Religion and Narration of Covid-19 on Social Media: A Study on Dapur Narasi Social Movement

M. Alvin Nur Choironi

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta
e-mail: m.alvin@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the social movements carried out by Dapur Narasi, an online community-based social movement with the alumni of pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) and Islamic media practitioners as the contributors, in fighting against misleading religious information about Covid-19. Data were collected from various online media, especially the Dapur Narasi media, social media, and personal interviews. The finding indicates that at the beginning of the emergence of Covid-19 in Indonesia, there were many false religious narratives, both from online media and the Islamic preachers. This article shows that the identity paradigm also creates a counter-narrative movement initiated by Dapur Narasi is carried out not only by its own members but also by other figures or communities who hold the same values. This is the reason why the narration raised by Dapur Narasi reach a large number of people.

Keywords:

Dapur Narasi, Covid-19, social movement

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis gerakan sosial yang dilakukan oleh Dapur Narasi, salah satu gerakan sosial berbasis komunitas daring yang diisi oleh para alumni pesantren dan praktisi media keislaman, dalam melawan informasi keagamaan tentang Covid-19. Data dikumpulkan dari berbagai media online, khususnya media Dapur Narasi, media sosial, dan wawancara pribadi. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa pada awal kemunculan Covid-19 di Indonesia, banyak terdapat narasi-narasi keagamaan yang salah, baik dari media online maupun para da'i. Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa paradigma identitas juga membuat gerakan kontra-narasi yang dilakukan oleh Dapur

Narasi tidak hanya oleh anggotanya sendiri tetapi juga oleh tokoh atau komunitas lain yang memiliki nilai yang sama. Hal inilah yang membuat narasi yang diangkat oleh Dapur Narasi mampu menjangkau banyak orang.

Kata Kunci:
Dapur Narasi, Covid-19, gerakan sosial

Introduction

One of the impacts of Covid-19 in mass media is the emergence of religious news and narratives that do not benefit the public, for instance, the statements of several Muslim preachers stating that that they are not afraid of Covid-19 and suggesting people to trust Allah. One of the religious narratives that appears most often is " *Don't be afraid of Covid-19, only fear Allah Swt .".* This statement is often repeated by several preachers, which will automatically be believed and followed by, at least, their circle of believers. A Muslim preacher in East Java, Agus Ali Masyhuri explained that Covid-19 is nothing to be afraid of, because it is only an exaggerated news from mass media to create panic within the society. In fact, he added, the number of victims died from Covid -19 is not higher than the victims who died from accidents (Aditya, 2020). Ironically, Agus Ali Masyhuri later helped the East Java Provincial Government to deal with Covid-19 in the spiritual field (Wijaksena, 2020). Besides Agus Ali Masyhuri, Habib Syekh, a popular Muslim figure from Solo, also conveyed a similar message. He mentioned that people must not fear of Covid-19, but they must fear of Allah SWT. He suggested that people should be afraid of punishment in hell, and not busy buying certain tools for their fear of Covid-19 (Kalam, 2020).

The preacher's message had impacted the information spread on media after the government announced social distancing policies, namely working at home, studying at home, and worshiping at home (Putsanra, 2020). During those times, inaccurate and misleading (*misleading*) information related to religion started to appear as a response to Covid-19.

One of them is the hadith about seeking refuge in the mosque during a pandemic. Information about the hadith is not only spread through broadcast messages on instant messaging applications on smartphones, but also published in one of the Islamic websites that have been closed by the government, such as Voa-islam. Information related to the hadith was then used as a basis for rejecting the closure of mosques in several places.

The manager of The Grand Mosque of Bandung, for example, provided information about the prohibition of Friday prayers and congregational prayers at the mosque during the Covid-19 pandemic, but experienced rejection from a group of individuals, and even the banners containing the information were taken down (Maulana, 2020). Additionally, criticism also came from netizens who expressed their disapproval for the closure of the mosque due to the Covid-19 by spreading a broadcast message: "The *mosque should not be empty of people praying and reciting. When the mosque is empty, the punishment of God will arrive in the area around the mosque. Believe me!*" However, the initial sender of this message remains unknown. The information was actually announced after the fatwa issued by The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) related to the " *Implementation of Worship During the COVID-19 Pandemic* ." (MUI, 2020). However, many broadcast messages convey different information from the fatwa and are believed by the society, although the sender of those broadcast messages remains unknown.

