lebih dari Separuh Penduduk Indonesia “Melek” Media Sosial’, KOMPAS.com, 24 February 2021, https://tekno.kompas.com/read/2021/02/24/08050027/riset-ungkap-lebih-dari-separuh-penduduk-indonesia-melek-media-sosial.

21 Kompas Cyber Media, ‘Jumlah Pengguna Internet Indonesia 2021 Tembus 202 Juta’, KOMPAS.com, 23 February 2021, https://tekno.kompas.com/read/2021/02/23/16100057/jumlah-pengguna-internet-indonesia-2021-tembus-202-juta.
Muslims in Indonesia prefer to look for religious references online. The YouTube platform is the most visited reference channel. This finding is also reinforced by a study conducted by Suci Ramadhanti Febriani and Ayu Desrani (2021). It involved 39 respondents who are millennial groups aged 19-25. It was found that 87.2% of them learned religion from YouTube.\(^{22}\)

**SHIFTING THE RELIGIOUS PATTERN OF NETIZENS: PAST AND PRESENT**

The culture and Muslim netizens’ culture that tend to place their religiosity in the digital or online space ultimately change religion and its dimensions in religious meaning and practice (ritual). With the preferences of netizens who like to surf on social media and open spaces, they understand religiosity from a more dynamic, inclusive, and flexible perspective. It is no longer limited to normative and symbolic meanings such as in mosques, mushalla, and langgar.\(^{23}\) In this regard, the notion of religiosity, which includes the meaning of interpersonal relationships between humans and God, underwent a radical transformation. The context changed from a private ritual to a public ritual. The rise of selfie behavior in places of worship, posting photos while carrying out certain religious activities, seems to have become an inseparable part of the religious pattern of netizens.\(^{24}\) In this situation, like the post-truth phenomenon, religion’s definition has experienced shrinking or blurring of meaning, melting into a virtual screen with an image-filled reality outside. Consequently, religion (as if) becomes vague and difficult to digest, between religion

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22 Suci Ramadhanti Febriani and Ayu Desrani, ‘Pemetaan Tren Belajar Agama melalui Media Sosial’, *Jurnal Perspektif* 14, no. 2 (19 July 2021): 312–26, https://doi.org/10.53746/perspektif.v14i2.49.

23 Lala Nur Pratiwi and Hafied Cangara, ‘Netizens’ Responses to a Famous Indonesian Youtuber Video of Changing Religious Beliefs on YouTube Social Media:’ (2nd International Conference on Science, Technology, and Modern Society (ICSTMS 2020), Langsa, Aceh, Indonesia, 2021), https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210909.055.

24 Husnaeni Fauziah Amani and Eriyanto, ‘Netizen Reception about Racial, Ethnic, Religious and Inter-Group Relations Issues from Opinion Leader in New Media; Case Study: Tweet by Felix Siauw about Terrorism in Surabaya.’, *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 6, no. 1 (February 2019).
as a show and religion as a guide, between religion as enlightenment and religion as just entertainment.\textsuperscript{25}

In addition to experiencing a meaningful shift in the level of religiousness, Muslim netizens also experience a shift in understanding the meaning of structural sacredness or religious institutions. One of them is a place of worship.\textsuperscript{26} Among traditional Muslims, sacred places of worship are generally identical with specific locations only, such as mosques, mushalla, langgar, etc.\textsuperscript{27} Religious activities such as prayer (shalat), recitation, zikr, teaching, istighasah, and so on are more concentrated and found in prayer places than others. Unlike that view, Muslim netizens understand and interpret the sacredness of places of worship from different perspectives.\textsuperscript{28} With the virtualization of religion they’re conducting, for ritual activities, learning or thanksgiving, construction sacredness meaning of religion shifts the places. Identical to the mosque in the digital space based on the Internet network platform. In this context, various digital platform devices such as zoom meetings, Google meetings, and so on are now becoming new places of worship. It takes over functions and the role of classic places of worship.\textsuperscript{29}

Outside those two shifts, the ridiculous feature of the changes in Muslim behavior in Indonesia between the former (traditional) and now (netizens) can be traced to their instantaneous religious

\textsuperscript{25} Zainuddin Syarif and Abd Hannan, ‘Islamic Populism Politics and Its Threat to Indonesian Democracy’, \textit{Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam} 20, no. 2 (3 November 2020), https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id/index.php/tahrir/article/view/2128.

