



Religious Shifts in Tarogong Kidul: Life in the Social Media Age

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Abstract: This research investigates the transformation of religious behavior in the community of Tarogong Kidul, Garut Regency, within the rapidly evolving landscape of social media. Framed through a sociological-anthropological lens and guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, the study applies a qualitative descriptive method using a case study approach. Data were gathered through in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document analysis, with triangulation employed to ensure validity. The analysis reveals a significant shift in religious expression—from deeply internalized spiritual practices to symbolic and commodified forms—driven by factors such as technological advancement, urbanization, and socioeconomic change. Social media platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, and YouTube have emerged as influential arenas for da'wah and religious engagement, yet they also contribute to the fragmentation of traditional religious authority and the marketization of faith. Although public participation in routine religious activities appears to decline, adaptive religious centers like the Grand Mosque of Garut demonstrate increased relevance and engagement. At the same time, the cultural fabric of Sundanese Islam faces challenges from unfiltered global content, often rendering communities passive consumers. However, improvements in education and income empower individuals to reinterpret religious values within modern, urban realities. This study concludes that what occurs in Tarogong Kidul is not a break from tradition, but a dynamic negotiation between inherited religious habitus and new social structures of the digital age. The research offers theoretical insight into the interplay between tradition and modernity, methodological contributions through a robust qualitative design, and practical value for designing inclusive, media-sensitive religious outreach strategies in contemporary urban societies.

Keywords: cultural adaptation; habitus; religious behavior; religious commodification; social media.

1. Introduction

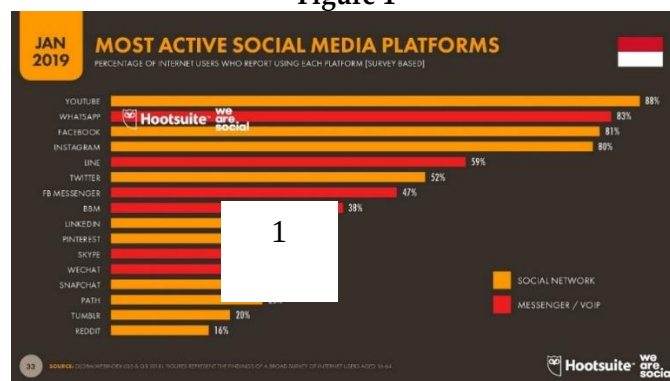
Religion and media play a role in socio-cultural change in society (Cahyono, 2016; Meyer & Moors, 2006). The shift in the tension between religion and culture caused by the media often affects the dynamics of social interaction (Asep Muhammad Iqbal, 2013, p.77). This means that society is abandoning the sacredness of its religion and feels more comfortable with the dominant cultural values, here the traces of religious sacredness are experiencing disruption (Smith, 1996, p. 6).

Religion's existence is seen as having declined from its original religious values, not only by religious leaders (dai) who convey religious messages, but also by the role of the media, which has developed quite rapidly in its growth (Hatta, 2017). Religious figures play a role as carriers of religious messages that can influence the mindset and actions of the community, including the use of religious symbols such as turbans, peci, clothing, and so on (Syahputra, 2018, p. 125), which are widely imitated by the community. The characteristics and religious material they convey are more or less influenced by the flow of information on social media, television, and the internet

(Hatta, 2017; Purwanto, 2016). Meanwhile, this research focuses on social media platforms, specifically WhatsApp, Facebook, and YouTube.

Today's social media has complemented general human needs, even in religious practices and rituals. Social media has become a source of inspiration, spiritual learning practices, and the global exchange of ideas. Data obtained from the University of Cambridge research institute Hootsuite shows that social media users (Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, Twitter, etc.) in Indonesia are dominated by Facebook, as shown in Figure 1 (*Most Active Social Media Platforms*, 2020).

Figure 1



Social media users in Indonesia, 2019

The use of social media is now unavoidable for almost all groups, especially since most people have mobile phones and smartphones that they can access 24 hours a day, and the contents of which are not only entertainment and information but also religious content. Social media such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and YouTube are almost commonplace and many people have accounts with friends wherever and whenever, and any activity is usually uploaded, which is usually done by teenagers. This means that these media can bring those who are far closer and can distance those who are close if their use is not controlled ethically (Herlina, 2018, p. 323).

The phenomenon that occurred in the Garut area, especially in Tarogong sub-district, where researchers observed that people's behavior experienced shifts in all aspects of their lives, both psychologically and consciously (Choi & Noh, 2019, p. 1). The widespread use of social media, television, and internet information, in the form of various smartphone applications, has become a notable phenomenon in rural areas. Community groups influence interactions and communication among their members. Specifically, this community group exhibits unique behaviors in accessing online communication (Cahyono, 2016) Online media provides almost all the facilities needed for human life directly, because it is in accordance with its vision of internet-based social media that is instant, easy and cheap (Syahputra, 2018, p. 136) in their traditional group life, they also utilize this media.

