



Negotiation of Muslim Worship during the Pandemic Covid-19: Lessons Learned for Post-Pandemic

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Abstract: *The negotiation of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 is very important to reflect on as a lesson learned after the pandemic Covid-19. This study, in addition to provide a conceptual understanding of the pattern of negotiating Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19, reflected this negotiation contextually. This study used a qualitative approach. Data collection was carried out through an interview with Muslims who actively carried out worship activities in the congregation during the pandemic Covid-19 at the Kotagede Mataram Gede Mosque. The analysis was carried out through the process of reducing, describing, and inductively interpreting data to obtain a classification and conclusion regarding the pattern of negotiating Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19. This study found that the pattern of negotiating Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 was not least carried out through three contexts, namely, a negotiation in a structural context, a negotiation in a cultural context, and a negotiation in a spiritual context. These three contexts were an effort of Muslim resilience in accommodating their worship activities during the pandemic Covid-19.*

Keywords: *Negotiation; Resilience; Muslim Worship; Pandemic Covid-19*

A. INTRODUCTION

Negotiations of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 have a pattern that is very important to reflect on for lessons learned. In line with that, Sidik et al. (2020:52) said that in worship negotiations carried out by Muslims, it is not uncommon for various patterns and contextual worship relations to emerge during the pandemic Covid-19. Negotiations of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 also indicate that Muslims often respond to social change by referring to patterns and relationships that are more dynamic in their worship activities. Negotiations of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 also emerged in the form of patterns and relationships (Safdar and Yasmin, 2020: 684). Therefore, the pattern of negotiation and relationship of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 is very important to explain (Pabbajah et al., 2022: 10) to gain a reflective lesson learned to understand attitudes and relations of worship Muslims as a process of resilience in future crisis situations and conditions.

The study reflects on Muslim worship negotiations during the pandemic Covid-19 as a lesson learned after the pandemic Covid-19, which is a very important discussion to carry out (El-Majzoub et al., 2021:4569). So far, the studies discussing

Muslim negotiations regarding their worship activities during the pandemic Covid-19 have only focused on the legal aspects of worship in the health context (Islamy, 2021:95; Suyadi et al., 2020:11; Wijaya, 2021:20). Other studies discussing worship negotiations during the pandemic Covid-19 focus on the risk context (El-Majzoub et al., 2021:10; Muhtador et al., 2021:169; Suleman & Sheikh, 2021:25). In line with that, studies discussing worship negotiations during the pandemic Covid-19 do not focus on policy (Begović, 2021:8; Lee et al., 2022:868; M. Dja'far, 2021:15). From previous studies, the pattern of negotiated Muslim worship during the Covid-19 pandemic has a contextual pattern, because patterns and relations of Muslim worship during the the pandemic Covid-19 often contain doctrines, rules, and worship practices (El-Majzoub et al., 2021:13).

Negotiations on Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 have been demonstrated through complex and contextual patterns and relationships (Hanandini and Pramono, 2022:18). Studies that have discussed Muslim worship negotiations during the pandemic Covid-19 have not been carried out comprehensively, specifically those that reflect the pattern of Muslim worship negotiations as a lesson learned after the pandemic Covid-19. Given the complex pattern of negotiations carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 ((El-Majzoub et al., 2021:8), according to (Fernando et al., 2022: 202), a study that addresses this phenomenon is very important in addition to gaining an understanding which is reflective, can also provide comprehensive knowledge as a lesson learned after the pandemic Covid-19. In addition to responding to the shortcomings of the studies, this study also reflects the pattern of Muslim worship negotiations during the pandemic Covid-19 as a lesson learned.

Negotiations of worship that has a carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 often show patterns and relationships that are so complex and contextual. To analyze this phenomenon, this study focuses on three questions; *First*, how was the negotiation of worship carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 structurally?; *Second*, how was the negotiation of worship carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 culturally?; *Third*, how was the negotiation of worship carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 spiritually? This study is based on the argument that the relations and patterns of worship negotiations carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 emerged in three dominant contexts, namely: a negotiation in a structural, cultural, and spiritual context. This context is not only an act that is dichotomous but also a process of resilience carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 in responding to changes in patterns and relationships of worship.