\textsuperscript{26} Pew Research Center, ‘The Changing Global Religious Landscape’ (Pew Research Center, 5 April 2017).

\textsuperscript{27} Pratiwi and Cangara, ‘Netizens’ Responses to a Famous Indonesian Youtuber Video of Changing Religious Beliefs on YouTube Social Media’, 45–67.

\textsuperscript{28} Ucik Ana Fardila, Fardan Mahmudatul Imamah, and Intan Sari Dewi, ‘Why Islam Is The World Fastest Growing Religious Group Despite of Terrorism Issues? An Initial Research of Terrorism Issues and Islam Awareness’, \textit{JARES (Journal of Academic Research and Sciences)} 5, no. 1 (2 March 2020): 1–13, https://doi.org/10.35457/jares.v5i1.899.

\textsuperscript{29} Lily Kong, ‘Global Shifts, Theoretical Shifts: Changing Geographies of Religion’, \textit{Progress in Human Geography} 34, no. 6 (1 December 2010): 755–76, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510362602.
behavior, in a very pressing way to speed and ease.\textsuperscript{30} This statement is intended for their religious learning activities, which generally prefer to study in cyberspace. They look for religious materials through sources widely distributed on social media. This method is different from groups outside them who usually deepen their religion through study or offline learning. They attend the learning places, study, and master religious sources directly from the sources. Learning in the madrasa or even studying at Islamic boarding schools. The religiosity of the netizens is strongly influenced by the religious model based on internet networks. Ultimately, it impacts the mentality and religious interest in themselves who prefer signs and symbols over their substance.

This situation is not ideal enough to create religious understanding and behavior with real meaning in many cases. This Religious pattern often causes a problem in religion. Conveying the egoism phenomenon and fundamentalism in religion is influenced by the digitalization phenomenon of religion.\textsuperscript{31} It is also a point of many cases of religious radicalism. Millennials are easily infected with extremism due to their religious learning patterns and traditions, primarily done on networks (online), especially on social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{LITERACY SHIFT IN MILLENNIAL GENERATION DUE TO THE SPREAD OF RADICALISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA}

However, no matter how digitalization of religion has slackness, or even risks, in reality, it is still accepted by the public. It is primarily for millennial Muslims, generation of Z, and generation of Alpha. The digital religion (Islam) offers a wide variety of images, signs, and many fantasy experiences by which contemporary Muslims are

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{30} Bryan K. M. Mok, ‘Public Theology in the Age of Social Media’, \textit{International Journal of Public Theology} 15, no. 3 (2021): 309–28, https://doi.org/10.1163/15697320-01530002.
    \item \textsuperscript{31} Laily Rahmatika, Rani Setiawaty, and Agus Budi Wahyudi, ‘Netizens on Hagia Sophia’s Conversion Policy: A Critical Discourse Analysis’, \textit{Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research} 3, no. 2 (December 2021): 195–208, https://doi.org/10.37534/bp.jhssr.2021.v3.n2.id1118.p195.
    \item \textsuperscript{32} Zainuddin Syarif and Abd Hannan, ‘Fundamentalism and the Challenges of Religious Moderation in the New Normal Era’, \textit{Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman} 25, no. 1 (1 July 2021), https://ejournal.iainbengkulu.ac.id/index.php/madania/article/view/4260.
\end{itemize}
hypnotized by it. Their fanatical attitude towards images, signs, and symbols identifies religiosity and behavior in religion, thus placing themselves as a ‘different’ Muslim cluster from Muslim society in general. The point of view in interpreting figurines is no longer centered on the dimension of charismatic authority. It is such as traditional kyai or ulama (scholar), which have received considerable respect and recognition from Muslim baby boomers and baby busts (generation X). Their point of view has shifted to populist areas by placing contemporary religionists such as Felix Siauw and Hanan Attaki as idols and religious references. Interestingly, these religious actors do not have a solid scientific background and expertise. Still, their ability to process and manipulate signs, images, and symbols makes his existence readily accepted by the community –especially community groups with the same reference as contemporary Muslims.

