

## Da'wa (Islamic Mission) and Social Solidarity: Social Drama in the 'Wirid' Activities in Indonesia

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### Keywords

Da'wa, Wirid, Social solidarity, Social drama, Indonesia

### Abstract

*This ethnographic study investigates wirid (Islamic devotional) activities at the micro-community level, routinely practiced as a form of da'wa (Islamic mission). Data was collected over three months, from January to March 2020. The findings reveal that wirid activities extend beyond fostering individual piety, significantly contributing to enhanced social solidarity among community members. Employing social drama theory, this article elucidates how wirid activities serve as a collective discourse to forge social cohesion among Muslims. The study identifies that preachers strategically disseminate narratives emphasizing the contemporary erosion of Islamic values, thereby strengthening social solidarity through the wirid. Furthermore, preachers leverage these gatherings to recount the historical grandeur of Islam, motivating Muslims to collectively strive for its resurgence.*

### Kata kunci

Da'wa, Wirid, Solidaritas sosial, Drama sosial, Indonesia

### Abstrak

Studi etnografis ini menyelidiki aktivitas wirid (ibadah devosional Islam) pada tingkat komunitas mikro, yang secara rutin dipraktikkan sebagai bentuk dakwah. Data dikumpulkan selama tiga bulan, dari Januari hingga Maret 2020. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa aktivitas wirid tidak hanya berfungsi untuk membina kesalehan individu, tetapi juga secara signifikan berkontribusi pada penguatan solidaritas sosial di antara anggota komunitas. Dengan menggunakan teori drama sosial, artikel ini menjelaskan bagaimana aktivitas wirid berperan sebagai wacana kolektif untuk membentuk kohesi sosial di kalangan Muslim. Studi ini menemukan bahwa para penceramah secara strategis menyebarkan narasi yang menyoroti kemerosotan nilai-nilai Islam di era kontemporer, sehingga memperkuat solidaritas sosial melalui kegiatan wirid. Selain itu, para penceramah memanfaatkan majelis wirid ini untuk menceritakan kembali kejayaan Islam di masa lalu, guna mendorong umat Islam agar bersama-sama berjuang untuk kebangkitannya kembali.

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### Introduction

Recent scholarly discourse posits a discernible "conservative turn" within Indonesian society, a phenomenon notably articulated by Bruinessen (2013). While Bruinessen attributes this shift, in part, to the return of graduates from the Middle East, his explanatory framework necessitates further empirical investigation, particularly

through the lens of localized contexts. This paper contends that the impetus behind Indonesia's conservative trajectory can be more comprehensively understood by examining the proliferation of da'wa activities within Indonesian urban societies. Specifically, it argues that the intensive practice of da'wa at the micro-level significantly contributes to the macro-level conservative turn in Indonesia, thereby establishing a direct link between the rise of conservatism and the pervasive presence of local da'wa forms, such as *wirid* (Fealy, 2008; Hasan, 2009).

Existing scholarship on da'wa in Indonesia offers various perspectives. Fealy (2008) highlights the interplay between Islamic da'wa and the broader forces of globalization and modernization. Lengauer (2018) demonstrates how online da'wa communities, exemplified by those in Bandung, reshape members' orientations and provide models for cultivating *semangat takwa* (zeal of piety). Similarly, Hew (2018), through a case study of Felix Siau, illustrates how digital and visual da'wa complement, rather than supplant, traditional offline and textual forms. Collectively, these studies underscore the increasing visibility and influence of Islamic activities in Indonesia's public sphere, often interpreted as a strengthening of Islamic piety (Slama, 2017; Hasyim, 2023). However, this paper posits that Islamic da'wa in Indonesia extends beyond merely enhancing religious understanding or personal piety; it also crucially aims at fostering social solidarity and cohesion. Rosidi (2021a) explores how Muslim preachers instrumentalize da'wa for political ends in contemporary Indonesia, navigating globalization and government policy to shape pragmatic rather than normative agendas. Rosidi & Amin (2019) examine the challenges of disseminating zakat obligations among farming communities in Meranti, highlighting negotiations between religiosity and modern management. Rosidi (2024) analyze Hang Radio in Batam as a vehicle of Salafi da'wa via radio, showing how broadcast media mediate ideological identity in fragmented and capitalist public spheres. In addition, Rosidi (2024) demonstrates how ritual *suluk* reinforces communal bonds within Sufi tariqas, and Rosidi & Yazid (2021) uncover how local da'wa networks influence authority structures in provincial towns. Consequently, this study seeks to elucidate the mechanisms through which da'wa practices at the micro-level, specifically *wirid*, are conducted intensively and periodically within Indonesian Muslim communities, with a particular focus on the subjectivities of *wirid* members and leaders regarding these practices.