B. METHOD

This study was conducted on the Muslims of the Great Mosque of Mataram Kotagede, Yogyakarta, Central Java. In its historical context, Muslims in the Kotagede area have had has a strong influence in the process of spreading Islamic teachings on the island of Java, so Kotagede Muslims often represent Muslims in the Indonesian region. In principle and attitude, Muslims in the Kotagede area have knowledge and meanings that tend to be static in responding to a social change, so a negotiation process is needed to perceive a social change by its cultural meaning. In other words, the reception the Muslims showed did not only take place naturally

but also underwent a very complex and contextual negotiation process. Therefore, the negotiations for Muslim worship at the Gede Mataram Kotagede Mosque during the pandemic Covid-19 were chosen for this study to explain the pattern of negotiations carried out by Muslims in responding to social change as a lesson-learned reflection.

The nature of the study is qualitative which refers to primary and secondary data. The primary data in this study were obtained through a process of observation and structured and unstructured interviews with the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Matram Kotagede Yogyakarta. Informants were active in performing the five daily prayers in congregation at the mosque during the pandemic Covid-19. Accordingly, the interview questions focused on three dimensions, namely; *First*, the dimension of Muslim worship knowledge; *Second*, the dimensions of the values and norms of Muslim worship; *Third*, the principles and attitudes of worship of Muslims. The interview process resulted in three patterns of worship negotiations that were dominantly carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19. These three patterns are then presented as important findings in this study. In line with that, this study also relies on secondary data obtained through reading relevant books, journal articles, and websites.

The analysis process was carried out through three processes, including; *First*, the process of reducing data, which is a process carried out to organize data into a more systematic form; *Second*, the process of displaying data, which is a process carried out to describe research data in the form of tables containing excerpts from interview results; *Third*, the data verification process, is the process of concluding data based on the classification of the data trends that have been obtained. Of the three stages, it is possible to carry out an analysis of data that has been classified inductively and then described as a basis for interpreting and reflecting on the data. From the stages and analysis techniques carried out, it is possible to conclude the pattern of worship negotiations carried out by the Muslims of the Gede Mataram Kotagede Mosque during the pandemic Covid-19.

C. LITERATURE STUDY

Negotiation is a concept that describes that every individual or social group can accept or reject a value, norm, and rule according to its social context (Parker and Song, 2009:30). Negotiation emphasizes the process of accepting or rejecting social groups in the process of resilience to the social changes they experience in the crisis era (Hall, 1980:180). In addition, negotiations, have also carried out on three aspect, including; *First*, acceptance of values, norms, and rules is often influenced by cognitive knowledge (Cohen and Kassan, 2018:16); *Second*, negotiations always focus on the dominant culture in society (Zhou, 2020:15); *Third*, the negotiation process is often contextually oriented (Yazan et al., 2019:13). In other words, the concept of negotiation can be understood as an individual or group effort in a process of resilience and adapting to certain situations and conditions (N. A. Cohen and Yoon, 2021:20). As the patterns and worship activities practiced by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta during the pandemic Covid-19.

Resilience is an individual's ability or capacity to adapt, accept, face, and transform problems and difficulties in certain situations (Van Breda, 2018:25). Resilience by (Pragholapati, 2020:21) is also categorized as a coping skill that is used

by individuals or groups in dealing with life challenges that are oriented towards self-improvement. In this context, resilience is a factor needed to change risk and difficulty in carrying out social activities (Wright et al., 2013:17). Not only that, but resilience is also needed to identify individual confidence in facing life's challenges (Ab Rahman et al., 2020:19). Yörük and Güler (2021:25) also said that resilience has encouraged individuals or groups to stay focused and be able to make decisions under pressure. Because according to Tau et al. (2018:9) resilience has five dimensions, namely; purpose, desire, trust, openness, and ability, in responding to social changes, such as the social impact of the pandemic Covid-19.

The pandemic Covid-19 is a disease caused by acute respiratory syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-Cov-2) which infects the respiratory tract and can cause death (Shereen et al., 2020:16). Starting in the city of Wuhan, China in 2019, Covid-19 spread massively and became a deadly pandemic by spreading through droplets from infected people (Baloch et al., 2020:20). However, the Covid-19 virus does not only have an impact on health alone but also has an impact on changing patterns and activities of the socio-religious community (I. Abdullah, 2020: 2). Daniel (2020:12) also said that Covid-19 had brought challenges to community activities, where the mitigation of Covid-19 prompted the government to require various activities to shift to virtual spaces (online). However, some literature reveals that virtual (online) community activities carried out during the Covid-19 pandemic were deemed unable to accommodate the interests and needs of the community both socially and religiously (Bird et al., 2021:18).