REFERENCES OF RELIGIOUS FIGURES: From Like, Viewers, Followers to Subscribers
The Muslim netizen group is a new human who is different from previous generations. This group is a generation born and lived side by side in an era where information technology and information media have a massive explosion. Muslim netizens are generations that play two roles simultaneously –object and subject. As an object, Muslim netizens have a reasonably high addiction to technology. Almost all lines of their lives depend on the existence of technology. For them, technology is not only a tool to facilitate daily activities. Still, it has also evolved as a space for forming self-existence. I take a selfie, so I exist (Selfito Ergo Sum), that’s roughly a straightforward

33 Nurhidayat Nurhidayat, ‘Muslim Milenial dan Gerakan Ekonomi Islam Indonesia’, Mizan: Journal of Islamic Law 4, no. 1 (6 June 2020), https://doi.org/10.32507/mizan.v4i1.638.
34 Ana Fardila, Mahmudatul Imamah, and Sari Dewi, ‘Why Islam Is The World Fastest Growing Religious Group Despite of Terrorism Issues? An Initial Research of Terrorism Issues and Islam Awareness’.
35 Lily Kong, ‘No Place, New Places: Death and Its Rituals in Urban Asia’, Urban Studies 49, no. 2 (February 2012): 415–33, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011402231.
36 Heidi A. Campbell and Ruth Tsuria, Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2021), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429295683.
interpretation of the relationship between Muslim netizens and current information media technology. 37

As for the subject, Muslim netizens have the freedom to identify their Muslim identity. By positioning themselves as subjects, this group has its taste in worship. Still, it is also wily to facilitate worship services by utilizing the sophistication and superiority of technology. 38 Netizens perform religion in ways and habits through modern technology based on digital platforms. Those are not unique, but they are different from the religious traditions of previous generations. Religion is no longer an awkward daily routine. Still, it becomes more flexible and dynamic, emphasizing speed, simplicity, and convenience. 39 Quoting Kuntowijoyo’s great thought, this phenomenon of Muslim netizens has the same character as what he calls Muslims without a mosque. On the one side, they are recorded as followers of Islam, such as other Muslims. Still, at the same time, they have a religious paradigm that is not unique but much different from previous generations of Muslims. 40

The trapping of the Netizen Muslim religious paradigm towards the display of signs, symbols, and images is a hyper-reality form of contemporary society. People infected with this syndrome experience totality of worship towards images rather than facts, so what is in their thoughts, attitudes, and actions are imaginative views. Worshiping and studying religion is no longer driven by adherence to religion but rather a semiotic relationship between fans and idol figures. 41 In this phase, their pattern and behavior in religion are not much different from the world of entertainment identified with the lives of artists.

37 Fatatik Maulidiyah, ‘Selfito Ergo Sum, Aku Selfi Aku Ada’, kumparan, 2 November 2020, https://kumparan.com/ummu-hasan-1603295989817471650/selfito-ergo-sum-aku-selfi-aku-ada-1uVM4XzYzZO.
38 Iswandi Syahputra and Hanny Hafiar, ‘Activities of Netizens on Social Media and Religious Spirituality of Indonesian Millennials in the Era of New Media’, The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society 9 (1 January 2019): 57–70, https://doi.org/10.18848/2154-8633/CGP/v09i01/57-70.
39 Zaenuddin Hudi Prasojo et al., ‘Religious Identity in the Use of Social Media Within Pontianak Muslim Community’, KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture 28, no. 1 (12 June 2020): 32–56, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v28i1.3284.
40 Kuntowijoyo, Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Esai-Esai Agama, Budaya Dan Politik Dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Transendental (Bandung: Mizan, 2001).
41 ‘Muslim Women Negotiating Their Identity in the Era of the Muslim Ban’, Journal of Gender Studies, 26 December 2021, 1–12, https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2021.2016382.
For example, the reference to figures is no longer about the depth of knowledge and understanding of religion in terms of religious figures. Instead, it is more about how large the number of followers, how many visitors or viewers, and how funky the appearance and communication style is. There are contemporary (millennial) da‘wah activists of online religious da‘wah, such as Felix Siauw and Hanan Attaki. Both are the most influential and loved figures by Muslim netizens in Indonesia today, even beyond the traditional-conventional ulama (scholar).42