The reality of the Tarogong Kidul community was initially a traditionalist one. The presence of sects or beliefs seemed to pose a threat to mainstream religion, but in reality, their existence is a religious reality that is a symptom of individual dissatisfaction with the functionalization of religion. For them, mainstream religion does not meet their expectations. In fact, it seems as if mainstream religion feels rigid and cannot be used in the ritualization of their lives.

In terms of religious affiliation, they are Islamic students (santri) selected as followers of Muhammadiyah, Persis, Syarikat Islam (SI), and Nahdlatul Ulama. Besides being categorized as santri, they can also be categorized as abangan. However, there is almost no ideological conflict between these two socio-religious groups. Rivalry between NU, Persis, Syarikat Islam (SI), and Muhammadiyah did occur at the beginning of the Muhammadiyah movement's entry into villages. Muhammadiyah and NU often clashed. NU, as a pre-existing organization, seemed to feel threatened by Muhammadiyah's presence, which led to rivalries over resources and

followers. This is reflected in the educational institutions managed by both organizations.

The conflict between NU and Muhammadiyah actually stems from differences in religious understanding. If identified in terms of prayer, there are approximately twelve differences between NU, Persis, and Muhammadiyah. These differences are: 1) differences in the iqamah (praise) process, 2) the habit of praising Allah and the Messenger after the call to prayer, 3) straightening the rows in prayer, 4) the use of the *basmalah* (recitation of the name of Allah) in Surah Al-Fatihah, 5) Rawatib prayer between two and four raka'at, 6) raising the hands after each bow and tasyahud, 7) raising the index finger during tasyahud, 8) the call to prayer in the morning prayer, 9) the call to prayer once or twice in Friday prayer, 10) the sound of the kentongan (a wooden drum) and the bedug (a drum) to mark the start of prayer time, 11) the recitation of qunut (a prayer of supplication) in the morning prayer, and 12) the recitation of wirid after prayer.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) arrived in this village around the 1950s, while SI (Islamic Student Organization) was established earlier than NU, in the 1940s, and Muhammadiyah was founded in the 1950s. The existence of these three organizations has not given rise to significant conflict, thanks to the diligent efforts of the branch leaders in the Tarogong Kidul sub-district, who consistently provide guidance to their congregations. However, conflict and competition between these organizations do occur. However, this competition is positive, as they strive for goodness in realizing their respective visions and missions. One of their main priorities is their competition in advancing public education. NU, Muhammadiyah, and SI have educational institutions ranging from kindergarten to high school, particularly those found by researchers in the field.

In general, there is a misunderstanding in religious understanding between the two organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah. The differences can be identified into 5 things, namely 1) regarding the interpretation of religious teachings sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith. For example, Muhammadiyah allows menstruating women to enter the mosque while NU forbids menstruating women from entering the mosque, 2) interpretation of tahlilan, in NU circles, the reading of tahlil can be given as a gift to the deceased, while Muhammadiyah does not consider it so, 3) ritual ceremonies in death which are considered heretical by Muhammadiyah, while NU circles consider it sunnah which is permissible to do, 4) regarding reciting the intention at the beginning of prayer, for NU circles it must be recited while Muhammadiyah does not recite, 5) reading talqin for the deceased, for NU circles do it, while Muhammadiyah does not do it. NU circles by Muhammadiyah circles are often considered as heretical experts and practitioners of superstition, superstition and bid'ah.

Conflicts between abangan and NU members are almost unheard of due to NU's accommodating religious practices. Muhammadiyah certainly dislikes abangan members, as many of their actions are considered religious violations. For example, when abangan members perform the ritual of nyuguh (giving offerings to certain spirits) and the ritual of sleeping at the grave of Eyang Dapur, those who criticize these actions are considered deviant by Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah leaders often have disagreements with NU leaders. However, this escalation is often considered normal.

This shift is reflected in researchers' observations, such as the reduction in congregations or community attendance at places of worship during routine religious rituals, such as congregational prayers, religious study groups, PHBI (Islamic Holiday Celebrations) (maulludan), and rojaban (Islamic New Year celebrations). This situation is a complete reversal from the long-standing traditions of the Tarogong community, which is known as a religious community. Furthermore, the rise in juvenile delinquency, as evidenced by the existence of motorcycle gangs and frequent brawls between students, is also occurring in Garut Regency. This raises serious concerns about the social fabric of the Tarogong community (Irmayani, 2018, p. 8).

Researchers suspect that the shift in religious values occurring in Tarogong District implicitly indicates a fluctuation in religious behavior within the Tarogong community.

However, researchers note that social media offers extraordinary benefits, including for education and religious literacy in Tarogong District. The internet facilitates the flow of information to the community.

In other words, there are allegations and facts on the ground that even the most conservative religious groups are responding to the presence of the internet and social media, as can be seen from the material they convey which often comes from social media (Dwi Wahyuni, 2017). In response to this issue, the author attempted to conduct research on the phenomena occurring in the Tarogong community. The title of this research is "Transformation of Religious Behavior in the Social Media Era" (A Case Study of the Religious Patterns of the Tarogong Community in Garut Regency).

