Dynamics and Transformation of Da’wah in Manado During the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

This article reviews the dynamics of Islamic da’wah in Manado before and during the Covid-19 pandemic. The question posed by this article is: What were the dynamics of Islamic da’wah in Manado before the Covid-19 pandemic? and how is the transformation of da’wah during the Covid-19 pandemic? Using a historical approach, the author finds two things: First, historically, Islamic da’wah in Manado has taken place simultaneously with the process of Islamization that occurred since the beginning of the 17th century, but da’wah and Islamization began to be massive and had a dominant impact on the development of Islam in Manado since the placement of exiles by the colonial. With the adaptation process, these figures were able to carry out cultural da’wah in Minahasa and Manado. Islamic da’wah’s success in Manado is also inseparable from the role of Islamic organizations such as Alkhairaat, Muhammdiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama. These three organizations do a lot of da’wah through formal education channels by establishing schools, madrassas, and pesantren. Second, during the Covid-19 pandemic, no digital da’wah activities were carried out regularly and systematically and were open to the public by da’wah actors in Manado, both individually and organizationally. Most da’wah practitioners in Manado move individually and are partial, meaning that each day carries out their da’wah activities individually based on their respective popularity in the community.

Keywords

Da’wa; Islam in Manado; Covid 19

1. INTRODUCTION

The presence of COVID-19 pandemic has changed many aspects of human life, ranging from cultural, social, and economic aspects (Das et al., 2021) to politics, education, and even religion (Tyas & Naibaho, 2020). The outbreak that first hit the city of Wuhan at the end of 2019 spread quickly to various parts of the world, including Indonesia. Adaptation to the changes that occurred due to the Indonesian people took COVID-19 through the dynamics of pros and cons, especially related to religious activities.

The controversy is related to views and understanding of COVID-19 and the response to the implementation of COVID-19 health protocols, which require all community activities to follow predetermined standards, namely: using masks, washing or cleaning hands, maintaining distance,
avoiding crowds, and limiting activities and interactions. Of the five recommended health protocols, three are considered by some scholars and Muslims to contradict or complicate religious activities.

The understanding and response of individual Islamic religious figures about COVID-19 is very diverse, ranging from those who understand the COVID-19 outbreak as an army of God as once thrown by Ustadz Abdul Somad (Musa, 2020), tests, conspiracies (Khalil et al., 2021) to destroy Islam, creatures commissioned by God to attack humans (Sholeh et al., 2021), to those who understand it as ordinary health phenomena from the dimania passed, it is clear that religion plays a significant role both as a positive-constructive force that helps mitigate the outbreak and as a reactive force that contributes to spreading the COVID-19 outbreak (Nadzifah & Muhammad, 2020).

Apart from the variety of interesting polemics that want to be explored in this study, the transformation and dynamics of the sustainability of Islamic da’wah in contemporary Manado from 2018 until the COVID-19 pandemic era. There are several reasons this topic was researched, including:

First, Manado is a multicultural city that, in responding to and responding to a phenomenon, also shows its diverse character. The diversity of the social and cultural backgrounds of the community is small; many must have influenced the social and religious attitudes of the community when faced with a phenomenon. In the context of this study, researchers assume that the attitude of Manadonese people, especially Muslims, toward responding to the COVID-19 pandemic is intertwined with the diverse socio-cultural realities of Manadonese society. Second, COVID-19 is a global phenomenon that was responded to locally and sectorally by religious groups, organizations, and communities at the beginning of its emergence. Likewise, with religious complaints, who have a social responsibility to carry out da’wah. Based on the author’s research, many studies on the COVID-19 pandemic have been carried out by researchers from various scientific points of view. In this section, several studies related to this research will be reviewed for comparison, reference, and relevance in the midst of existing studies.

The Maarif Institute journal in 2020 presented two editions, all of which were related to the topic of the COVID-19 pandemic. The first edition of Volume 15, No. 1, 2020, has the theme “Religion, Science, and COVID-19: Dialoguing Religious Reason and Modern Science”. 12 articles in this edition provide presentations from religious perspectives related to the COVID-19 pandemic to increase religious and scientific enthusiasm. The studies in this edition can be read critically to gain a place in responding to COVID-19 with an integrated approach to religion and science as a paradigm for crisis resolution.