Talking about scientific depth and expertise, the level of these two figures is far below the traditional or conventional ulama’ (scholar). Because Muslim netizens have different perspectives and religious patterns, their tastes and self-references in seeing religious figures are also different. It is no longer focused on the substantial (scientific) side but emphasizes artificial symbols. In this case, the popularity of self-images on various digital platforms used, such as the number of followers on Instagram, the number of viewers and subscribers on YouTube, the number of friends and likes on Facebook, and various other artificial symbols.43 This fact is directly in line with their social media accounts, which are listed as contemporary da‘wah activists with the most significant number of followers this year. It is far exceeding conventional scholars. Hanan Attaki has 2.19 million subscribers on YouTube, and Felix Siaw has 1.12 million subscribers. On Instagram, Hanan Attaki has 8.9 million followers, while Felix Siauw has 4.9 million followers.44 This number is much higher than the average number of social media followers of conventional religious figures. Let’s say the number of followers of Quraish Shihab, who is mainly known as a Muslim scholar as well as an expert of Tafsir (interpretation) of the Qur’an. Based on his Instagram account, the

42 Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Esai-Esai Agama, Budaya Dan Politik Dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Transendental.
43 Henrik Åhman and Claes Thorén, ‘When Facebook Becomes Faithbook: Exploring Religious Communication in a Social Media Context’, Social Media + Society 7, no. 3 (July 2021): 20563051211041644. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211041644.
44 ‘Hanan Attaki - YouTube’, https://www.youtube.com/c/HananAttaki, accessed 28 December 2021, https://www.youtube.com/; ‘Felix Siauw - YouTube’, https://www.youtube.com/, accessed 28 December 2021, https://www.youtube.com/.
number of followers is 251 thousand. In contrast, on his YouTube account, there are 78.2 thousand subscribers.\(^\text{45}\)

The psychology of Muslim netizens who tend to the identical artificial values shown by digital religions in the form of signs, symbols, or images, actually has a problem. They are religious problems of superficiality in religious understanding and behavior. It is also a problem trapped in the context of global capitalism.\(^\text{46}\)

The magnitude of the attitudes and behavior of sentiments among Muslim netizens towards various religious symbols and signs has become a momentum for investors to enter and capitalize.\(^\text{47}\) Being wily in looking at the market, capitalist groups skillfully use religious symbols and symbols as commodity instruments to attract consumers, mainly Muslim netizens. The social construction of the hijab is not simply covering oneself up as religious guidance but developing into various patterns of market tastes and trending models that are currently popular.\(^\text{48}\) In many situations, tending to show religious sentiments, this generation of Muslims also tends to show a consumptive personality.\(^\text{49}\)

However, no matter how high the costs or fees must be paid, they are not a problem. Because through these ways, they imagine

\(^{45}\) ‘Quraish Shihab - YouTube’, https://www.youtube.com/c/QuraishShihabMuhammad, accessed 28 December 2021, https://www.youtube.com/.

\(^{46}\) Alan Levinovitz, “Dao with a Capital D”: A Study in the Significance of Capitalization’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 83, no. 3 (1 September 2015): 780–807, https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfv033.

\(^{47}\) Ignacio Siles et al., ‘Populism, Religion, and Social Media in Central America’, *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19 July 2021, 19401612211032884, https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612211032884.

\(^{48}\) Khairil Anwar and Abdul Mujib, ‘Islamic Faith-Based Content and Religious Social-Media Motives’, *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (14 December 2021): 19, https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/1024.grounded in gratification theory, the current study examines the impact of social media usage intensity, social media usage frequency, and religious appreciation in developing and strengthening different motives, i.e., ministering, spiritual enlightenment, religious information, relaxing entertainment, and well-being, among the followers of social media pages/accounts/sites for faith-based content. Following a quantitative research methodology, data were collected from the 562 followers of social media, i.e., Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter. Data were analyzed using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).