2. Research Method

This study aims to examine the characteristics and practices of religious transformation in the social media era by religious and community leaders in Tarogong. Using a descriptive approach (Nawawi, 2007) and the sociological-anthropological approach to religion (Tobroni, 2003), This research was conducted qualitatively using observation, interview, and documentation study techniques. Data validity was strengthened through source triangulation (Sugiyono, 2010).

Interviews began with a Religious Instructor from the Garut Ministry of Religious Affairs, then expanded purposively and snowballed to community leaders, village officials, assembly administrators, and congregation members. An ethnographic and participatory approach was used to explore their perspectives and experiences. Observations were conducted in a participatory and non-interventional manner, allowing researchers to capture the meaning of religiosity in everyday life, including its connection to Sundanese traditions and local ecological conditions. Interviews and observations were conducted alternately or simultaneously to strengthen understanding.

The documentation study involved data from sub-districts, villages, BPS, and the Ministry of Religious Affairs as cross-checking material against field findings. Data analysis was inductive, conducted from pre-fieldwork to the end of the study, with stages of data reduction, categorization based on themes, interpretation using a theoretical approach, and verification (Lexy J. Moleong, 2018). The final result is in the form of a conclusion compiled in a scientific report.

The research was conducted in four villages/sub-districts in Tarogong Kidul District, Garut, representing rural-urban communities with high levels of religious diversity amidst modernization. Data collection took place over one year, from November 2019 to October 2020.

3. Research Results

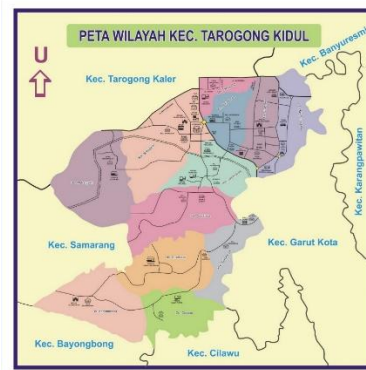
3.3. Geographical and Demographic Conditions of Tarogong Kidul District

Tarogong Kidul is a sub-district in Tatar Pasundan, Garut Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia. Tarogong Kidul Sub-district is the capital of Garut Regency. Many people think that Garut Kota Sub-district is the capital of Garut Regency, when in fact Tarogong Kidul Sub-district is the capital of Garut Regency. There are 138 Community Units (Rukun Warga) and 531 Neighborhood Units (Rukun Tetangga). There are 23,653 families with a population of 94,936 people, consisting of 47,576 men and 47,360 women. (Noor et al., 2021).

The boundaries of Tarogong Kidul District are: to the east, it borders Garut Kota District. To the south, it borders Bayongbong and Cilawu Districts. To the west, Samarang District is located, and to the north, Tarogong Kaler District is also located. The furthest village/sub-district is 7 km away, the district capital is 1 km away, and the provincial capital is 60 km away. It is spread across 12 sub-districts/villages: Cibunar, Haurpanggung, Jayaraga, Jayawaras, Kersamenak, Mekargalih, Pataruman, Sukabakti, Sukagalih, Sukajaya, Sukakarya, and

Tarogong (Achmad, 2016).

Figure 2 Tarogong Kidul District of Garut Regency



All of Tarogong Kidul District's villages and sub-districts are located in lowland areas. Data from 2014 shows that Tarogong Kidul District comprises 12 villages and sub-districts, divided into 141 hamlets, 17 hamlets, 158 neighborhood associations (RW/RK), and 632 neighborhood associations (Ayyumi et al., 2022).

The total area of Tarogong Kidul sub-district is 1,946 hectares. This includes the Cipanas hot springs recreation park and swimming pool, located in Cipanas, Tarogong District. The total land area owned by the Garut Regional Government and the Cipanas Indah Hotel is 9,335 m². The general configuration of this recreational park is hilly, with a slightly steep slope, moderate soil stability, good soil absorption, and adequate environmental quality (Eriyani et al., 2020).

Administratively, this recreation park borders Pasawahan Village/Dukuh Village to the north, Tarogong District to the west, Bayongbong District to the south, and Tarogong District to the east. Facilities include a 20x10 m² hot spring swimming pool in good condition, four public toilets with cleanliness and well-maintained buildings. In addition, there are two trash cans, an information center located near the entrance and exit, and a watchtower in good condition. Other frequently used facilities include four shelters in good condition, as well as a playground in good condition and sufficient cleanliness. Other facilities in this park include a parking lot that can accommodate 30 private vehicles or 80 motorcycles. Activities that can be done in this recreation park include swimming, enjoying the scenery, and walking around the park (Noor et al., 2021).

To reach this recreation park, you can use private vehicles, which will cover a 2-kilometer journey from Tarogong District. You can also take public transportation to Cipanas-Tarogong for Rp 2,000. The road to the area is in good condition, with a width of 34 meters.

In an effort to improve the economic well-being of families in Tarogong Kidul District, many residents have chosen to migrate to the capital and become urban residents. However, many residents have also pursued higher education and are able to develop businesses, helping to develop the district and increase the economic productivity of the increasingly densely populated community. Therefore, if this is not improved, unhealthy competition will occur (Ayyumi et al., 2022).