The first article, written by M. Amin Abdullah, presents the philosophical concept of relations and the integration of religion and science. M. Amin Abdullah emphasized that the relationship between religion, in this case 'Ulumu al-din (Islamic religious sciences), and sciences, both natural, social, and cultural sciences, requires a pattern of relationship with a dialogical, integrative-interconnective model.
In the context of COVID-19, if it can be understood and carried out by religious leaders, this kind of relationship will avoid conflicting attitudes between religion and science (Abdullah, 2020). In the context of this research, this article from Amin Abdullah can help researchers typologize Islamic da’wah actors in Manado when responding to the arrival of COVID-19.

The next article, Musa Maliki, presents "Covid-19, Religion, and Science", which presents building models of religious thinking, especially Islam, during the Covid-19 pandemic. In responding to the Covid-19 pandemic, Musa advised religious people to interpret their religious values with strict and critical scientific disciplines, not carelessly, so as to avoid being carried away in discussions that place religion and science oppositely. Thus, Muslims must have adequate and mondial knowledge and understanding of religion and science like previous scholars and scholars (Musa, 2020).

Furthermore, there are research results written by Mohammad Zaki Arrobi and Amsa Nadzifah entitled "Religious Authority in the Corona Era: From Fragmentation to Convergence?" This article describes the perspectives, attitudes, and roles of Islamic religious stakeholders in responding to the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic due to the spread of the Coronavirus in Indonesia. This study focuses on the meaning of religious discourse and social praxis carried out by 'celebrity ustad' and Islamic mass organizations in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. In this article, the author also explains changes in discourse among religious stakeholders regarding COVID-19 (Nadzifah & Muhammad, 2020).

Meanwhile, in volume 15 No. 2, the Maarif Institute Journal presents several articles with the theme "Education during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Strategy, Adaptation, and Transformation" (Shofan, 2020). The articles in this edition look at the phenomenon in the world of education that is 'forced' to change due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Through the studies in this issue, researchers have an idea of how stuttering is experienced in the world of da’wah as well as in the world of education.

In addition, there are two anthology books related to this research, the first entitled "Religion in the Corona Era: Ideology, Narrative, and Convergence," written by Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi et al. This book contains essays from various academics, especially from IAIN Surakarta, in the form of theoretical, historical, and religious notes related to COVID-19. This book provides researchers with an overview of the brief history of the pandemic and how Muslims responded to it (Zulhazmi, 2021).

Furthermore, the anthology book published by LPPM IAIN Manado is entitled "Coronavirus: Kultus Agama vis-à-vis Kultus Sains" (D. Rusdiyanto, 2021). This anthology book contains notes, reflections, and critical studies related to COVID-19. Several articles present the phenomenon of COVID-19 in the city of Manado. This book is needed in the context of this research as an overview of the phenomenon of COVID-19 in Manado. In some of these studies, the position of this article can be
complementary and comparative. Studies and historical records about Islam and the pandemic in Manado so far do not exist; therefore, researchers hope to fill the gap.

2. METHODS
This study will use the historical method. In the historical method, there are several stages to getting answers to research questions, including first, heuristics, or collection of sources; criticism; interpretation; and historiography. The explanation of these stages includes the following: The first step taken is to determine the topic and limits of research, both temporal and spatial. The next step is for researchers to search, collect, and determine historical sources in the form of documents, archives, and oral statements from historical actors related to Islamic Da’wah activities in Manado. Data is the primary source in this study. While secondary sources consist of uku, scientific articles, and news archives in print media.