John W. Anderson (2003) mentions that the development of the internet can elevate the growth of Islamic knowledge, while at the same time provide space for new interpreters in Islam (Anderson, 2003). The emergence of internet does not only create new mufassir, but it can also shift religious authority. As stated by Martin Van Bruinessen (2010), the internet is a media that can shift the authority of Ulama (Islamic Scholars) in several ways, such as accessing the main sources of Islam, namely the Qur'an and hadith and also interpreting them. (Bruinessen, 2010; Halim, 2018) .

According to Eva F. Nisa (2018), in Pre-Digital era, Ulama had a tremendous influence on the development of da'wah in Indonesia. However, since internet appeared in the early 1990s, da'wah, which was initially "supervised" by the ulama and kyai in Islamic boarding schools, can also be carried out by young people, even by celebrity ustadz (Islamic teachers) whose competence in Islamic knowledge is far behind the ustadz and kyai in Islamic boarding schools (Nisa, 2018). Gary R. Bunt (2018) states that the internet has a significant effect on creating religious authority, interpretation, power, control, dissemination of political issues and religious understanding (Bunt, 2018).

This has become a new phenomenon, that the authority of the ulama can be defeated by the new hadith and Qur'an interpreters on the internet in the *new media era*. This is certainly worrying, given the fact that the number of internet users in Indonesia is increasing every year. The We Are Social research states that in 2020, there will be an increase of around 10 million internet users in Indonesia, with a total internet user reaching 175.4 million and most of them doing searches on search engines (Social, 2020).

The emergence of new media and the increasing number of internet users in Indonesia have become both hopes and challenges for the religion. The hope is, as stated by Anderson (2003), internet can act as a disseminator of Islamic studies without borders and with a wide range of network. At first, Islamic Studies only revolved around *halaqah* and *zawiyah,* but now it shifted towards a wider public space (Anderson, 2003). As for the challenge, Anderson said that more and more people will take part and take action in the public sphere, where everyone has the authority to speak about Islamic studies. (Anderson, New Media in The Muslim World The Emerging Public Sphere, 2000).

According to Mutohharun Jinan (2012), it will also be easier for everyone to access knowledge depending on their individual tastes and needs. Someone who needs answers to their problems does not have to ask the ulama directly, religious fatwas are no longer owned by conventional

scholars only, but everyone can find answers and make decisions based on the information available in the media (Jinan, 2012). In addition, Campbell and Tuesnerr (2011) also mention that new media can be a way to monitor and correct religious authorities online (Tuesner & Campbell, 2011). Greg Fealy and Sally White (2008) convey that one of the religious expressions and evidence of the faith of the Indonesian Muslim community is by accessing Islamic websites. Indonesian Muslims also express their faith through several other things, such as: wearing traditional Islamic clothes, buying only halal products, saving money in Islamic banks, and several other things (Fealy & White, 2008).

The phenomenon of the emergence of new interpreters on religious information on the internet may lead to false and shallow interpretation. Meanwhile, a shallow understanding of religion causes an individual to be influenced by conservative and radical issues (Ma'arif, 2011). Concerns related to this phenomenon have led to a counter-narrative movement conducted by "Dapur Narasi" that carries out a social movement by producing and disseminating counter-narrative content to oppose religious or Islamic issues that have the potential to be misleading related to the Covid-19 outbreak. Apart from popular Islamic sites, there are also other movements called Mafindo (Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society) and the Fact Checking Network. However, the last two movements only focus on *countering* issues related to hoaxes. These two movements do not cover the issue on misleading religious information which is potentially harmful for the society. This is what distinguishes the anti-hoax movement and the counter-narrative movement (Ali & Etc., 2019).

This article will specifically discuss the counter-narrative social movement on the internet carried out by Dapur Narasi and its network in fighting misleading religious issues related to the Covid-19 virus. In this study, the author uses the theory of modern social movements in the form of *framing process*.

The term *framing* as a term in the study of social movements was first introduced by Goffman (1978). Framing is a method of presenting

reality when the truth about an event is not totally denied, but subtly transferred, by highlighting certain aspects. In the perspective of social movements, framing is certainly used as an effort to gain public sympathy with the aim of creating social movements. Therefore, framing efforts cannot be separated from the role of the media as a message-transferring tool. Through framing, the media has indirectly constructed the meaning of an event, so that people's perceptions of reality can be shaped based on the perspective of the framing maker (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2018).