D. RESULTS AND DISSCUSSION

The worship activities practiced by Muslims in the Kotagede Mataram Kotagede Mosque have undergone a complex and contextual negotiation process. So far, Muslim worship activities during the pandemic Covid-19 have been considered a practice that occurs naturally. However, the findings of this study show that the worship activities practiced by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 have experienced a very complex and contextual negotiation process. This context can be explained through the doctrines, rules, and worship practices practiced by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19.

1. Structural negotiations

Table 1. Structurally Worship Negotiations

Negotiation	Statement
Faith	If during the pandemic Covid-19 I could still pray at this mosque, I would follow government and palace regulations, such as wearing a mask and keeping my distance. But in my understanding, worship activities must still be applied in any situation and condition. Because prayer is mandatory worship for Muslims. Even though it has to be proking, it doesn't matter, the important thing is that you can pray (Informant 1, 63 years old).
Reason	During the pandemic Covid-19, the palace invited us to pray in the congregation as long as we take care that no one gets

	infected with Corona. Yesterday there was a rule from the government that the mosque is closed, it is not permissible to pray in the mosque. But we are still open. Because the mosque is sprayed and cleaned every day. So we also have that reason, our congregation keeps their distance, then there is also a temperature check. So we are ready, there is a reason to pray at the mosque during the Covid-19 pandemic (Informant 2, 63 years old).
Regulation	As usual, to be able to perform prayers at the mosque, you have to keep your distance, because this mosque belongs to the palace, if the sultan said that for a while, you have to keep your distance, don't have crowds, this mosque belongs to the palace, so you have to follow the rules of the palace. The regulations must be implemented if you want to be able to continue praying during the pandemic Covid-19 (Informant 3, 57 years).

Source: Interview with informants.

Religious negotiations and structurally, are often carried out by Muslims during the Covid-19 pandemic in a more adaptive form. This context can be seen through the display of **Table 1**, as stated by informants 1, 2, and 3 as Muslims at the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede, who have negotiated their worship policies structurally. Structurally, worship negotiations are carried out in the aspects of doctrine, rules, and worship practices determined by the authorities in the form of a worship policy during the pandemic Covid-19. The prayer negotiations carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 also reflect how Muslims adapt in dealing with crisis conditions and situations. Therefore, structural worship activities carried out by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta during the pandemic Covid-19 were activities that did not only occur naturally, in fact, they had undergone an adaptive negotiation process.

Structural worship negotiations carried out by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta, show the resilience carried out by Muslims so that they can continue to practice their worship activities during the pandemic Covid-19. Therefore, Muslims often negotiate doctrines, rules, and worship practices in the form of policies in more adaptive ways. Zhou (2020:12) this context is not uncommon for Muslims to be able to carry out their worship activities as a form of resilience amid the massive spread of the pandemic Covid-19. Even though the worship negotiations carried out by Muslims tend to conflict with their collective knowledge and experience, in Praghlapati (2020:23) this context was negotiated by Muslims in a more rational direction due to urgent situations and conditions. So it can be said that the adaptive negotiation of worship shown by Muslims is resilience in overcoming the problem of worship in times of crisis.

For the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta, worship activities are practices that must be carried out in any situation and condition. Therefore, the negotiation of worship during the pandemic Covid-19 must be resilient by Muslims through more adaptive ways so that they can continue to paraphrase their worship activities amidst a policy of restricting worship. Negotiations of worship by Muslims are also influenced by the flexibility of

Muslims (Falicov et al., 2020:12). In line with that, Selten (1998:192) also said that negotiation is a way or model of resilience based on individual or group rationalization in responding to social change. In other words, the worship negotiations carried out by the Gede Mataram Kotagede Muslims were a resilience effort that was rationalizing their worship activities during the pandemic Covid-19.