\(^{49}\) Mohammad Fahrizal, ‘Capitalization of Hatred and Mass Mobilization: 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election Case’, *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan* 10, no. 2 (2019), https://doi.org/10.18196/jgp.102100.
gaining awareness and satisfaction of spiritual experiences and social recognition from their environment. That is why being religious in this generation (read: netizens) is quite expensive, because the concept of religiosity has been mixed up with areas of global market capitalism such as the world of fashion, lifestyle, infotainment, the world of cinema, and others.\textsuperscript{50} This statement is reinforced by a study conducted by Listya Ayu Saraswati. They said that Muslims who are active in producing and consuming culture and cultural products (fashion) is dominated by urban Muslims. Moreover, the upper-middle-class—is rarely consumed by the lower class Muslims, especially those who live in rural areas, inland, and even underdeveloped areas.\textsuperscript{51}

Trapping in symbols, signs, and images, in the end, their religious thinking paradigm becomes usual or even shallow. There is no depth of meaning and appreciation of religion as in previous generations. Solemn feelings no longer drive religious intensity. Still, it has been replaced by fantasy feelings such as comfort and preoccupation.\textsuperscript{52} That is why, in daily life—including in matters of religion—Muslim netizens have a tendency to identify their religious patterns and behavior in digital spaces rather than places of worship as usual. The definition of a place of study for studying religion is no longer in madrasas, pesantren, or langgar but has shifted to the digital space. In this digital space, they can carry out religious activities and explore the world of fantasy. They consume signs, symbols, and images and produce them in daily life as an identity (religion).\textsuperscript{53}

**DIGITALIZATION OF NETIZENS’ MUSLIM RELIGION: From Virtual Study, Virtual Worship to Virtual Celebration (Hajatan)**

The phenomenon of disruption has quickly succeeded in shifting the mindset, traditions, and religious behavior of the contemporary

\textsuperscript{50} Craig Martin, ‘Capitalizing Religion: A Rejoinder to Critique’, Religion 46, no. 3 (2 July 2016): 443–47, https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2016.1186333.

\textsuperscript{51} A. A. A. Nanda Saraswati et al., ‘Restrictions of the Rights of Freedom of Religions: Comparison of Law Between Indonesia and Germany’, Indonesia Law Review 8, no. 3 (31 December 2018): 256, https://doi.org/10.15742/ilrev.v8n3.510.

\textsuperscript{52} ‘Muslim Women Negotiating Their Identity in the Era of the Muslim Ban’.

\textsuperscript{53} Syahputra Iswandi and Hanny Hafiar, ‘Activities of Netizens on Social Media and Religious Spirituality of Indonesian Millennials in the Era of New Media’, International Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Society 9, no. 1 (2019): 78–87.
Muslim community in Indonesia. It is used to routinely carry out offline traditional religious activities in public places of worship such as mosques, mushalla, and langgar. It has shifted to a new pattern—online worship. It is in their respective places by utilizing internet-based teleconference applications such as zoom meetings, Google meet, etc. Religious communal gatherings are no longer carried out through traditional methods that are carried out physically but have developed and shifted to digital-based association patterns. Digital spaces such as smartphones, tablets, and computers are an option for holding religious events.

It also proves a giant leap forward in using information media technology in the religious sector in Indonesia. It was previously only dominated by certain social classes, which has now been accessible to all groups. The digitalization of religion is used more to meet the needs of religious activities in the da’wah sector and studies in assemblies. It has now slipped into all activities, even the most sacred and substantial part, namely the obligatory prayers. According to Yasrif Amir Piliang’s term, religion in this situation has multiplied. With the digitalization of its existence, the dimension of religion that was initially known as sacred, holy, and full of majesty is mixed with reality outside, even with reasonably messy reality. In fact, by utilizing the sophistication of a smartphone or laptop, a user can attend learning, listen to lecturing, and recite the Qur’an on one side. At the same time and space, he can access dirty content spread on digital screens. It is the era of disruption, an era full of multitasking lifestyles; people do not only move from one room to another quickly and at speed. They can also carry out various activities together at once, even though they are in a time zone and different places.