Furthermore, it is imperative to acknowledge that Indonesian rural societies typically prioritize communal relations (Darmajanti & Starlita, 2012). This emphasis on collectivism is reflected in Indonesian Islamic society, where activities and rituals designed to reinforce communal bonds are consistently promoted. Geertz's (2013) seminal work on the *Selamatan* in Javanese communities exemplifies this, demonstrating its role in cultivating social cohesion among Javanese Muslims. In a similar vein, for the contemporary Muslim community, communal activities such as *da'wa* in the form of *wirid* are actively encouraged to improve social relations.

Therefore, this article advances the argument that *wirid* as a form of *da'wa* in Indonesian Muslim societies is not solely undertaken to deepen the Muslim community's understanding of Islam. Rather, it is equally, if not primarily, directed towards strengthening social relations within the Muslim community. This implies that this particular form of Islamic *da'wa* functions as a medium for constructing a collective discourse of social drama, thereby maintaining social solidarity among Muslims. Employing an ethnographic methodology, this article provides an in-depth analysis of the ubiquitous practice of *da'wa* within Indonesian Islamic society. This analysis offers a nuanced understanding of the "conservative turn" as not merely an external imposition or ideological shift, but as an emergent property of localized social and religious practices that reinforce communal bonds and shape collective identities.

## Methods

This article employs qualitative methods, combining semi-structured interviews and participant observation to collect empirical data. Fifteen Muslim individuals were purposively selected as informants based on their active involvement in *wirid* (ritual religious gatherings). The interviews explored participants' motivations and subjective meanings related to their participation in *wirid* activities, while observation was conducted during the rituals to capture the dynamics of interaction and religious expressions in situ.

Focusing on Muslim communities in the city of Pekanbaru and Kampar District, Riau Province, this study examines *da'wa* practices at the micro-social level. These practices, locally known as *wirid*, are performed routinely and periodically in various spaces such as government offices, private homes, and mosques. The choice of Pekanbaru and Kampar as research sites is grounded in both socioreligious and cultural considerations. Pekanbaru, the capital of Riau Province, has undergone significant development in the field of Islamic propagation (*da'wa*) and is recognized for its well-organized and institutionalized religious activities (Rosidi, Yazid, & Amril, 2021). In contrast to the religious landscape in Jakarta, *da'wa* practices in these Riau regions are more structured, and their consistency reflects a deeply rooted integration of Islamic values into everyday life.

A key sociocultural feature of these regions is the integration of Islamic norms with customary law, encapsulated in the local maxim *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah* (custom rests on Islamic law, and Islamic law rests on the Qur'an). This phrase underscores the centrality of Islam in shaping legal, ethical, and social frameworks within local communities. Geographically, Pekanbaru and Kampar are adjacent to West Sumatra and share strong ethno-cultural ties with Minangkabau communities. This affinity is also reflected in linguistic proximity: the *Ocu* dialect spoken in Kampar and Pekanbaru closely resembles Minang language, reinforcing cultural continuity and Islamic communal values.