The next stage is to critique all historical sources obtained. It is aimed at the internal and external sides of the historical sources obtained. In oral sources obtained based on interviews, the author confirms and clarifies between oral information and other oral sources, including archival sources, to obtain valid data. In the third stage, researchers interpret the overall information obtained. This interpretation includes two stages: analysis as a tool to elaborate historical sources to obtain historical facts, and synthesis, namely the preparation of facts about events in a series of narratives in order to obtain more general and chronological facts as a historical process.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
3.1. A Glimpse of the History of Islamic Da’wah in Manado
M.C. Ricklefs stated that the spread of Islam was one of the most important processes in Indonesian history but also the most obscure (Ricklefs, 2008). The statement applies in the context of local Islamic history (Tanjung et al., 2021). Based on the author’s search, not much literature reviews the activities and dynamics of Islamic da’wah from the early days of Islamization to the contemporary era in Manado City. If you read historical literature, which is also very limited, Islam in Manado entered and developed for quite a long time. Periodically, Roger quoted the Batavian diary, which stated that "the first description of the Portuguese version of the Minahasa hinterland obtained by Spain until the early 17th century was "good climate, fertile land, without Muslims". This information shows that the process of Islamization in the land of Minahasa before the 17th century had yet to take place. However, if referring to other information, this statement is not true, as Roger A.C. Kembuan mentioned three factors that influenced the entry of Islam in Minahasa, namely: the influence of the Ternate Sultanate, the presence of exile figures (Java-Sumatra), and the presence of travellers and traders (Bugis, Bone, Gorontalo) (Kembuan, 2019).
Islam entering a region can be divided into two categories: First, since there are people of Muslim faith living in a region, there are also local people or indigenous people from that region who have embraced Islam. Based on this category, the above statement stating that before the 17th century, the land of Minahasa was “without Muslims” can be included in the second category since, at that time, there was no record showing the existence of local residents who were already Muslims. However, if referring to the first category, the existence of Muslims in Minahasa may have been going on since before the 17th century, considering Manado-Minahasa is an area close to the trade route that has been going on for quite a long time. So that Muslim traders from other regions may have stopped in Minahasa before the 17th century (Aziz, 2017). A real attempt to Islamize was indeed made around 1563 through Ternate, but the Portuguese thwarted the effort. Only in 1564 were many Muslim workers brought by the company to erect barricades and wooden forts, which became the first sign of the entry of Muslims into the Minahasa region (Makkelo, 2010).

The rapid development of Islam in Minahasa-Manado took place since the existence of exile figures or exiles from Java and Sumatra forged in Minahasa. Throughout the 19th century, many leaders of resistance to the Dutch in Java and Sumatra were sentenced to exile. The Manado residency (Manahasa), especially the Tondano district, became one of the locos of exile. The policy of exile by the colonial government was carried out for those who were considered a threat to the security and order of the Dutch East Indies territory. Among the most famous figures forged in Minahasa are Kyai Modjo and Imam Bonjol.

These exiles played an important role in the process of Islamization during the early period in the land of Minahasa. Garland said that "the exiles lost a lot despite their relative freedom. Here, they do not abandon the old customs (Islam) and try to live as well as possible. They were more advanced in terms of handicraft industry than most Minahasans" (Graaland N, 1867). Adaptation became the strength of the exile figures, namely through marriage with local women, introducing ploughs in agriculture, and the ability to use the local language and native language as a maintained identity. Through this adaptation process, Islamization in Minahasa took place. Thus, it can be said that the early period of Islamic da’wah that took place effectively in the land of Minahasa was delivered by exiles stationed in Minahasa.

In the next stage, along with the development of Islam, Islamic social organisations also participated in strengthening Islamic da’wah in Manado, including Sarikat Islam (SI) in 1920, Muhammadiyah in 1934, and Alkhairaat in 1935. These three organizations carried out da’wah by establishing educational institutions, including SI, which established the Cokroaminoto Foundation school in 1926; Muhammadiyah, which established the Muhammadiyah school in 1937; and Alkhairaat, which established a madrasa in 1947. Through educational institutions, Da’wah is intended to balance...
the current of Christian missionaries, especially through Zendig education that has been going on before (Rasyid, 2017).

Indonesian independence in 1945 brought changes in the socio-religious aspects of Manado, where the space for expression for followers of religions other than Christianity was more open. Since 1957, Islamic rituals have begun to be held, such as Mawlid Nabi, which in that year was celebrated at the cinema “Majestik” in Manado, Arab village, and Sario (Rasyid, 2017).

The development of Islamic da’wah in Manado after independence is also inseparable from the role of Muslim immigrants who work and are placed in Manado, such as government and military employees. Many military personnel were brought to Manado in connection with handling the 1958 Universal People’s Resistance Event (Permesta). The presence of Muslim immigrants encouraged an increase in the quantity and influence of Muslims in Manado, especially in social, political, and religious aspects. This development can be seen in the number of Muslims in Manado, where in 1970 the percentage had reached 31.30%. Islamic institutions also flourished. In 1960, Alkhairaat established the first pesantren in Manado, followed by the establishment of other pesantren such as Pesantren Karya Pembangunan (PKP) in 1977, Pesantren Assalam in 1989, and Pesantren Darul Istiqomah (Rasyid, 2017).