In Indonesia itself, the climax was during the Covid-19 pandemic in the last few years. Implementing religious events using digital

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54 Hannan, ‘Cyberspace Dan Populisme Islam Di Kalangan Netizen: Studi Kasus Pada Akun Media Sosial Felix Siauw’.
55 Friederike Dorothea Rass, ‘Against the Capitalization of Religion and Secularism. On G.Vattimos Philosophy of Religion’, University of Zurich Main Library 3, no. 1 (2014), https://doi.org/10.5167/UZH-103819.
56 Dimas S., Wiji Nurasih, and Doli Witro, ‘Demokrasi Hibrid: Pemikiran Yasraf Amir Piliang Tentang Demokrasi Indonesia Di Era Digital’, JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik 11 (17 August 2021): 175–94, https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v11i1.12253.
platforms has been performed, even as it has become a trendsetter, especially among Muslim netizens. Both religious events are in the form of studies, worship, and celebrations. Based on field data, religious activities such as discussions or Islamic studies, tahlil, istighasah and maulid celebrations are the most famous religious events and are often held online. And the most controversial and inviting debate among Muslim scholars namely the implementation of Eid prayers and online Friday prayers. The explanations related to these phenomena will be described clearly and in detail in the following sub-sections.

1) Virtual Prayer/shalat

In the Islamic religious tradition, prayer is the second pillar of Islam in obligatory worship to Allah for every Muslim who has been mature (balligh/mukallaf). Grammatically, prayer contains the meaning of prayer to Allah, which is carried out with certain conditions, pillars, and readings, starting with takbir and ending with greetings (salam). Based on the law of implementation, the law of performing prayers can be divided into obligatory (wajib) prayers and optional (sunnah) prayers. As for the procedures for its implementation, prayers can also be divided into two. They are prayers that can be done alone and prayers that must be done communally or in the congregation. Included in this category are Friday prayers and Eid prayers.

But interestingly, recently, as digital platform technology has expanded, coupled with the emergency due to the Covid-19 pandemic, certain progressive Islamic groups perform virtual prayers. They are called progressive Islamic groups because those who are members of this line are, on average young Islamic activists. The sects belong to a community of public policy foundations called the Public Virtue Research Institute, Hilf al-Fudul. One of the most active campaigning for virtual prayers is KH. Wawan Gunawan is a young academic at the Muhammadiyah youth organization and a

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57 Ahmad Najib Burhani, ‘Ibadah Virtual’, PanritaID (blog), 8 August 2021, https://panrita.id/2021/08/08/ibadah-virtual/.
58 KBBI Online, ‘Arti Kata Salat - Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) Online’, https://kbbi.web.id/, accessed 28 December 2021, https://kbbi.web.id/salat.
59 Ustadz Wawan Gunawan Abdul Wahid and Lc M.Ag, ‘Sekali Lagi, Tidak Ada Masalah Shalat Jumat Secara Online’, IBTimes.ID (blog), 4 May 2020, https://ibtimes.id/sekali-lagi-tidak-ada-masalah-shalat-jumat-secara-online/.
In the context of Indonesia, the implementation of Friday prayers and virtual Eid prayers caused pro and contra and was debatable among scholars. The controversies are because the Friday prayers and Eid prayers were included in the category of prayers that must be carried out in a group, namely Friday prayers and Eid prayers. In the virtualization of Eid prayer, based on the data gathered, the virtual Eid prayer will be held on May 13th, 2021. Besides, the virtual Eid al-Adha prayer will be held on July 20th, 2021. The virtual Eid prayer will be held through a Teleconference application device in the form of Zoom, with the theme of Sermon, *Memeluk dan Dipeluk Agama di Musim Pandemi*. As for virtual Friday prayers, during this pandemic, online Friday prayers are performed not only once or twice. Field data show, on September 4th, 2020, the 15th online Friday prayer, which is summarized with the theme, *Ikhtiar Melayani dengan Cara Berbeda*.