Theoretically, this study draws on Victor Turner's concept of social drama (Turner, 1980), which posits that community cohesion is often maintained and reaffirmed through performative and narrative acts that dramatize conflict and resolution. Building on Turner and Ostertag (2021), the article contends that *wirid* functions as a form of social drama through which preachers narrate moral concerns and reinforce social boundaries. Within these gatherings, preachers articulate perceived threats to communal integrity—most notably, the behaviors of urban youth and the encroachment of modern, secular lifestyles. These elements are often portrayed as antithetical to Islamic moral values and thus serve as foils in the narrative of collective piety and solidarity.

This research argues that rather than diminishing the public role of religion, urbanization and modernization have intensified the visibility and vitality of Islamic ritual life. In both Kampar and Pekanbaru, *wirid* remains a dynamic religious practice through which Muslims assert their moral identity, negotiate cultural change, and cultivate communal belonging. This supports the argument that Islam continues to serve as a salient force in shaping the public sphere in contemporary urban Indonesia (Wahid & Makruf, 2017).

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Development of Da'wa in Indonesia**

Islamic *da'wa* in Indonesia witnessed significant growth following the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998. During the New Order period, Islamic activism was subject to tight state control, largely due to the regime's deep-seated suspicion toward political Islam (Saputra, 2022). This suspicion was historically rooted in repeated attempts by Islamic political movements to challenge or revise the foundational ideology of the Indonesian state (Baswedan, 2004). From the perspective of the regime, such efforts were seen as threats to national stability and political order, which could potentially derail the state-led development agenda. Consequently, religious expressions, especially those tied to political aspirations, were closely monitored and often repressed.

The fall of Suharto's authoritarian regime ushered in an era of political liberalization and increased information openness (Ichwan, 2013). In this new context, *da'wa* activities found expanded space within Indonesia's public sphere. The state significantly reduced its intervention in religious affairs and no longer exercised the level of surveillance or restriction characteristic of the New Order era. As a result, *da'wa* transformed from a marginal and semi-regulated activity into a vibrant and multifaceted movement that operates across both formal and informal domains.

The post-authoritarian expansion of *da'wa* was further accelerated by globalization. The increasing interconnectedness of Muslim societies globally has allowed Indonesian Muslims to access religious discourses, teachings, and models of piety from abroad—especially from the Middle East. The rise of digital platforms and

the accessibility of online Islamic content have enabled the dissemination of transnational Islamic ideas to wide audiences in Indonesia. Moreover, intensified global mobility has facilitated pilgrimage, study, and religious tourism to Islamic centers such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco, contributing to the emergence of new *da'wa* actors and networks upon their return.

These transnational exchanges have had profound implications for religious life in Indonesia. Returning graduates from Middle Eastern institutions often play influential roles in shaping religious discourse and practice. They bring with them not only theological training but also new modes of religious authority and legitimacy rooted in their affiliations with prestigious Islamic institutions abroad. This global-religious circulation has become a catalyst for localized forms of *da'wa* activism, often emphasizing scripturalist or reformist orientations.

At the micro level, the *da'wa* landscape in Pekanbaru and Kampar District reflects these broader global and national transformations. A significant driver of local *da'wa* expansion has been the return of Muslim students from the Middle East, particularly from Egypt. These returnees often initiate grassroots *da'wa* efforts, preaching in mosques, community gatherings, and private homes. Among the most prominent figures is Abdul Somad, a widely recognized preacher originally from Pekanbaru. He completed his undergraduate studies at the State Islamic University of Sultan Syarif Kasim in Riau before receiving a scholarship to pursue further studies at Al-Azhar University in Cairo and later completing his master's degree in Morocco.

Upon returning to Indonesia, Abdul Somad assumed a faculty position at his alma mater, while simultaneously engaging in extensive *da'wa* activities throughout Riau. His prominence as a public preacher underscores how international religious education can serve as a foundation for local religious authority. Alongside Somad, numerous other graduates from Middle Eastern institutions also contribute to the *da'wa* scene in Pekanbaru and Kampar. Their preaching is typically conducted through mosque-based sermons, small group gatherings, and home-based religious circles, reflecting a model of *da'wa* that is personal, mobile, and deeply embedded in community structures.