Benford and Snow in Sukmana (2016) explain that framing helps to make an event or incidents to have meaning and thus serves to organize experience and guide action. Therefore, the framing works as a way to instill a common identity in the community.

The research method used in this research is a qualitative method with field study. Data collection was obtained from credible online media related to Covid-19 in the media used by "Dapur Narasi" to fight false religious narratives about Covid-19. In addition, the author also collects various broadcast messages spread on social media to complete the framing analysis. The data that has been obtained is then validated using the triangulation method. Data that has been declared valid is then analyzed by framing analysis to create a holistic explanation.

The problem of Covid-19 and Islam has actually been studied by several researchers. Aldona Maria Powko (2021), for example, mention that Covid could affect Muslim worship. Muslims must choose between practicing Islamic worship or maintaining health and the spread of Covid. (Piwko, 2021) This kind of dilemmas may spark various assumptions that the Covid-19 is one way to destroy Islam. In another study, Oemar Madri Bafadhal and Anang Dwi Santoso (2020) state that there are five categories of disinformation related to Covid-19, namely politics, health, foreign affairs, business, and crime. Of all the five categories, religion is not mentioned. Religious themes are included in the sub-category of health, which contains religious remedies, including listening to the

adzan (call to prayer), performing ablution and Friday prayers, and so on (Bafadhal, 2020). From the various existing studies related to Covid-19 and the media, none of them have focused on religious narratives related to Covid-19, let alone related to social movements which are intensely focusing on providing alternative for these religious narratives. This research will further explore this phenomenon.

Dapur Narasi is an online community-based social movement with the alumni of pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) and Islamic media practitioners as the contributors, so it is relevant to be studied in this article. On the other hand, social movements can actually be done through technology. Calls it as *"click activism",* which is an activism movement based on clicks (Faisal, 2008).

Religious Information on the Internet about Covid-19

From the search conducted by the author, there is some false religious information that was spread on the internet during the Covid-19 virus pandemic. *First,* believers must not fear of the Covid-19. The message is conveyed by many Muslims. The Islamic preachers are no exception. Some preachers who have many followers also convey such messages, as discussed in the introduction above.

Second, the Covid-19 virus is regarded as the act of illuminati to restrict Muslims in going to the mosque. One of the most widely shared message related to this information is from Ustadz Tengku Zulkifli who said that the information comes from a jinn (genie, a spiritual entity) that possessed a woman's body (Garjito, 2020). The information was shared by thousands of people on various media platforms. Zulkifli's statement was believed to be true after the MUI issued a fatwa related to the Friday prayer and congregational prayers in the mosque.

Third, the widely spread hadith about the solution for the plague is by coming to the mosque. There are several hadiths that are quoted, but all of them are almost from the same narrator. The hadith explaines

that when there is a disaster or epidemic, one must take refuge in the mosque. This hadith was spread through broadcast messages in one of the instant messaging applications and was also spread by one of the webs, but the web has been deleted. Quoting this hadith is a form of framing to show that the prohibition of congregational prayers in the mosque is a wrong thing to do. The framing assumes that during the pandemic, people are advised to come to the mosque, and are not prohibited to hold congregation prayers in the mosque.

Fourth, excerpts from Habib Umar bin Hafidz's sermon criticizing the closure of mosques, while malls and shopping centers are allowed to operate. This statement is considered as the reason to refuse prohibition on praying at the mosque. However, this quote from Habib Umar's sermon was clarified by Habib Nabiel al-Musawa who explained that the context of the quoted sermon is incomplete and that the statement is not fully delivered. According to Habib Nabiel, the context of Habib Umar's sermon was actually about the Yemeni community in the early days when the cases of Covid-19 emerged, and not during the pandemic when the number of cases had escalated and the situation had become dangerous (Jamaah, 2020).

Fifth, broadcast messages that mention ablution as a way of getting rid of diseases or viruses. The message of this broadcast is also supported by several hadiths of which the validity has not been confirmed. This message is often shared in family whatsapp groups.

Sixth, the people of China learn to pray to the mosques and perform ablution to combat Covid-19. This message was also embellished by using a provocative message saying that China actually seek refuge to the mosques to eliminate Covid-19, while in Indonesia where Muslims are the majority, ,the anti-mosques movement is being promoted, " *In the country of origin where the Covid-19 came from, the communists flocked to the mosque and learned to perform ablution to attend prayers. But in a Muslim-majority country, it's the total opposite... they are continuously promoting the phobia of mosques... the mosque is treated as if it were the source of COVID-19 transmission."* This kind

of messages have also spread across various platforms on the internet. The message is also shared in family Whatsapp groups.