3.4. The Phenomenon of Changing Religious Patterns in the Tarogong Kidul Community in the Era of Social Media

The people of Garut, particularly the Tarogong Kidul community, which is part of the Sundanese community, have very close family ties. An individual's worth is highly dependent on societal assessments. Therefore, when making decisions about marriage, employment, and so on, a person cannot escape the decisions made by their family (Kamaludin, 2019).

In a broader society, for example, within a village, community life is largely controlled by village officials. The village head is the "top leader" who manages local government, including customary and religious matters. In addition to these village officials, there is another group that could be considered an elite group: religious leaders. They are always involved in the decision-

making process that affects the life and development of the village in question (Fauzan, 2021).

Paul Hiebert and Eugene Nida describe such a social structure as tribal or agrarian. Status differences between the elite and the general public can arise based on status, education, economic status, social prestige, and power. Robert Wessing, who has studied West Javanese society, argues that there are "in-groups" and "out-groups" within the social structure; members view each other as "in-groups," while those outside their status are viewed as "out-groups" (Permana, 2021).

W.M.F. Hofstede in his dissertation *Decision-making Process in Four West Java Villages* (1971) also concluded that there is a stratification of society into elite and mass groups (Hofstede, 1971). The local elite consists of village heads, regional and central government officials, teachers, political and religious figures, and wealthy farmers. Furthermore, middle-class farmers, farm laborers, and small traders are included in the mass group. Informal leaders, those without official positions in their villages, are highly influential and recognized as leaders of specific groups or even the entire village.

A person's relationship with others within the kinship or family environment in Sundanese society occupies a very important position. This is not only reflected in the existence of terms or designations for each level of relationship, whether direct and vertical (bao, great-grandfather, father, father, child, grandchildren) or indirect and horizontal (dulur, dulur misan, in-laws), but also has an impact on matters of order and social harmony. Father/grandfather, great-grandfather/grandmother, great-grandfather, and bao occupy a higher position in the kinship structure (*pancakaki*) than child, incu, alo, and suan. Likewise, lanceuk (older sibling) is higher than *adi* (younger sibling), *ua* is higher than uncle/aunt. This is because a person's kinship relationship with others will determine a person's position in the kinship structure of their extended family, determine the form of respect, appreciation, cooperation, and mutual assistance among each other, and determine the possibility of marriage among its members to form a new nuclear family (Syarif et al., 2022).

The phenomenon of religious transformation occurring in the Tarogong Kidul community, as outlined in the previous point, is inseparable from various societal capitals, such as economic and educational factors. Essentially, those with a high and broad education are better able to challenge various religious ideas considered frozen. In this way, we will avoid being trapped in what is termed dogmatism of truth, trapped in ossified doctrines. If humans become imprisoned within the confines of religious meanings and interpretations created by past generations, which are not entirely given from above, this phenomenon will be very dangerous for the continuation of human civilization (Hudayana, 2022).

Technological developments, information, urbanization, and economic growth have become driving factors in commodification and influence how individuals express their faith. Compared to previous eras, this commodification has led Muslims to express their faith through various Islamic-branded commodities. In everyday life, for example, we see people subscribing to prayer text messages, wearing Muslim clothing, consuming Islamic novels or films, saving money in Islamic banks, performing the Umrah pilgrimage, attending Islamic Religious Education (ESQ), and even purchasing Islamic-branded toothpaste. This transformation reflects a shift from traditional, community-based religious expression to one packaged in the realm of market consumption (Syarif et al., 2022).

The rise of Islamic commodification has become a means of accepting Islam's presence in the public sphere as taken for granted. The consumption of Islamic products is also closely linked to the formation of individual Muslim identities. Globalization has given rise to the phenomenon of destabilized identity, where religion is used as a medium for the formation of new identities. The consumption of Islamic goods has become a form of symbolic capital used to assert social class positions and strengthen religious identities (Hasan, 2023). Products such as Muslim clothing, prayer accessories, halal tourism, and Islamic media are not only spiritual needs, but also part of the lifestyle of the Muslim middle class (Makiah et al., 2022).

According to (Hasan, 2023), The commodification of religion is a complex historical and cultural process, but its commercial character is very evident. Religion is positioned as a marketable economic commodity within the modern capitalist system. Religious practices in traditional societies, including those in Tarogong Kidul, have also shifted from substantial value to commodity symbolism. Their Islamic identity, initially based on the traditions of religious scholars and local customs, is now blended with a modern lifestyle shaped by the market and technology.

Religious behavior in the Tarogong Kidul community can now be categorized as a shift in religious values, not the religion itself. The community remains Muslim, but the way they practice and express their faith is influenced by social media, education, and urbanization. The culture of time discipline, fanaticism toward religious leaders (kyai), and the dynamics between symbolic and substantive piety demonstrate the tension between traditional values and religious modernity. As in many parts of Indonesia, the forms of piety in the Tarogong Kidul community also reflect the "commodification of values" as religious expression becomes a sign of status and new cultural identity (Makiah et al., 2022).