2. Cultural negotiations

Table 2. Culturally Worship Negotiations

Negotiation	Statement
Doctrine	During the pandemic, we were forbidden to shake hands either before or after praying in congregation at the mosque it was like that in the mosque environment. But if I am a fellow member of the mosque who is already familiar, I still shake hands, I don't like it, especially with those who already know me. If guests are from outside, I don't dare to shake hands. But if you are already familiar, there is no problem. Well, I feel bad, bro, if any of our close relatives don't shake hands, don't hesitate to do that, we'll be considered arrogant (Informant 4, 67 years old).
Rules	We should not refuse people to come and worship at this mosque. Well, at least we can only apply health protocols, keep our distance, wear masks, and if we don't shake hands with strangers. We can't prohibit people from worshipping at this mosque, especially since this mosque is visited by many people from all over, so it's not good to ban them, it's a pity that they have come from far away (Informant 4, 67 years old).
Practice	During the pandemic Covid-19, when I worship in the mosque, I follow the health program, don't shake hands, and wear a mask. But when I leave the mosque, I shake hands, it doesn't matter because what is clear to me personally is that it is important for us to take care of ourselves. If we take good care of others, they will be awake too. If the person is annoyed, we avoid it, then if we are told to prokes we don't want to, we will give in, we can't force our opinion, the important thing is that the worship continues, even though those who don't follow the rules of worship are only there outside, but still in the mosque environment (Informants 5, 51 years).

Source: Interview with informants.

Religious negotiations, and cultural, are often carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 in a more accommodating form. This context can be seen through the display of **Table 2**, as well as statements from informants 4 and 5 as Muslims at the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta, who have negotiated their worship policies culturally. Negotiations on worship culturally are carried out in the aspects of doctrine, rules, and worship practices determined by the authorities in the form of a worship policy during the pandemic Covid-19. The prayer

negotiations carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 also reflected how Muslims adapt in dealing with crisis conditions and situations. Therefore, the cultural worship activities carried out by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta during the pandemic Covid-19 were activities that did not only occur naturally, in fact, they had undergone an accommodative negotiation process.

The cultural worship negotiations carried out by Muslims at the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta during the pandemic Covid-19, show a process and response carried out by Muslims in the resiliency of their worship practices according to their conservative understanding. These negotiations were carried out by Muslims aiming to accommodate their religious interests in the context of doctrine, rules, and practices during the pandemic Covid-19, as they believed collectively (Zimmer et al., 2020:289). In line with this context, the negotiation of cultural worship carried out by Muslims as individuals or groups is a process of rationalizing the doctrines, rules, and worship practices, in accordance with the sharia that they believe in (Parker & Song, 2009:15). In other words, the negotiation of cultural worship by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 is not only a form of resilience that occurs naturally but also a process of rationalization that is contextual.

For Muslims, worship activities must be practiced in accordance with the guidance of the Shari'a which they believe in under any conditions and situations. Therefore, the law of worship during the pandemic Covid-19 is often negotiated in rational ways in response to changes in the legal and social systems (Bird et al., 2021:10). Cultural worship negotiations carried out by Muslims were also not least influenced by the process of interpreting the legal and social systems in a conservative manner, so this context became the dominant culture that underlies the actions of Muslims in interpreting doctrines, rules, and worship practices during the pandemic Covid-19 (Yazan et al., 2019:13). Thus, cultural worship negotiations carried out by Muslims are an individual or group way of accommodating their sharia views of worship during the pandemic Covid-19. Apart from positioning their social attitudes, Muslim worship activities are also an alternative resilience as a coping method during the pandemic Covid-19.

3. Spiritual Negotiations

Table 3. Spiritually Worship Negotiations

Negotiation	Statement
Doctrine	Even though during the pandemic there were rules not to perform prayers in congregation, they are still being held here. If you want to pray at home alone, that's fine, but congregational prayers are still being held here. Because praying in a congregation at the mosque is mandatory for men, even though there are rules for keeping a distance, wearing masks, and no touching, it's okay, the important thing is to pray in a congregation at the mosque. And after the five daily prayers, we carry out the rules to close the mosque. So open it only for the obligatory prayers, five minutes before the prayer

	and five minutes after the prayer (Informant 4, 67 years).
Rules	Personally, what do you think? My view is that it is purely a disease, and it is true that it is our physical body that is being attacked, and in the news, many are affected and even many die, here too some have died. But because we are Muslims, it could be a disaster from Allah, because the virus is invisible. Because Allah wants to test our faith, whether we worship at this time or not, are afraid or not, So we have to follow God's rules if we want to be safe (Informant 2, 63 years).
Practice	During the pandemic Covid-19, the prayers are usually shortened, the first letter will be a short letter like the letter al-Ikhlâs. Yes, during the pandemic, the prayers were shortened. Prayer services on Friday also shorten the sermon, the prayers are short, and the participants are also limited to only people nearby, even though we are carrying out worship but we also have to obey the rules during the pandemic Covid-19 (Informant 5, 51 years old).