Along with the increasing quantity of Islamic educational institutions in Manado, the quantity and activity of Islamic da’wah also increased, as can be seen from the increase in Islamic educational institutions ranging from madrasahs to Islamic universities, which are currently known as IAIN Manado. In addition, the vibrancy and development of Islam in Manado can also be seen from the increase in Muslim houses of worship in the form of mosques and mushallas, which also function as a means of Islamic da’wah activities. In 2015, 197 mosques and prayer rooms were recorded in Manado (Karim, 2020).

One of the dominant factors in increasing the number of Muslims in Manado to date is the presence of Muslim migrants who then settled and became Manadonese citizens, while Manado or Minahasa natives remain more dominant Christians. This could be because Christian influence is stronger and has longer historical roots than Islam.

Based on the author’s search, Islamic da’wah activities in Manado, in addition to formal educational institutions, are also carried out mosque- and community-based in the form of recitation, routine recitation, and social activities. The commonly used patterns and approaches to da’wah are still conventional. Ustadz Abdurrahman Mahrus, one of the muballigh in Manado, said that “until now, Islamic da’wah activities in the sense of shiar or tabligh are generally still carried out with the old model, such as routine studies and incidental lectures, and carried out based on mosques”.

3.2. COVID-19 Pandemic and Adaptation of Islamic Da’wah in Manado

The first confirmed positive case of COVID-19 in Manado was announced on March 14, 2020; since
then, COVID-19 has become a worrying thing for the people of Manado. On March 30, 2020, positive patients were around 0.14% of the overall national cases (Haryanto et al., 2020). Meanwhile, on November 4, 2020, the accumulation of patients in North Sulawesi was 5,484 (Covid-19 et al., November 5, 2020), or around 1.3% of all national cases. In a period of about 8 months, there was an increase of more than 1% in North Sulawesi’s contribution to the overall national positive cases.

If you look at COVID-19 data, the North Sulawesi region still has a relatively small percentage compared to national cases. Available data shows that since it was first announced on March 14, 2020, on March 30, 2020, patients who tested positive were around 0.14% of all national cases (Haryanto et al., 2020). Meanwhile, as of November 4, 2020, the accumulation of patients in North Sulawesi was at 5,484 (Covid-19 et al., November 5, 2020), or around 1.3% of the total national cases. This means that since last March, or in a period of about 8 months, there has been an increase of more than 1% in North Sulawesi’s contribution to the overall national positive cases.

The government responded to the outbreak of COVID-19 that occurred so quickly with anticipatory policies in the form of implementing health protocols (Tuwu, 2020) to prevent transmission and, in its development, encourage new adaptations in the dimensions of life, including religious practices in the community. The new adaptation includes the implementation of activities of daily life, such as adjustments in performing religious rituals.

If referring to the implementation of health protocols recommended by the government, da’wah activities and religious rituals that involve many people during a pandemic can only be carried out by implementing health protocols or carried out online. In the context of da’wah activities and Islamic activities in Manado, the adaptation process to health protocols takes place gradually and relatively quickly. At the beginning of 2020, the dangers and processes of spreading COVID-19 were still accepted as alarming information. Therefore, all religious activities continued as usual, involving many people without the implementation of health protocols.

Concerns about the transmission and danger of COVID-19 in Manado began to be felt in early March 2020. Manado is one of the earliest areas in Indonesia to have COVID-19 cases, namely on March 9 and then announced on March 15, 2020.

Based on the information traced, the adaptation process for the implementation of religious activities during the COVID-19 pandemic took place relatively quickly. No resistance from religious figures was voiced openly, although it was relatively ignored in the early phases of implementing health protocols to prevent COVID-19 transmission. However, with the increasing number of COVID-19 cases, the implementation of health protocols is increasingly carried out by the public; Various activities involving gatherings and physical contact are also avoided, along with the implementation of activities carried out from home, both educational activities and other service work.
Regarding Islamic da’wah activities, especially those involving crowds such as recitations, grand tables, and commemorations of Islamic holidays (PHBI) during the implementation of health protocols due to the COVID-19 pandemic, some are still running with health protocols, and some have actually been eliminated.