Because Abdul Somad and other preachers hold positions as lecturers or educators, their *da'wa* activities have had a noticeable impact on religious life in Pekanbaru and Kampar. Their integration into educational institutions provides not only professional legitimacy but also access to social networks that extend beyond religious spaces. The impersonal yet structured nature of academic and institutional relationships in their professional environments facilitates the expansion of their *da'wa* efforts. As lecturers, these preachers naturally extend their influence to the university campus, where lectures often double as *da'wa* sessions, fostering intellectual religious discourse among students. In this way, higher education institutions have become important nodes in the contemporary *da'wa* network, with university-based *da'i* cultivating spaces for spiritual engagement that transcend formal curricula (Rosidi, 2020b; Hasan, 2009).

From the campus, these *da'wa* activities expand further into public institutions, including government offices in Pekanbaru and Kampar. Many preacher-academics are actively involved in semi-governmental religious bodies such as the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) and the National Zakat Agency (Badan Amil Zakat Nasional, BAZNAS), both of which maintain branches in the region. Through these organizations, they organize weekly and monthly religious programs in mosques

and government facilities. Notably, the local government has demonstrated strong support for these religious initiatives, as evidenced by the strategic establishment of the central government mosque in Pekanbaru adjacent to MUI and BAZNAS offices. In this mosque, communal *wirid* sessions are held routinely every working day after the *dhuhur* prayer.

The term *wirid* has become a central idiom in the religious life of Muslims in Pekanbaru and Kampar, signifying both ritual devotion and collective religious engagement. Major Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) are deeply involved in organizing and participating in *wirid* activities that span urban and rural communities. Despite their shared commitment, each organization conducts *wirid* with unique emphases. NU, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, frequently hosts large-scale *wirid* events that feature prominent *kiai* or national religious figures—typically from Java—and are preceded by *sholawat* chanting. The thematic focus often centers on the spiritual benefits of *dhikr* and the pursuit of divine proximity.

In contrast, Muhammadiyah's approach to *wirid* is typically more austere and intellectual, omitting *sholawat* recitations and emphasizing Quranic interpretation as well as moral guidance for contemporary social challenges, particularly those affecting the youth. PKS follows a similar model, but with a more conciliatory tone reflecting its political character, often focusing on ethical behavior and civic responsibility without overt political messaging.

Alongside these structured organizational efforts, there exists a more organic form of *wirid* cultivated by ordinary Muslim communities. These grassroots *wirid* gatherings are not formally affiliated with any particular organization. Participants include individuals from NU, Muhammadiyah, PKS, and PERSIS (Islamic Union), who set aside institutional identities in favor of a shared Muslim solidarity. This phenomenon fosters an inclusive spiritual atmosphere in which participants often do not inquire about, or even know, the organizational affiliations of fellow attendees. In these settings, *wirid* becomes not only a ritual act but also a medium of inter-organizational coexistence and everyday Muslim unity.

### **Wirid as Da'wa Activities**

The term *wirid* in Islamic discourse generally refers to the recitation of *dhikr* after daily prayers. However, in the context of Muslim communities in Pekanbaru and Kampar, the term assumes a distinct connotation. Here, *wirid* refers to a form of organized da'wa activity involving the invitation of a preacher who delivers a religious lecture to the community. The content of these lectures typically addresses Islamic jurisprudence, ethics, and spiritual development.

In these regions, there are two main types of *wirid* activities. The first is mosque-based *wirid*, typically conducted weekly according to a schedule set by mosque administrators. These sessions usually take place after the Maghrib prayer and conclude

before the Isha prayer. For instance, *wirid* at the Al-Muhajirin Mosque in Tarai Bangun, Kampar, is held every Sunday. This scheduling is intentional; as Zaki, a mosque official, explained, Sundays are ideal since most congregants are off work and more likely to attend. This reflects a strategic adaptation to social rhythms to maximize participation.