From some religious information about Covid-19, all have the same framing; the rejection of the government's policy for *social* or *physical distancing* and the MUI fatwa regarding how to hold worships and prayers during the Covid-19 pandemic..

Overview of the Counter Narrative Movement by Dapur Narasi

Dapur Narasi is a movement initiated by Savic Ali, a former 98 activist who is now active in the digital literacy movement. Savic is the director of NU Online, the official website of the NU religious organization (Nahdlatul Ulama). In addition, he is also the founder of Islamidotco. The segmentation of NU Online is the NU members, while Islamidotco's segmentation is the urban middle class who are not part of any Islamic organization. Savic explains that the number of people who have no affiliation with particular organization is quite large and it is worrying if they are not introduced to some friendly and enlightening Islamic contents (Ali, 2020).

The counter-narrative movement conducted by Dapur Narasi was initially aimed at fighting the narratives of radicalism that developed on the internet. In 2016, when religious sentiments grew stronger, especially when cases of blasphemy emerged in the midst of the DKI Jakarta governor's campaign several years ago, Dapur Narasi was also involved in carrying out a counter-narrative movement.

The counter-narrative movement conducted by Dapur Narasi uses an alternative narrative approach, namely an alternative narrative that aims at education people on the issues related to Islam are not monolithic. The Muslim community is considered important to have an open minded view regarding differences of opinion in Islam. Dapur Narasi is more focused on its movement through the internet, because in this new media era,

many people are more likely to find answers on search engines than to ask Islamic experts. According to Savic, this needs to be done since many people cannot choose which content is relevant to read when doing an online search. Therefore, the movement of "Dapur Narasi" aims to fill the internet with alternative narratives about Islam that are friendly and enlightening. The counter-narrative object is the content appearing on the internet, both websites and social media.

In carrying out its movement, Dapur Narasi uses the Islamic sites NU Online and Islamidotco for narrative dissemination. These narratives are created by writers from Islamic boarding schools who have expertise in writing specific topics. Savic is quite active in attracting writers from this pesantren. So far, NU Online and Islamidotco are considered effective to disseminate counter-narrative content. The reason is, these two websites are the top two most popular Islamic websites in Indonesia.

These two websites have the highest ranking in the Alexa website ranking for the Indonesian category. NU online is ranked 65th and Islamidotco is ranked 120 (Alexa, 2020). See the ranking results below:
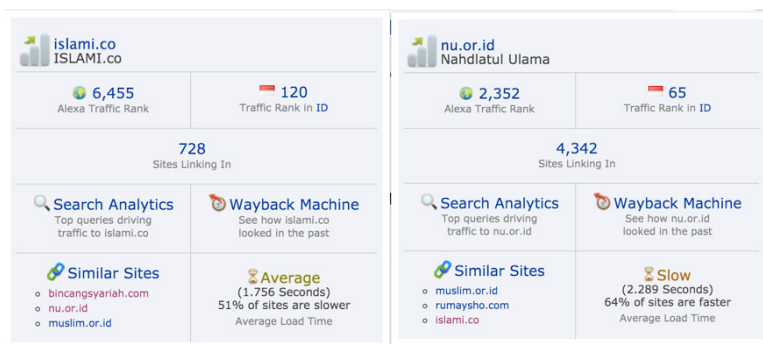
The Islamic site that the author means in this case is a website that specifically writes issues related to Islam, such as fatwas on law, worship, sermons, studies of the Qur'an and hadith as well as other Islamic content. As stated by Anderson (2003), Islam in *new media* can be represented in several ways, such as Islamic news, public sermons which are rewritten

and transmitted online, Qur'anic texts and hadith transcribed from printed books, prayer times instructions, mosques, halal restaurants, and Islamic studies. This movement is driven by several factors, including the desire to make the Islamic teaching prominent, even for non-Muslim communities, as well as to spread the Islamic teaching in the modern world (Anderson, 2003).

Meanwhile, the word "popular" in this article refers to the Islamic site that is included in Anderson's criteria above and is ranked the highest based on web ranking analysis, Alexa. Alexa is one of the popular website ranking engines owned by Amazon, an American digital company. The ranking of popular websites is based on several categories, such as: the duration of each user visits the website, the number of daily visits to the website, the percentage of traffic generated from search engines, the number of other websites sharing website links on its page. See website popularity rating by Alexa (Alexa, 2020).