Source: Interview with informants.

Negotiations on worship and spirituality, are often carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 in a more confrontational form. This context can be seen through the display of **Table 3**, as stated by informants 4, 2, and 5 as Muslims at the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede Yogyakarta, who have negotiated their spiritual worship policies. Negotiations on spiritual worship are carried out in the aspects of doctrine, rules, and worship practices determined by the authorities in the form of a worship policy during the pandemic Covid-19. The prayer negotiations carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 also reflect how Muslims confront themselves in facing crisis conditions and situations. Therefore, the spiritual worship activities carried out by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede during the pandemic Covid-19 were activities that did not just appear out of nowhere, but have undergone a process of spiritual negotiation.

The spiritual worship negotiations carried out by the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede during the pandemic Covid-19, show a form of pattern and response carried out by Muslims to reconcile the doctrines, rules, and worship practices set by the authorities. These negotiations were carried out by Muslims because the imposed doctrines, rules, and worship practices were considered to be contrary to the views and collective experiences of Muslims. In the view of Yörük & Güler (202: 11) negotiations carried out by Muslims as individuals and groups are not only an effort of resilience but also a form of evaluation of the doctrines, rules, and worship practices that are determined by conditions and crisis situations. However, the negotiating attitude shown by the Muslims of the Kotagede Mataram Gede Mosque, in the view of Hanafi et al (2022: 23), is also often influenced by the meaning of Muslim worship set by the authorities. In other words, the negotiations carried out by the Muslims were a form of evaluative resilience (Razy et al., 2022: 128).

In the context of the Muslims of the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede, negotiations on doctrines, rules, and worship practices during the the pandemic

Covid-19, not infrequently occur due to the influence of the imbalanced relationship between Muslims and authorities in legitimizing doctrines, rules, and worship practices during a pandemic Covid-19 (Mubah, 2021: 120). In addition to the legitimacy of worship which is carried out from the top down, the intervention of the authorities in the coercive application of worship norms during the pandemic Covid-19 also often triggers the emergence of a pattern of negotiation that occurs spiritually from Muslims. In line with that, Alpyspaeva dan Abdykarimova (2022: 318) also said that worship negotiations carried out by the community or individuals are not least caused by unequal relations, so that those who are controlled can only follow forced doctrines, rules, and social practices. So it can be said that negotiations that are carried out spiritually occur because of an imbalance in the relationship between the congregation and the authorities in the process of implementing and practicing worship during the pandemic Covid-19.

E. CONCLUSIONS

This study showed that the negotiations of worship carried out by Muslim Gede Mataram Mosque Kotagede during the pandemic Covid-19, did not appear in the three dominant patterns, namely; *Frist*, structural negotiation, negotiations carried out on the rules and recommendations of worship from the authorities during the pandemic Covid-19. *Second*, cultural negotiation, negotiations carried out on the norms and attitude of worship established during the pandemic Covid-19. *Third*, spiritual negotiation, negotiations carried out on the practices and values of worship during the pandemic Covid-19. In line with these three patterns, the important findings in this study also show that the negotiation pattern shown by these Muslims is not only a form of evaluative response, but is also an effort of resilience from Muslims towards the established doctrines, rules, and worship practices by the authorities during the pandemic Covid-19. In other words, the negotiation of worship carried out by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19 is a pattern of contextual resilience.

Negotiations of Muslim worship during the pandemic Covid-19 has a pattern of contextual resilience. However, this conception of the pattern of negotiation carried out by Muslims has not been comprehensively classified in previous studies. Therefore, this study, in addition to showing the pattern of negotiation shown by Muslims during the pandemic Covid-19, also conceptualizes the pattern of reception as a form of resilience that is carried out contextually. It is hoped that this conceptual contribution will be able to contribute to the development of the concept of socio-religious studies in looking at the negotiation pattern of Muslims in times of crisis.

This study also has limitations in the data collection process which only focuses on the scope of Muslims in the Mosque Gede Mataram Kotagede, so this study has not investigated this phenomenon in a more macro and diverse socio-cultural context of Muslims. However, it is hoped that the limitations of this study will serve as a reference for further studies, especially those wishing to compare negotiations of Muslim worship in the socio-religious context of Muslims who are more macro and diverse.

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