The perceived success of these mosque-based *wirid* sessions is often gauged by attendance figures. High turnout is seen as an indicator of effective da'wa, while poor attendance prompts reevaluation. Bahrul, a mosque administrator in Pekanbaru, remarked, "We cannot continue the *wirid* if only five people show up. It would be embarrassing for the preacher. At least twenty people should be present." This illustrates a social expectation for community engagement and a sense of collective responsibility in religious activities.

Notably, the required quorum for these sessions varies depending on the size and demographic composition of the local mosque community. Smaller congregations often consider 10-15 attendees sufficient. Moreover, attendance is not obligatory; its voluntary nature contributes to fluctuating participation levels. Nevertheless, speakers regularly emphasize the importance of mosque attendance and communal prayer, often citing prophetic traditions to underline the obligation of congregational worship for Muslim men. Thus, *wirid* functions not only as a space for religious instruction but also as a means to foster mosque-centered communal solidarity.

The second type of *wirid* activity occurs in residential settings, typically organized at the RT (Rukun Tetangga) level—the smallest administrative unit in Indonesian governance. These community-based *wirid* sessions are held monthly and coordinated by the RT leader, who manages a cluster of 50 to 100 households. While both Pekanbaru and Kampar feature active RT-based *wirid* groups, participation is largely confined to urban neighborhoods. Rural communities, especially those geographically distant from urban centers, are less engaged in such activities.

This urban-rural disparity aligns with broader sociological distinctions in Islamic practice across Indonesia. As Rasmussen (2019) observes, traditional Islamic communities often exhibit collectivist religious practices, including rituals like *selamatan*, grave visitation, and Sufi gatherings. In contrast, modern urban Muslim societies, influenced by reformist or puritan ideologies, tend to reject such practices as *bid'ah* (religious innovation). Consequently, *wirid* in urban areas reflects a modernized, structured approach to religious engagement, whereas its absence in rural settings indicates adherence to more traditional, culturally embedded forms of religiosity.

### **Wirid Pattern in Urban Communities**

Wirid is done at night because, at this time, most people have come home from work. Everyone who lives in the RT is invited by means of a letter signed by the Head of the RT and the chairman of *wirid*. The *wirid*'s secretary delivered the letter to each house one day before the *wirid* activity was held. If the house is empty, the letter is

placed under the door of the house so that residents can easily find it when they return. *Wirid* is held every month and moves from one house to another. The official rule is that everyone cannot refuse when their house is chosen as a *wirid* host. The RT and *wirid* head usually choose the *wirid* place every month.

*Wirid* is conducted not in the home yard, but on the street in front of the house. The average house in urban areas does not have a large yard, so residents often use the road as the venue. Chairs are neatly arranged as seats for attendees. The road is equipped with awnings to protect people in case of rain. The number of participants in each session is around 50 people. The presenter opens the *wirid* in the official language, Indonesian. The program is simple. After the opening, a selected person recites verses from the Qur'an for about five minutes. Then, the invited preacher delivers a religious sermon.

While the sermon is delivered, an attendance list is circulated. Each attendee writes their name and signs the list as proof of participation. The theme of the sermon is not predetermined by the RT head or the *wirid* chairman, allowing each preacher the freedom to speak on any Islamic topic. The duration of the sermon is likewise undetermined; typically, it lasts between 45 minutes to an hour but can be shorter or longer depending on the speaker. After the sermon, the preacher closes the *wirid* with a prayer in Arabic.

After the prayer, the host invites everyone to partake in the food that has been prepared. While eating, the RT head may make announcements concerning neighborhood affairs. He often emphasizes the importance of attending *wirid* activities and occasionally issues warnings to those who habitually do not participate, suggesting they may not receive community assistance in times of need. Meanwhile, the *wirid* chairman usually reports the monthly *wirid* income, which is collected from obligatory contributions by the RT's Muslim residents.