Ustadz Abdurrahman Mahrus stated that since there was a rule not to carry out activities involving many people due to the Covid-19 pandemic, da’wah activities were stopped, especially routine activities to his assisted councils. Unlike the case of Ustadz Rizal Kasim, who, according to his confession during the pandemic, his da’wah activities continued as usual by implementing health protocols. Islamic da’wah activities in Manado during the pandemic, especially activities that involve many people and are open, are greatly reduced; even routine activities such as Friday prayers, tarawih prayers during Ramadan, and ied prayers are eliminated in many mosques. However, according to the confessions of some da’wah activists, Islamic activities such as majlis taklim and routine studies are still carried out as usual without being published or informed openly.

3.3 Transformation of Islamic Da’wah in Manado during the COVID-19 Pandemic

The process of entering, developing, and surviving Islam in a region must be connected to da’wah activities. Da’wah is an effort to influence the way humans feel, think, behave, and act at the individual and sociocultural levels in accordance with Islamic teachings’ values. Da’wah is a process of transformation and immanence while building divine consciousness vertically and implementing Islamic values in life (Sabrina, 2021). Historically, it has been done continuously since the time of Prophet Muhammad until now, with diverse and contextual models and approaches. Based on historical records, it is stated that at first, the Prophet preached secretly and then openly. In the next stage, the models and approaches of da’wah carried out after the prophet were diverse and always experienced a process of change and contextualization in accordance with the development of life infrastructure or technology developed by mankind and adapted to the challenges of the times.

The use of digital technology makes interaction and communication easy without being hindered by time and location restrictions. The sophistication of digital technology has made it easier for anyone to find and provide the information needed anywhere and anytime. In the digital era, society is synonymous with the habit of interacting with digital media through new methods that allow anyone from different walks of life to meet in the digital world, trade, buy, communicate, and engage in other social activities (Nugraha et al., 2020). So it is not wrong if Harari (2017) said that the impact of the digital revolution on world society is far more devastating than the industrial revolution that occurred in the 17th century. The digital revolution not only changed the model of social life on all fronts but also gave rise to the so-called digital dictatorship, which is when digital technology became a repressive tool with very tight control over social life (Sabrina, 2021).
In modern times, Islamic teachings are no longer the sole authority of a scholar (Pimay & Savitri, 2021). In the socio-religious aspect, especially related to Islamic da’wah activities, the presence of digital-based social media is widely used by da’wah activists to continue carrying out da’wah activities (Hilmi, 2021). Da’wah activities such as recitation, which before the pandemic were carried out in front of many worshippers, were then transformed into online activities through social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Youtube, Telegram, Instagram, and others that can be accessed by more people without being limited to pilgrims who can attend locations as before the pandemic. Many da’wah activities carried out online are still being carried out even though COVID-19 cases are declining.

Advances in information technology, or the digital revolution, have indeed given birth to a digital society, where all information in various aspects of life becomes very open and easy to obtain. At this stage in the religious context, there is a shift in authority (Jinan, 2012, Marwantika, 2019). If in the pre-digital era, religious authorities were in the form of educational institutions such as pesantren, madrasas, or figures such as kai or ulama, in the digital era, anyone has the potential to be used as a reference in learning religion if the person concerned has digital skills, namely processing information and knowledge and then presenting it online (R. G. Rusdiyanto, 2019).

If previously, to get the label of religious expert, one was required to study by travelling far and wide in a religious, educational institution or to clerics, then in today’s digital era, all religious information has been presented digitally and can be accessed by anyone and anywhere. The fact of the presence of this digital society is used as momentum by some da’wah actors, both organizations and individuals, to transform and contextualize da’wah for the digital community. Socio-religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Hidayatullah, Nahdatul Waton, etc. all use digital media as a forum to carry out da’wah activities, starting from the central level to the branch level. The same thing is also done by activists and da’wah actors, who are currently carrying out various da’wah activities digitally. This reality makes the concept of space and time boundaries even more blurred. Unlike in the past, the identity of time and space has a very strict demarcation. So that the boundaries of time and space can be clearly known (Purwanto & Nuha, 2020).