Besides producing and disseminating counter-narrative contents, Dapur Narasi also monitors websites that are considered to be spreading content related to jihadist ideology which is typically done by radical groups. Dapur Narasi has a web cluster division by using color as its categorization. Dapur Narasi has clear parameters to sort out which categories are red (violence-extremist), yellow (political-intolerant), gray (non-violence extremist, ultra-conservative) and green (moderate). These colors and criteria were obtained after conducting research from 2016 on Islamic sites (Ali, 2020).

Religious Framing related to Covid-19 by Dapur Narasi

When religious issues related to Covid-19 first emerged, Dapur Narasi mobilized its writers to write contents to fight those religious issues. The writing contents were then disseminated on Islamic sites such as NU Online and Islamidotco so that they are indexed by search engines and find readers.

The writings are usually marked with the keywords covid-19 or Covid-19. Based on the author's observations, as of May 3, 2020, NU Online has written about 900 articles, while Islamidotco has written 488 articles. However, not all articles about Covid-19 are in the form of counter-narrative. Some of the articles are simply news or opinion columns for to prevent and control Covid-19, as well as some criticisms and suggestions for policies and public behavior that are considered as problematic , and not solution to the problems. Of about 1000s of articles about Covid-19 that the author takes as an inventory, there are around 200 articles that are intended as counter-narratives that can be categorized in the following ways.

First, the news. News is considered a fairly subtle counter-narrative content. The news that is displayed is related to policies or fatwas that have been issued, and the source is from Indonesian or foreign scholars, organizations or opinions of Islamic scholars in Indonesia. According to Dedik Priyanto, one of the members of Dapur Narasi, news articles can educate many people that all information need to have comparisons. By acknowledging that the information they have received actually have comparisons, then people would rethink and reinvestigate the information they have received (Priyanto, 2020). For example, news about the fatwa of the association of senior scholars from al-Azhar that urge to perform congregational prayers at home with several arguments (Choironi, 2020), news about the MUI fatwa, Quraish Shihab's opinion about Covid-19 regarded as the army of Allah (Choironi, 2020), news about the prohibition of congregational prayers in various countries, and some other news.

Second, the study of the Koran and hadith. Al-Quran and hadith are considered as powerful sources to fight misleading information. Especially for the Muslim community, Qur'an and hadith are the main sources in Islam. The study of the Qur'an and hadith is presented to provide a comprehensive understanding for some people who have received misleading information and to show that the information they have received contradicts the study of the Qur'an and hadith. Hengky Ferdiansyah, the editor of Islamidotco,

said that people who receive information from the Qur'an and hadith and found that the previous information they received turned out to be false, then they will prioritize information from the study of the Qur'an and hadith (Ferdiansyah, 2020). For example, the study of hadith about taking refuge in the mosque during an epidemic. The article shows that the hadith of taking refuge in the mosque is a daif (waek) hadith, it is better to take and practice a sahih (valid) hadith (Choironi, 2020).

Third, historical studies. Historical studies that are written and disseminated will provide insight for many people that the misleading information they received is different from the existing historical facts. For example, an information about praying and worshiping at the mosque can be a protection from the plague, a historical study is written during the time of Umar bin Khattab, mentioning that the more people coming to the mosque, the more the epidemic will spread. This incident is proved by the number of the prophet's companions who died because of the plague, many of whom were considered the best companions, including: Abu Ubaidah bin Jarrah, Muadz bin Jabal, Yazid bin Abi Sufyan and several other companions (Nazilah, 2020).

Of the three categories above, Dapur Narasi intentionally inserts certain framing to fight framing related to false religious issues. The author finds one main framing, namely preventing epidemics is the teachings of Islam. This main framing is used as a guide for writing content related to the Covid-19 outbreak. This main framing is used to fight the false religious issue that considers Covid-19 as a conspiracy to weaken Muslims, because it prohibits Muslims in praying to the mosque, prohibits the congregational prayers and Friday prayers and so on. From this one main framing there are several derivative framings, such as:

> First, *Fear of Covid-19 does not turn an individual to become musyrik (polytheist).* This framing is used to counter religious issues mentioning that it is not Covid-19 that needs to be feared, but God, for the fear of Covid-19 can make a person being punished in hell. This

framing appears most frequently on the internet, especially when the early cases of Covid-19 emerged in Indonesia. Dapur Narasi also mentions that the counter-narrative writing related to framing was read by many readers. Some readers even voluntarily create memes to be shared via whatsapp groups (Priyanto, 2020).