2) Education

Far before the policy of social consolidation was applied due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the phenomenon of religious digitalization existed for a long time. It even became a trendsetter in studying current religion widely dependent on society, especially among Muslim netizens. Currently, religious digitalization in the education sector is marked by current Muslim activists who perform their *da’wah* using a digital platform based on social networking. Some viral figures like Felix Siauw and Hanan Attaki are examples of current religious actors representing the existence of the digitalization of religious education in Indonesia. Through their ability to adapt to the preferences of millennial Muslim and Generation Z by spending

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60 Public Virtue Research Institute, ‘Shalat Jum’at Virtual Di Masa Pandemi’, *Public Virtue Research Institute* (blog), accessed 17 December 2021, https://publicvirtue.id/blog/2021/03/03/shalat-jumat-virtual-di-masa-pandemi/.

61 Chandra Gian Asmara, ‘Polemik Salat Ied Di Rumah, Ini Kata Doni Monardo’, https://www.cnbeindonesia.com/, 18 May 2020, https://www.cnbeindonesia.com/news/20200518145302-4-159275/polemik-salat-ied-di-rumah-ini-kata-doni-monardo.

62 Iman Firdaus, ‘Ikhtiar Salat Jumat Online Di Tengah Pandemi’, https://www.kompas.tv/, 2021, https://www.kompas.tv/article/148622/ikhtiar-salat-jumat-online-di-tengah-pandemi.

63 Ulfa Khairina, ‘Strategi Komunikasi Islam Felix Siauw di Instagram’, n.d., 13.
their time in virtual spaces such as Instagram and YouTube, Hanan Attaki and Felix Siauw use social media to learn new religions. On this social media, they carry out their da’wah activities, transforming the values of religious education to their fans and followers (read: congregation).

In the context of religious dynamics among contemporary Muslims in Indonesia, religious digitization effectively influences their religious patterns and behavior. Based on a study conducted by Abd Hannan, Muslim netizens get hallucinations. They are more comfortable studying religion digitally than conventional. Religious learning is no longer mainstream for this generational group in madrasas, mosques, many mushalla, and langgar. Still, it has shifted to applications or digital platform devices such as YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram.64 According to Agus Mustofa, with this model of a learning culture, Muslim netizens are digital Muslim groups—Muslims. They have a strong desire for religiosity but are not matched by efforts to study religion as a whole and correctly.65 Digital Muslims are those who learn religion not on the path and place as most Muslims in general, but through social media that is full of responsibility, brief, hasty, and even partial.

3) Hajatan to Dzikir and Istighasah

The next digitalization of religion is the existence of the virtual celebration phenomenon that is performed in many regions in Indonesia. The context of the meaning of celebration here is not in the sense of a religious event or activity that is limited to marriage. The context of the celebration here contains the meaning of some religious ceremonials, which are generally carried out publicly and openly. This category includes thanksgiving (selametan), tahlilan, zikr, and praying, such as istighasah activities. Usually, celebrations and prayer together in Indonesia are held in open spaces and attended by society, religious leaders, and society. But nowadays, along with the explosion of technological developments and advancements, the implementation of religious ceremonial activities has experienced a

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64 Hannan, ‘Cyberspace Dan Populisme Islam Di Kalangan Netizen: Studi Kasus Pada Akun Media Sosial Felix Siauw’.
65 Lihat Agus Mustofa, *Islam Digital, Smart Thinking & Anti Hoax* (Surabata: Padma Press, 2018).
shift and transition. Traditionally, it is done through physical and face-to-face communal meetings, and gatherings now shifted to digital spaces in the form of daring or online.66

In Indonesia, the implementation of religious activities in the form of celebrations can be found in some activities such as online tahlil, online istighasah, online zikr, online marriages, and so on. Sociologically, the factor causing the massiveness of digitization of religious and social events among Indonesian Muslim netizens is not merely because of technology. It is not a single variable. The emergencies due to the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic are also influential variables. You could even say that the Covid-19 pandemic was the point where religious and social events such as celebrations (selametan), tahlilan, and istighasah were virtualized. However, long before the pandemic crisis, as Najib Burhani (2021) said, religious digitization existed and was practiced by Muslim communities in Indonesia. Especially millennial and generation of Z Muslims incidentally have a heavy dependence on digital platform technology devices.67