The aforementioned way of thinking has begun to disappear among indigenous people with intellectual backgrounds. Thus, education and intellectuality play a significant role in changing people's mindsets and actions. The dynamics of the indigenous Tarogong Kidul community now show that values such as fanaticism, low discipline, and static attitudes are fading (Sulaeman et al., 2022).

In contrast, the people of Tarogong Kidul, who are more exposed to modernization through social media, show a tendency to be more open in their religious practices. In line with Adrianus Chatib's opinion, the fanaticism of indigenous people is slowly fading as awareness of social realities grows. People no longer view others' religious beliefs as strange, but instead are more adaptive and individualistic (Putera & Amri, 2025).

From the perspective of the relationship between culture and religion, the religious practices of the Tarogong Kidul community are a manifestation of the integration of Islamic values and Sundanese culture. Islam, in this context, is not a foreign element, but rather an integral part of Sundanese cultural identity. The phrase "Sundanese people were Muslim before Islam" emphasizes that Sundanese culture and Islam have long been integrated as a value system and way of life (Putera & Amri, 2025).

Regarding Islamic community activities, particularly in mosques and religious study groups, data shows that despite the presence of 173 mosques and thousands of religious leaders, congregational participation is often low. Most activities, such as religious study groups, are held regularly, but their capacity is not commensurate with the number of attendees. This highlights the gap between Islamic infrastructure and community participation (Sulaeman et al., 2022).

Furthermore, Islamic activities in Tarogong Kidul District, as a manifestation of the social media era, can be seen in the attendance data for obligatory worship such as the five daily prayers and other voluntary acts of worship. According to mosque administrators, the number of congregants ranges from 10 people in a small jami mosque to more than 700 people in a large mosque during Eid al-Fitr and Friday prayers. The Garut Grand Mosque, located in the economic center near banks and shopping centers, has become an important religious center, gathering place for congregants from various regions, even from outside the city, who come to attend weekly religious studies. Religious activities such as the majelis taklim (Islamic study group) and mosque youth groups also take place regularly, with speakers from within and outside the city (Saputra et al., 2021).

However, overall congregational growth appears to be slow, except at the Grand Mosque of Garut, which has seen a significant surge. Even the morning prayer is now performed in three rows, up from half a row previously. Urbanization in Tarogong Kidul, where people are more sedentary than in rural areas where they work in the fields, has also contributed to the intensity of congregational attendance (Saefullah, 2022).

The influence of social media is particularly pronounced among young people. While their level of engagement is not as high as that of older people, who consider worship a basic need, some young people are beginning to show initiative. Some youth mosque communities hold religious discussions, even organizing large-scale religious gatherings (tabligh) and inviting renowned preachers. This reflects the religious transformation of urban youth, who now see the mosque as a space for expressing their socio-religious identity (Aidulsyah, 2023).

The above description shows that Islamic religious activities in Tarogong Kidul District reflect the religious practices of the Muslim community in the social media era. Based on field findings, Islamic values are developing dynamically along with the increasing number of mosques and improvements to worship facilities (Rijal, 2020). This indicates that society is increasingly enthusiastic about practicing Islamic teachings. Phenomena such as the use of the sharia hijab and the niqab, as well as the emergence of groups like the FPI, HTI, and Jamaah Tabligh, indicate that transnational Islamic discourse is inspiring local religious practices (Abdullah & Osman, 2018).

Mosques in Tarogong Kidul District have become active spaces for religious studies conducted by Middle Eastern graduates and renowned preachers who are also popular on YouTube. This confirms that the Muslim community in Tarogong Kidul is increasingly open to digital da'wah and global Islamic trends. However, this phenomenon is not entirely free from challenges. Local Sundanese Islamic culture is at risk of being marginalized by the influence of global culture, accessed unfiltered through gadgets and the internet. Without a strong cultural foundation and religious education, communities can easily lose their religious identity to the currents of globalization (Sirait, 2024).

Furthermore, the people of Tarogong Kidul District act more as consumers of digital Islamic information than as producers. They access religious sermons and content from social media, but are unable to creatively produce or distribute Islamic narratives based on local culture. The next challenge is how the community can create Islamic cultural content that is productive, participatory, and based on local values (Sirait, 2024).

With the digitalization of information, the use of technology such as mobile phones has become an integral part of the lives of children in Tarogong Kidul District. When asked, children tend to choose playing games on their phones over going to the mosque to study the Quran. This poses a serious challenge for the Muslim community in the era of social media. Therefore, the Indonesian Mosque Council urges that mosques be made places of inclusive education. Children who attend mosques should not be expelled, so that their love for the mosque can grow from an early age. Even women from religious study groups, who have long been the backbone of religious activities, have been refused entry to some mosques. This demonstrates the importance of making mosques welcoming and educational social spaces, not exclusive ones (Rusdi & Riwayatiningsih, 2023).

The pressures of pop culture and globalization have eroded local cultures, including Sundanese Islamic culture. Art forms, songs, and even foods that reflect local Islamic values have been modified or replaced by foreign cultures, which tend to obscure their original meaning. Digital globalization allows foreign cultures to enter private spaces, even from the bedroom through smartphones. As a result, local Islamic culture in Tarogong Kidul could become disoriented without a strong foundation of religious and family education (Munandar & Fahrurrozi, 2024).