Second, *Rasulullah recommended to put effort before tawakkul.* This framing is used to counter information about human's death has been decided, so basically anyone can die, with or without Covid-19. One of the contents created by Dapur Narasi is the story of a Bedouin who was scolded by the Prophet because he underestimated the power of effort. At that time, he did not tie his camel and simply put his trust in Allah's plan (Choironi, 2020).

The post of the Dapur Narasi movement on islami.co Twitter about putting efforts before *tawakkul.*

Third, *the announcement for praying at home is issued by scholars who have a qualified Islamic competence.* This framing is used in several news articles, such as the fatwa news of the *Haiah Kibar Ulama al-Azhar,* the opinion of Habib Ali al-Jufri, the opinion of Quraish Shihab, and the MUI fatwa.

Fourth, *self -isolation was also carried out by the companions of the prophet.* This framing is used to fight the issue mentioning the Prophet's companions went to the mosque every time there was a plague or danger. One of the articles written was related to the Prophet's advice during the plague and the history of the plague during the era of the Prophet and his companions .

Fifth, *performing prayers and worship in the mosque in the era of the Prophet's companions also increased the spread of the plague.* This framing is also used to counter information which states that going to the mosque can eliminate disease or pandemics. One of the articles published against this framing is the history of how the plague victims were increasing after frequent visits to the mosque as mentioned by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in *Badzl al-Maun.*

Sixth, the hadith about the virtue of taking refuge in the mosque and the virtue of ablution during the pandemic is not credible. This framing is used to delegitimize people who claim that there is a hadith about coming to the mosque and taking ablution to prevent the virus, and the use of hand sanitizer and soap are not necessary. Because in fact, the Dapur Narasi team found that these hadiths were not credible (Choironi, 2020).

Seventh*, ask the experts: ask the doctor about the plague, not the ustadz.* This framing is used to fight and delegitimize religious teachers who think they know everything about the Covid-19 virus, even though they have never studied medicine, microbiology, and so on.

Eighth*, the Covid-19 victims were martyred.* This framing is used to fight group of people that reject the bodies of Covid-19 victims in various regions. Dapur Narasi feels the needs to educate the public concerning religion and to inform people that in Islam, plague victims must be respected, not rejected (Priyanto, 2020).

Several forms of framing above show that Dapur Narasi uses framing in the form of delegitimization on misleading religious information by using news, studies of Al-Quran-hadith, and history. The framings used by Dapur Narasi show that in social movements on the Internet, framing is not simply as a medium to reach a larger movement, but framing in social movements has turned into a movement itself. In reality, this framing is being used as a form of resistance to (*fight against*) false and misleading religious information *about* Covid-19.

The Identity Paradigm as an effective way of disseminating the movement

In the new social movements, the identity paradigm emphasizing the basis of their perspective on the role of identity that drives an individual to do and join a movement. Unlike the source mobility paradigm, which is materialistic-oriented, the identity paradigm is more identity-oriented and focuses their attention on a movement that tends to be non-materialistic (Rusmanto, 2013). The rationality basis of the theory of resource mobilization is considered inadequate in explaining the new social movement. The theory of resource mobilization is considered a failure when explaining some of the expressions of the new social movements, such as: the feminist movement, the environmental movement, the peace movement, the disarmament movement, and the local freedom movement (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2018).

Dapur Narasi in its movement deliberately uses the identity paradigm to capture as many networks as possible. In the process of disseminating its movement, Dapur Narasi invites public figures and *influencers* who have a high number of followers on social media to be actively involved in sharing the contents on social media, such as stand-up comedians, artists, religious teachers and academics as well as politicians. Besides being invited to share their thought on social media, they are also invited to create their own contents related to the same issue. These public figures do not ask for anything, including money for their involvement in this

movement, because this is in accordance with the values that they hold (Priyanto, 2020).

Besides inviting public figures, Dapur Narasi also invites several other communities or movements to help disseminate or produce content. Similar to public figures, they join this movement not because they receive personal *benefits*, but because they have similar values that need to be fought for together. The community that are joining this action was invited by the members of Dapur Narasi because of the friendship factor. These communities also have power on the internet, particularly on social media.