RELIGIOUS DIGITALIZATION AS CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM DISRUPTION
Quoting Rhenald Kasali’s explanation in his book, *Disruption* (2017), he asserted that disruption works through the three (3) S formulas. The first S is speed which means fast. In the extensive Indonesian dictionary, the term fast contains the meaning of short distance activities, whether these activities are in the form of travel, movement, or events. Fast is identical to crowded and trimming travel time daily, narrowing a particular space or place. Therefore, in the phenomenon of disruption, the use of technology through digital platforms and internet networks, besides shortening roaming time, can also narrow the area of space. Like paper, the world is folded so that all its entities can gather and mix in a tiny building space. In everyday life, we can translate this space as a small rectangular screen

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66 Wahyu Febriyana, ‘Doa Untuk Syuhada, Wagub Ikuti Tahlil Nasional Secara Virtual’, https://kalteng.go.id/, 22 July 2021, https://kalteng.go.id/berita/read/1384/doa-untuk-syuhada-wagub-ikuti-tahlil-nasional-secara-virtual.
67 Wahyudi Akmaliah and Ahmad Najib Burhani, ‘Digital Islam in Indonesia: The Shift of Ritual and Religiosity during Covid-19’, no. 2021 (2021): 12.
in the form of laptops and smartphones. Reality (religion) can be pulled and forced into it with one touch. Humans and their activities automatically experience shrinking and condensing simultaneously, condensing time, and condensing space.

The integration of religious events into digital spaces based on social networks or the internet shows activity to accelerate the worship space. It may be in worship, studies, da’wah, education, or religious activities in the form of celebrations –Asrif Amir Piliang called it space-time folding) through sound-visual waves, which can only be done by utilizing the sophistication and advantages of internet-based digital devices. The meaning of accelerating religious (Islamic) ritual activities here is not in a physical sense but rather in terms of trimming or reducing space. Implementing online prayer services in digital spaces is one of the practices of narrowing the worship space. Prayers are usually performed in places of worship, such as mosques, and langgar/mushalla, which have been reduced to rectangular digital screens in the form of smartphones, laptops, and so on.

CONCLUSIONS
The clustering of the Muslim generation in Indonesia is dominated by contemporary Muslim groups, including the millennial generation, generation of Z, and the alpha generation. These three generations have the same culture, which has a reasonably high dependence on information media technology, especially digital platforms, based on the sophistication of social internet networks. A reasonably significant dependence on practical technology causes changes to daily social activities, including socio-religious activities. Various religious activities that used to be done traditionally have now shifted to modern ways through technology tools and information media based on digital platforms.

The shift in the religious pattern of Muslim netizens from traditional to modern (digital) can be read as a phenomenon of religious disruption. In Indonesia, religious disruption among Muslim netizens is marked by digitalization in two fundamental sectors. First is the digitization of worship. The implementation of worship, which was previously only centered in particular places of worship such as mosques, mushalla and langgar, now shifted to modern methods
in virtual prayers. Second, digitizing religious education, religious learning activities are no longer centered in conventional places such as madrasas, pesantren and surau but have shifted to virtual spaces such as Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram.

At the practical level, the phenomenon of religious disruption among Muslim netizens in Indonesia works by emphasizing three elements. First is acceleration (speed). A crowded time and space are causing radical and fundamental changes in parts of the system or essential religious structures such as worship and others. Second, the surprises and disruptions are surprisingly fantastic for changes and shifts in religious paradigms. Third, sudden shift. It means a transition of reality spontaneously, quickly, and fast from one type to another. Conducting online religious activities such as online religious studies, istighasah, tahlil, and congregational prayers are concrete manifestations of the phenomenon of religious (Islamic) disruption. It is due to a sudden shift in the main pillars of religion, which then spread to other sectors.

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