The role of mosques in the digital era is also undergoing a transformation. Instead of being centers of local Islamic cultural production, the community tends to be passive consumers of external Islamic content. The challenge ahead is how to encourage the Tarogong Kidul community to become creative actors in producing and disseminating Islamic content based on local cultural values using digital technology (Jubba et al., 2022).

Based on shifts in culture, orientation, and attitudes toward Islam, the people of Tarogong Kidul District have not fundamentally experienced a radical shift in values. The shifts that have

occurred are more artificial or symbolic due to the development of rationalism, modernity, and the increasingly complex demands of life. The people of Tarogong Kidul are increasingly accustomed to living in a democratic and competitive environment, yet they still maintain Islamic collective values such as togetherness and social solidarity (Hasan, 2014).

Economic growth has also strengthened the transformation of Islamic culture in the Tarogong Kidul community. Consumption has become not only a means of fulfilling needs but also a medium for representing religious values. With increasing incomes and access to modern markets, people are increasingly choosing halal products that are hygienic, convenient, and compliant with Islamic values, rather than being fixated on formalistic symbols (Fischer & Nisa, 2025). The emergence of shopping centers such as malls and minimarkets that provide prayer facilities, such as prayer rooms and clean ablution areas, emphasizes the shift in urban society towards a more Islamic but rational consumption culture (Muheramtohad, 2022).

Phenomena such as congregations from various professions (mall employees, bankers, hoteliers, etc.) praying at mosques in Tarogong Kidul demonstrate the expansion of Islamic values into the urban middle class. This diversity is an indicator that religiosity is not limited to students or Islamic boarding school communities, but is a widespread practice in urban Muslim communities (Eriyani et al., 2020). On the other hand, changes in transportation and consumption culture, such as traffic jams and the decline in public transportation users, indicate increasing purchasing power and societal modernization. However, Islamic values remain deeply embedded and serve as the foundation of social life in these public spaces (Wai Weng, 2024).

The government requires every shopping center, whether a hotel, mall, traditional market, or modern market, to provide a prayer room. The primary requirement is a prayer room. Employees are not allowed to prohibit wearing the hijab. If they do, they should not invest in the business, including hospitals.

The socio-economic factor influencing the Islamic cultural dimension of the Tarogong Kidul District Muslim community is income. An increase in income will lead to changes, whether they like it or not. For the Tarogong Kidul District Muslim community, an increase in income will lead to a shift in consumption patterns, shifting from low-quality goods to high-quality, comfortable goods. This is followed by education; advanced education will help them understand the essence of life through these two factors. The impact on religious orientation is not very significant, as it seems necessary to defend religion with less than ideal information, for example, regarding non-halal food. This is not autotic, but it requires religious defense (Fischer & Nisa, 2025). For example, there are worms in goods, this could be intentional or unintentional, illegal goods that are included in gambling and many other things (Rakhmani, 2019). The economy is increasingly open to the extent of our defense in that region and religion will be that protection and its role in the negative impacts of global problems (Madyan et al., 2025).

So what's happening now is that many shopping centers in Tarogong Kidul District are actually increasingly facilitating the growth and development of Islamic culture. These shopping centers accommodate the material needs for the continuation of Muslim worship. Likewise, in enlivening Islamic culture, these shopping centers provide a variety of items, allowing a diverse range of Islamic cultures to exist and color the lives of the Islamic community of Tarogong Kidul District. As found (Hasan, 2014), Shopping centers and public spaces in Indonesian cities are increasingly becoming arenas for Islamic symbols and expressions. Malls are not only spaces for capitalist consumption but also venues for modern Muslim religious cultural expressions, such as prayer rooms, hijab stores, Islamic books, and open study groups (Hasan, 2014).

In his theory, Bourdieu identified three key terms that apply to the practices of each actor's life: habitus, capital, and domain. Bourdieu explained that analyzing social practices can be seen through the capital, habitus, and domain they use. According to Bourdieu, habitus is a mental structure they understand through social life, essentially a product of the internalization of their social life structure (Bourdieu, 1990). In the context of contemporary Indonesian Islam, the habitus of Muslims is also transforming through consumption patterns and participation in

modern public spaces such as malls, which are no longer considered secular, but have become places for the integration of religious values and Islamic consumerism.

Bourdieu defines capital as comprising several types of capital at stake in the arena: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Economic capital encompasses assets such as the means of production, materials, and money, which are readily utilised for various purposes and passed down from one generation to the next. Second, cultural capital encompasses all intellectual qualifications, both formally reproduced and inherited from family. Social capital, on the other hand, manifests through relationships and networks formed within the realm, which are useful resources in determining and reproducing social positions. Symbolic capital encompasses all forms of prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1990).