From this phenomenon, it can be concluded that the counter-narrative movement carried out by Dapur Narasi was not only conducted by its own members, but was also carried out by many figures or public figures as well as the community based on common values and identities.

Conclusion

Some of the findings in this study indicate that in the early days of the emergence of Covid-19 cases in Indonesia, there was a lot of false religious information related to Covid-19, either delievered by ividuals on social media or by Islamic preachers. The misleading information may potentially increase the transmission of Covid-19 and worsen the handling of the pandemic, Dapur Narasi is carrying out a social movement by using a counter-narrative approach. In carrying out social movements, Dapur Narasi uses the *framing process* as a movement as well as materials or media to capture a larger movement. The framings used by Dapur Narasi show that in social movements on the Internet, framing is not merely a medium to reach a larger movement, but framing in social movements has turned into a movement itself. In reality, this framing is used as a form of resistance to religious information that is considered false and misleading about the Covid-19. In addition, the identity paradigm also creates a counter-narrative movement initiated by Dapur Narasi is not only carried out by its own members but also by other figures or communities.

References

Aditya. (2020, Maret 18). *Jangan takut virus Corona (Gus Ali)*. Diambil kembali dari Youtube.com: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2BAoehce2s&ab_channel=Mr.DAditya

Alexa. (2020, Mei 1). *Alexa*. Diambil kembali dari Alexa: alexa.com/site/nu.or.id

Ali, S. (2020, April 28). (M. A. Choironi, Pewawancara)

Ali, S., & Etc. (2019). *Modul Melawan Hoaks dan Kebencian Berbasis Sentimen Agama*. Jakarta: Numedia Digital dan Literasi Digital.

Anderson, J. W. (2000). *New Media in The Muslim World The Emerging Public Sphere*. Leiden: ISIM News Letter.

Anderson, J. W. (2003). The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters. Dalam J. W. Eickelman, *New Media in the Muslim World: The emerging Public Sphere* (hal. 41-55). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bruinessen, M. V. (2010). Producing Islamic Knowledge in Western Europe: Discipline, Authority, and Personal Quest. Dalam M. v. (Eds.), *Producing Islamic Knowledge: Transmission and Dissemination in Western Europe*. London: Routledge.

Bunt, G. R. (2018). *Hastag Islam: How Cyber Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Choironi, M. A. (2020, Maret 16). *3 Hal yang Perlu Disampaikan Para Ustadz Saat Wabah Corona*. Diambil kembali dari Islami.co: https://islami.co/3-hal-yang-perlu-disampaikan-para-ustadz-saat-wabah-corona/

Choironi, M. A. (2020, Maret 15). *Fatwa Ulama Al-Azhar: Boleh Hentikan Sementara Shalat Jumat dan Shalat Jamaah Karena Corona*. Diambil kembali dari Islami.co: https://islami.co/ulama-besar-al-azhar-fatwakan-untuk-hentikan-sementara-shalat-jumat-dan-shalat-jamaah/

Choironi, M. A. (2020, Maret 18). *Hadis-hadis Daif dan Palsu Tentang Memakmurkan Masjid Saat Corona*. Diambil kembali dari Islami. co: https://islami.co/hadis-hadis-daif-dan-palsu-tentang-memakmurkan-masjid-saat-corona/,

Choironi, M. A. (2020, Maret 23). *Quraish Shihab: Saya Tidak Setuju Pendapat Corona Tentara Allah.* Diambil kembali dari Islami.co: https://islami.co/quraish-shihab-tidak-setuju-pendapat-corona-tentara-allah/

CNN. (2020, Maret 2). *Jokowi Umumkan Dua WNI Positif Corona di Indonesia.* Diambil kembali dari CNN Indonesia: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200302111534-20-479660/jokowi-umumkan-dua-wni-positif-corona-di-indonesia

Faisal, M. (2008). Dari Anarchic Cyber Space menjadi Transnational Public Sphere. Membaca Relasi antara Cyber¬ space fan Civil Society di Era Postmodern (Studi kasus: Greenpeace Online Activist). *Global: Jurnal Politik International*, 138-151.

Fealy, G., & White, S. (2008). *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia.* Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.