Islamic da’wah activities in Manado have many forms and approaches, ranging from formal ones such as pesantren educational institutions and madrasahs to informal ones such as recitation, majlis taklim, and others. Da’wah actors in Manado vary from those carried out by organizations and communities to those carried out individually.

When related to the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic and the reality of the presence of a digital society, the transformation process from actual da’wah to digital da’wah is not significant. The information that the researchers collected showed that the transformation process was insignificant. Da’wah actors, both organizations and individuals in Manado, are still very limited, which makes
digital media a systematic means of da’wah.

In this study, the author interviewed da’wah actors who are well known by the Manado community, namely Ustadz Abdurrahman Mahrus and Ust Rizal Dj Kasim, both of whom are individual da’wah actors who have a relatively larger range of worshippers and are known compared to other da’wah activists. Ustadz Abdurrahman Mahrus said that during the pandemic, almost all of his da’wah, such as regular recitations consisting of twenty assemblies, were closed. Pandami’s time is actually used more to read and review the books he has. According to him, the COVID-19 pandemic is the right moment to explore knowledge by studying books as well as the right moment to do self-introspection. When asked why not switch to online studies through social media, for example, by creating a youtube channel, Ustadz Abdurrahman said that it was not done because it required knowledge and a technical team, while Ustadz Abdurrahman was only an individual da’wah perpetrator who did not have such a team, besides that online studies was considered less effective for the community and its congregation consisting of the general public, not an academic society. While Ustadz Rizal Dj Kasim said that he did not choose digital da’wah, one of which was due to the reason that pilgrims chose their da’wah activities to be carried out face-to-face, even during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The author also conducted a digital search related to pesantren and da’i activities in Manado and did not find activities such as book studies conducted by caregivers or teachers in pesantren that were carried out regularly and open to the public during the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, NU, and Alkhairaat. Some studies can be found more in the form of in-service activities, but they do not take place routinely and systematically. Ustadz Abdurrahman Mahrus mentioned that the challenge of Islamic da’wah in Manado includes internal and external challenges. Internally, Muslims in Manado still feel inferior because there is a stigma that we (Islam) here are minorities, while external ones are in the form of difficulties for Muslims to establish houses of worship, lifestyles, etc.

Regarding the transformation of da’wah during the COVID-19 pandemic (2019–2022), especially the transformation of the use of digital media as the main and alternative means of carrying out Islamic da’wah activities in Manado, the author did not find any efforts from da’wah actors, both groups, organizations, and individuals, which took place massively and systematically. Specifically, with regard to individual da’wah actors, the author found that most da’wah actors in Manado move independently and are partial, meaning that each da’wah carries out its da’wah activities individually based on their respective popularity in the community.

4. CONCLUSION
Da’wah is an effort to influence the way humans feel, think, behave, and act at the individual and sociocultural levels to follow the values of Islamic teachings. Da’wah is a process of transformation and immanence while building divine consciousness vertically and implementing Islamic values in life. Historically, Islamic da’wah in Manado has taken place simultaneously with the process of Islamization that occurred since the beginning of the 17th century, but da’wah and Islamization began to be massive and had a dominant impact on the development of Islam in Manado since the placement of exiles by the colonials. With the adaptation process, these figures were able to carry out cultural da’wah in Minahasa and Manado. In addition, the presence of Muslim migrants or employees, both civil and military, has helped the process of Islamic da’wah in Manado.

The success of Islamic da’wah in the city of Manado is also inseparable from the role of Islamic organizations such as Alkhairaat, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdatul Ulama. These three organizations do a lot of da’wah through formal education channels by establishing schools, madrassas, and pesantren. Based on the author’s search, Islamic da’wah activities in Manado, in addition to formal educational institutions, are also carried out on a mosque- and community-based basis in the form of recitation, routine studies, and social activities. The pattern and approach of da’wah that are commonly carried out are still conventional. Regarding the transformation of da’wah during the COVID-19 pandemic (2019–2022), especially towards the use of digital media as the main and alternative means of carrying out Islamic da’wah activities in Manado, the author did not find an effort from da’wah actors, both groups/organizations and individuals, that took place massively and systematically. Especially with regard to individual da’wah actors or preachers, the author found that most da’wah actors in Manado move individually and are partial, meaning that each da’wah carries out its da’wah activities individually based on their respective popularity in the community.

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