Capital and habitus are at stake in a realm that constitutes an arena of power, where struggles for resources (capital) and access to certain areas of power are waged. These class conditions and social conditioning are woven into the fabric of society through practices reproduced and institutionalized. As explained (Pratama et al., 2025), The habitus of NU students in Indonesia shows how religious practices are formed and reproduced in the social field of education driven by symbolic and cultural capital inherited from the Islamic boarding school community.

Furthermore, Bourdieu states in his generative structuralism that the relationship between habitus, capital, and field will give rise to social practices. This is explained by the formula $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice}$. In this context, social change in the Islamic society of Tarogong Kidul reflects the dynamics of the religious arena influenced by the distribution of social and symbolic capital, as well as the religious habitus formed from the long history of Sundanese-Islamic society (Hidayah et al., 2025).

The phenomenon of the Islamic community in Tarogong Kidul is inseparable from the habitus that developed from Islam entering Sundanese culture. The changes that occurred were not entirely a transformation of values, but rather an adaptation of the old habitus to the new structures of the social media era. Studies such as this one by (Rosyidah & Jamilah, 2022) shows that the religious habitus in local Muslim communities in Indonesia continues to evolve along with the pressures of globalization and the mediatization of religion.

The habits of the traditional Islamic community in Tarogong Kidul differ from those of the social media era. The differences lie in the characteristics of the formation of the social structure and the sources of its dominant values. The Islamic community in Tarogong Kidul is influenced by Islamization from Arabia, Persia, Gujarat, and China, as well as Sufism and local cultural influences. Their habits are shaped by religious experiences passed down through generations, as demonstrated in this study. (Rijal, 2020) about how urban Muslim youth maintain traditional forms of piety based on symbolic capital such as the blessings and charisma of ulama.

Meanwhile, the habitus of Muslim communities in the social media era is being reshaped through the influence of modernization and urbanization. This modernization has created a "digital religiosity" supported by new cultural and symbolic capital, such as religious knowledge from online platforms, Islamic lifestyles, and a shift in authority from traditional clerics to digital public figures (Sunarti et al., 2023).

The capital possessed by subjects in Islamic societies in the social media era also differs. In traditional societies, those holding dominant capital are religious figures and local governments (traditional rulers). In contrast, in social media societies, capital is more widely distributed: ordinary people with digital access, religious knowledge, and social networks also become dominant actors in the field. This aligns with Bourdieu's theory that the relationship between habitus, capital, and the field produces diverse practices according to the structure of social power (Bourdieu, 1990).

This phenomenon is evident in the increasing number of mosques, Islamic schools, Hajj and Umrah institutions, and the high attendance of worshippers at mosques in Tarogong Kidul.

Islamic symbolic capital is being redefined in the global arena, but remains linked to local Sundanese-Islamic values. Islam is inseparable from Sundanese culture, as expressed by the phrase "*gula jeung peuteuy*," a form of cultural integration (Wiryomartono, 2020).

However, challenges also arise. Traditional fanaticism remains strong in certain segments of society. Adherence to religious leaders (*kyai*) as spiritual authorities remains high even when their teachings are no longer relevant according to Islamic law. This phenomenon illustrates the tension between the old and new habits, between traditional piety and a more adaptive and open digital religiosity (Ewertowski, 2022).

The increasing number of active religious groups in Tarogong Kidul, including established organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, demonstrates the increasingly complex expansion of the religious arena. The economic arena is a crucial element in social change, as Marx argued, stating that the structure of society is determined by its mode of production. Changes in productive forces will determine production relations, leading to new social and cultural systems. In this context, the role of the government as the primary market, as Ibn Khaldun stated, is also very significant in regulating economic distribution, which directly impacts religious living spaces (Hasan, 2009).

In Tarogong Kidul, the government has contributed to the development of public spaces that support Islamic values. Examples include requiring shopping centers, hospitals, and hotels to provide prayer rooms and allowing employees to wear the hijab. Furthermore, the increase in Islamic educational facilities, Islamic banking, *tahfiz* (Islamic memorization) houses, and mosque congregations are indicators of the integration between economic development and local Islamic culture. As stated by (Aidulsyah, 2023), The phenomenon of popular Islam and urban Salafism in Indonesia shows how modernization and urbanization have changed the space for Islamic *da'wah* and symbols through social media channels, pop culture, and new Islamic lifestyles (Aidulsyah, 2023).

In the educational arena, the proliferation of modern Islamic schools, even under the Ministry of Education, demonstrates the adoption of Islamic values into the formal, secular system. The Garut government, for example, has assigned dozens of Quran memorizers to teach in public elementary schools. This demonstrates that even secular institutions are now becoming new venues for strengthening Islamic cultural capital (Hasan, 2009).

Furthermore, the commodification of Islamic symbols such as the hijab, YouTube religious studies, halal labels, and even Umrah travel has become part of popular culture, marking Islamic consumerism. Durkheim explained that religion is a social fact that reflects a society's collective need to articulate values through symbols. In Tarogong Kidul, Islam has become a strong marker of social identity within urban society, demonstrating the religion's adaptation to plurality and modernity (Aidulsyah, 2023).