Ferdiansyah, H. (2020, April 28). (M. A. Choironi, Pewawancara)

Garjito, D. (2020, Maret 11). *Ustaz Zulkifli Sebut Illuminati Adalah Dalang Virus Corona.* Diambil kembali dari Suara: https://www.suara.com/news/2020/03/11/171941/ustaz-zulkifli-sebut-illuminati-adalah-dalang-virus-corona

Jamaah, A. S. (2020, April 27). *Klarifikasi Terkait Potongan Video Habib Umar Bin Hafidz.* Diambil kembali dari Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R57LYBtC2yY

Jinan, M. (2012). Dampak New Media terhadap Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan Islam di Indonesia. *Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies XII* (hal. 1011-1032.). Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel.

Kalam. (2020, Maret 5). *Habib Syech: Tidak Perlu Takut dengan Virus Corona Takutlah Kepada Allah.* Diambil kembali dari Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCB4kt-kAhw

Ma'arif, S. (2011). *The Illusion of an Islamic State: How an Alliance of Moderates Launched a Successful Jihad Against Radicalization and Terrorism in the World's Largest Muslim-Majority Country.* Jakarta: LibForAll Foundation.

Maulana, Y. (2020, Maret 21). *Spanduk Maklumat Tak Gelar Salat Jumat di Masjid Raya Bandung Berujung Aksi.* Diambil kembali dari Detik.com: https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-4947943/spanduk-maklumat-tak-gelar-salat-jumat-di-masjid-raya-bandung-

berujung-aksi

MUI. (2020, Maret 1). *Fatwa Tentang Penyelenggaraan Ibadah dalam Situasi Wabah Covid-19*. Diambil kembali dari MUI: https://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Fatwa-tentang-Penyelanggaran-Ibadah-Dalam-siatuasi-Wabah-COVID-19.pdf

Nazilah, F. R. (2020, Maret 21). *Sahabat-Sahabat Nabi yang Wafat Karena Wabah*. Diambil kembali dari Islami.co: https://islami.co/sahabat-sahabat-nabi-yang-wafat-karena-wabah

Nisa, E. F. (2018). Creative and Lucrative Da'wa: The Visual Culture of Instagram amongst Female Muslim Youth in Indonesia. *Asiascape: Digital Asia 5 Brill* , 72.

Oemar Madri Bafadhal, A. D. (2020). MEMETAKAN PESAN HOAKS BERITA COVID-19 DI INDONESIA LINTAS KATEGORI, SUMBER, DAN JENIS DISINFORMASI. 235-249.

Piwko, A. M. (2021). *Islam and the COVID19 Pandemic: Between Religious Practice and Health Protection*. Journal of Religion and Health .

Priyanto, D. (2020, April 28). (M. A. Choironi, Pewawancara)

Putsanra, D. V. (2020, Maret 16). *Apa Itu Social Distancing dan Karantina Diri untuk Cegah Corona*. Diambil kembali dari Tirto.id: https://tirto.id/apa-itu-social-distancing-dan-karantina-diri-untuk-cegah-corona-eFr9,

Rusmanto, J. (2013). *Gerakan Sosial: Sejarah Perkembangan Teori Antara Kekuatan dan Kelemahannya*. Sidoarjo: Zifatama Publishing.

Sean, A. (2020, Februari 16). *UAS: Muslim Uyghur Dilindungi Tentara Allah SWT dari Virus, Namanya Tentara Corona*. Diambil kembali dari Indopolitika: https://indopolitika.com/uas-muslim-uyghur-dilindungi-tentara-allah-swt-dari-virus-namanya-tentara-corona/

Snow, D., Vliegenthart, R., & Ketelaars, P. (2018). The Framing Perspective on Social Movements: Its Conceptual Roots and Architecture. Dalam *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (hal. 392-410). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Social, W. A. (2020). *Digital 2020: 3.8 billion people use social media*. London: We Are Social.

Tuesner, & Campbell. (2011). Religious Authority in The Age of Internet. Dalam *Virtual Lives: Christian Reflection* (hal. 59-68). Texas: Baylor University.

Wijaksena, A. (2020, Maret 2020). *Khofifah Mohon Doa Ulama Agar Covid-19 Segera Berlalu Sumber: https://mediaindonesia.com/nusantara/298807/ khofifah-mohon-doa-ulama-agar-covid-19-segera-berlalu.* Diambil kembali dari Media Indonesia: https://mediaindonesia.com/ nusantara/298807/khofifah-mohon-doa-ulama-agar-covid-19- segera-berlalu