This practice of *wirid* as a communal event reflects both religious and social functions of Islamic ritual in urban Indonesia. It reinforces neighborhood cohesion, serves as a platform for community communication, and cultivates a shared religious identity.

### **Wirid and Social Solidarity**

*Wirid* activities often involve religious sermons focusing on specific themes such as Islamic ethics and jurisprudence. In this context, *wirid* is functionally similar to oral *da'wa*. Similar preaching activities are found in other parts of Indonesia, albeit under different names. Even televised religious broadcasts share this character; for instance, the private TV channel TVOne airs a weekly Islamic sermon program titled *Damai Indonesiaku* every Sunday.

Beyond serving as a medium for disseminating Islamic teachings, *wirid* also functions as a vehicle for fostering social cohesion and communal solidarity. This is why such gatherings are scheduled on Sundays, a day off for most residents in semi-

urban communities like Kualu Village, where the majority work from Monday to Saturday. If held during the week, participation would be minimal. Recognizing this, local leaders in RT 01 of Kualu Village actively encourage attendance by distributing written invitations a day in advance. As one informant, Irman (Male, 43 years old), explained, “We want this wirid to be attended by everyone in our neighborhood. We want it to be lively. When it's crowded, we feel proud and united. If only a few show up, it feels like we lack solidarity.”

Communal religious gatherings are common in Indonesian Muslim society. The ideal of congregational worship is deeply embedded, with every Muslim man religiously obligated to perform prayers in congregation. The greater the number of attendees, the more commendable the act is deemed, reinforcing the collectivist values inherent in Islamic religious life.

Consequently, many da'wa initiatives are oriented not merely toward spiritual education but also toward strengthening interpersonal relationships. For instance, preachers often narrate moral tales that warn of the adverse effects of media globalization. These narratives critique the neglect of moral instruction among urban Muslim families and call for a return to Islamic values to reinforce community solidarity.

In such a collectivist context, social cooperation and cohesion are heavily emphasized. Preachers consistently promote cultural resilience, urging Muslims to be proactive in maintaining group solidarity. Every Muslim is regarded as having a moral obligation to their social environment, an ethos encapsulated in the concept of the *Ummah*, which refers to the community of believers guided and unified under a shared spiritual leadership (Esposito, 2003). This ideal reinforces the notion of religious identity as the foundation of social cohesion, often surpassing national boundaries in its influence.

Wirid gatherings exemplify this ethos of collective responsibility. Unlike private supplications (*doa*) that are voluntary and individual, wirid events are more structured and obligatory. Each household is expected to contribute a monthly fee—typically no more than IDR 50,000—which is used to provide refreshments, honoraria for preachers, and aid for the less fortunate.

The themes of social cohesion and neighborly solidarity are regularly reinforced by preachers and local leaders during wirid events. For instance, at a January 2020 gathering in Tarai Bangun Village, a preacher named Abdul Wahid (Male, 56 years old) reminded the audience:

“Every Muslim must know their fellow Muslims. We should know our neighbors. This wirid is important because it helps us know each other. Those who do not join should be invited and reminded that life requires cooperation. No Muslim should live in this area without ever joining wirid. Do they think they can wash and bury their own bodies when they die?”

Islamic teachings frequently emphasize collective acts of worship, reinforcing the religion's orientation toward communal living. During wirid sessions, preachers often remind participants of the moral imperative to support neighbors facing economic hardship. In the Muslim worldview, neighbors are often considered more critical than biological relatives, as they are physically present and more likely to offer day-to-day support.

One informant, Ahmad (Male, 60 years old), remarked, “We live in this world to know who our neighbors are... but in city life, we rarely meet our neighbors. Sometimes we don't even know their names. This wirid helps reestablish those bonds.” The monthly wirid thus serves as a vital forum for social interaction, lasting around two hours and offering opportunities for dialogue, discussion, and even humor.