Thus, the religious reality of the Tarogong Kidul community before the introduction of social media appears to be a society that practices Islamic teachings inseparably from local traditions. This is seen as something natural, because in essence, the influence of culture on religious practices cannot be separated. There is often a tug of war between the two. The Islamic values existing in the Tarogong Kidul community are Islamic values that result from the dialectic of religion and culture, or local traditions. In other words, it can be said that the reality of the Tarogong Kidul community is a society that practices its religious teachings from their perspective. Idiomatically, it can be termed a "Cultural Muslim" or Traditional Muslim society (Solahudin & Fakhruroji, 2020).

They are called Cultural Muslims because, in essence, they are Muslims who adapt to the local cultural wisdom that exists in the social space of the Tarogong Kidul community. This local cultural wisdom is a natural heritage passed down from their ancestors. Therefore, the indigenous people of Tarogong Kidul will strive to preserve and maintain this heritage, despite the difficulties. However, digital change is unavoidable, including its influence on religious expression (Akmaliah & Burhani, 2021).

The impact of social media is a change in attitudes and manners within the Tarogong Kidul community. This aligns with reality, not just in words but also in actions. It is undeniable that attitudes and manners often follow what is currently viral on social media. In fact, according to a source, he said, "Honestly, he said that his behavior often imitates what is on social media, and his manners can also be said to be less than good." Manners, which are a noble teaching that is embedded in the traditions of the Tarogong Kidul community, have now begun to follow the trends of the era on social media. Social media is a mecca that they often follow (Hannan & Mursyidi, 2023).

What's interesting is that the religious values that were sacred guidelines they were supposed to follow have now become like commodities to be traded. This fact was evident from the interviewee, Drs. H. Mahrojan, on July 20, 2020. He stated that many preachers deliver their sermons to meet the demand for broadcast. Furthermore, many congregants will attend the assembly if the speaker is a public figure who frequently appears on TV or YouTube (Solahudin & Fakhruroji, 2019).

This phenomenon is reinforced by field findings that many residents of Tarogong Kidul utilize social media to listen to religious sermons. They utilize YouTube channels created by both local and international users. As time goes by, preachers are also competing to channel their sermons through social media (Muthohirin, 2025).

This is supported by data obtained from the interviewed source, namely Dra Baridah, the leader of the Majelis Taklim congregation in Tarogong Kidul District, interviewed on July 26, 2020. According to her statement, to attract the sympathy of the congregation so that they would attend the study, she had to invite famous preachers who were public figures even though she had to spend a lot of money. Meanwhile, to get around those who did not want to attend the Majelis Taklim but were active on social media, she used social media to publish her sermons.

Thus, the religious practices that were rooted in the Tarogong Kidul community have now been replaced by the realities of social modernity, which have entered and influenced the religious and religious realities of the Tarogong Kidul community. Traditional values that were once inherent in religious rituals have now disappeared, although they are beginning to fade. The values of local wisdom that were once inherent in the religious life of the Tarogong Kidul community have now been replaced by modern trends originating from outside (Akmaliah & Burhani, 2021).

4. Conclusion

Based on the previous description above, the complex and dynamic sociological reality regarding the transformation of religious behavior of the Tarogong Kidul community amidst the currents of globalization, modernization, and the penetration of digital technology. With a theoretical approach that relies on the concepts of habitus, capital, and domain from Pierre Bourdieu, this study successfully maps how the religious practices of the Sundanese Muslim community undergo a reconstruction of meaning and modes of expression in a constantly changing social space. This phenomenon is not merely a shift from tradition to modernity, but rather a process of identity negotiation that occurs through symbolic renewal and adaptation of local culture in the digital religious space.

The transformation is clearly visible in five main aspects. First, the commodification of religion describes how Islamic values are now packaged as a lifestyle and status symbol, making religiosity part of market logic. Second, social media not only facilitates the spread of religious content, but also reconstructs traditional religious authority through digital preaching celebrities who sell more visually and emotionally. Third, the dynamics of religious participation show a disparity between the expansion of Islamic infrastructure and the involvement of the congregation, which marks the importance of transforming religious institutions to remain relevant amidst the challenges of urbanization. Fourth, local cultural adaptation faces major challenges due to the flow of content globalization, so it requires conscious efforts to make communities cultural actors capable of

producing Islamic narratives based on local values. Fifth, increasing access to education and income encourages the individualization of religiosity, where religiosity is no longer determined solely by traditional collectivity, but also by personal preferences that are reflective and critical.

The main theoretical contribution of this research is the evidence that religious practices in modern Muslim societies cannot be understood solely as normative ritual practices, but rather as the result of a dialectical process between social structures, religious capital, and global cultural trends. This research also provides a new analytical framework for understanding the shifting meaning of religiosity in the digital era, while enriching the sociology of religion literature with a unique and culturally rich Indonesian local context. In a policy context, the results of this study emphasize the importance of strengthening digital literacy based on local Islamic cultural values and increasing more contextual and participatory religious participation.

Thus, this study not only explains how the Tarogong Kidul community experienced religious transformation in the practical dimension, but also offers a conceptual map and policies to respond to the dynamics of religiosity in the digital era in a more inclusive and civilized manner.

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