In both Pekanbaru and Kampar, urban Muslims often exhibit a heightened commitment to religious practices compared to their rural counterparts. This is partly due to a perceived threat from foreign cultural influences spread through mass media. Wirid sessions often include admonitions against neglecting religious obligations, such as failing to perform mosque prayers—an issue attributed to excessive use of social media platforms like Facebook and YouTube.

The overarching message in these sermons centers on the preservation of Islamic values. Government initiatives promoting religious tolerance are sometimes interpreted as obstacles to da'wa. For instance, when the central government asked schools in Padang Pariaman to allow non-Muslim female students not to wear the hijab, local leaders—including the mayor—rejected the request. They argued that local customs rooted in Islamic values must be respected by all. This incident was later cited in wirid sermons to galvanize support for Muslim solidarity.

Preachers also highlight the erosion of communal traditions such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) and *siskamling* (community night watch), both of which are increasingly replaced by paid services in urban settings. Participants are encouraged to revive these practices. Concerns over moral decay among Muslim youth are frequently expressed as well. One informant, Ismun, lamented, “I'm afraid our children will lose their way. They always watch movies and listen to music. That's dangerous.”

In sum, wirid gatherings serve not only as forums for religious instruction but also as vital instruments for cultivating social solidarity. Muslim preachers consistently emphasize this message across different platforms, including weekly *Jum'ah* sermons, reinforcing the collective ethos that defines Indonesian Muslim communities.

## Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that *wirid* functions not only as a religious ritual but also as a strategic medium for fostering social solidarity within urban Muslim communities in Kampar and Pekanbaru. Participants consistently expressed that their involvement in *wirid* was driven by a sense of moral obligation, communal identity, and spiritual discipline. The observations revealed that *wirid* gatherings are characterized by strong interpersonal bonds, structured moral messaging from religious leaders, and

recurring narratives about societal decline—especially concerning youth behavior and the influence of urban lifestyles perceived as morally corrosive.

In the context of Pekanbaru and Kampar, the *wirid* operates as a communal response to the perceived fragmentation of social values brought about by modernization. Preachers frequently frame contemporary challenges—such as consumerism, individualism, and digital culture—as threats to Islamic norms, and call for a return to collective religious discipline through regular ritual engagement. This rhetorical framing contributes to a shared sense of vigilance and moral responsibility among participants, reinforcing group cohesion.

Contrary to assumptions that modernization erodes religiosity, the study finds that urban Muslim communities actively adapt and reassert religious practices in the public sphere. Far from being passive recipients of religious messages, *wirid* participants demonstrate agency in negotiating religious meanings, constructing moral boundaries, and preserving social order through regular collective rituals. In this way, *wirid* is not merely a site of piety, but a performative space where Islamic values are reaffirmed, contested, and mobilized in response to the changing dynamics of urban life.

Moreover, *wirid* activities have emerged as a platform for negotiating Islamic practices within Indonesia's urban Muslim communities. These negotiations address contemporary challenges such as the prevalent use of social media among Muslim youth, diminished participation in traditional *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), and lower attendance at congregational mosque prayers. Preachers (*da'i*) consistently utilize *wirid* sessions to advocate for a return to Islamic cultural norms, positing this as essential for the advancement of Islamic society. Consequently, *wirid* activities are regularly organized, serving as a medium for *da'wa* (Islamic propagation). These *da'wa* efforts aim to foster social solidarity by disseminating narratives pertinent to the preservation of Islamic values among Muslims.

Furthermore, communities themselves organize *wirid* as a means of strengthening Islamic identity among Muslims, underscoring the sustained nature of the *da'wa* project in Indonesia. Contemporary *da'wa* approaches in Indonesia notably differ from those of past centuries. Today, *da'wa* primarily targets the Islamization of existing Muslims rather than proselytizing non-Muslims. For Muslim preachers, the Islamization of urban Muslim communities necessitates the cultivation of robust social solidarity. Future research could further explore *da'wa* in the context of fostering stronger Islamic adherence within Indonesian rural communities.

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