Digital Society's and Social Solidarity:
A Study on the Philanthropic Institution Dompet Dhuafa in Building Humanitarian Connectivity

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze and understand the development of solidarity in a continuously changing society, especially in the digital era. The unit of analysis in this study is the Dompet Dhuafa platform, a prominent humanitarian organization in Indonesia that focuses primarily on social welfare and community empowerment. The research method employed is a document study using publicly available publications from the Dompet Dhuafa website. This study finds that Dompet Dhuafa is a popular platform for facilitating the fulfillment of religious obligations, particularly for Muslims, such as zakat and infaq. However, this platform is also open to all segments of society. These findings show that Dompet Dhuafa plays an important role in connecting various layers of society through digital donation channels, which make it easier for the public to participate in social activities without the limitations of distance and time. The study also provides recommendations regarding the importance of strengthening data protection and transaction policies during the donation process to prevent cybercrimes by irresponsible parties. Furthermore, the study suggests further research on the contributions of various virtual donation platforms to social welfare across different sectors. This is crucial to strengthen the role of virtual solidarity in empowerment and social welfare and to create a broader impact in advancing collective good.

Keywords: Digital Society, Social Solidarity, Virtual Solidarity, Dompet Dhuafa

INTRODUCTION

In the midst of a rapid wave of digital innovation that is reshaping the DNA of social interaction, the concept of solidarity is experiencing fundamental disruption. The 21st-century civilisation is no longer divided between physical and virtual areas, but rather exists in a hybrid ecosystem in which humanitarian values, commercial transactions, and manifestations of empathy move fluidly across digital membranes.

This phenomenon gives rise to a new variant of social cohesion within sociological discourse, namely virtual solidarity, a form of social integration linked by algorithms and catalysed by digital connectivity, while also serving as a critical antithesis to Durkheim's theory of mechanical and organic solidarity.

If mechanical solidarity relies on the homogeneity of values in agrarian societies, and organic solidarity crystallizes through functional specialization in the industrial era, virtual solidarity instead presents a paradox. It utilizes technology as a medium of disembedding that simultaneously becomes a space for re-embedding collective values. Within this dialectic, philanthropic institutions such as Dompet Dhuafa emerge as social choreographers who not only rearrange the practices of mutual cooperation but also negotiate the boundary between digital efficiency and social authenticity.

According to the digital survey by Telkomsel, tSurvey.id, many Indonesians frequently make donations online. Among all respondents surveyed, approximately 48% donate online with a value ranging from 2.5% to 5% of their income. Then, 14% of respondents donate between 5% to 10% of their income, and 7% of respondents donate more than 10% of their income. There are also 31% of respondents who donate online, with a ratio of less than 2.5% of their income. The majority of respondents choose to donate online because of the availability of non-cash payment options (31%), ease in accessing donation-related information (23%), and the presence of credible online donation management institutions (19%) (Annur, 2023).

This data reflects how the digital space has become an intrinsic part of everyday life, including in philanthropic practices. Dompet Dhuafa, as a leading Islamic philanthropic institution, has responded to this trend by providing a digital-based donation platform that enables people to give charity directly through their smartphones. The Dompet Dhuafa platform is not limited to the Muslim community exclusively, as it is openly designed for anyone who wishes to make humanitarian donations. However, behind this technical convenience lies a fundamental question: How does the virtual solidarity promoted by Dompet Dhuafa succeed in building humanitarian connectivity while simultaneously preserving traditional social values? This question serves as a starting point to explore the dynamics of digital philanthropy within the context of classical and modern sociological theory.

This study aims to analyze and understand the evolution of solidarity in a continuously changing society, particularly in the digital era. This is relevant not only as a sociological analysis but also as a critical reflection on the future of philanthropy in Indonesia. Dompet Dhuafa, with 2,952,757 beneficiaries in 2023, proves that virtual solidarity is not merely an abstract concept but a tangible force capable of mobilizing resources for social justice. However, its success also depends on the institution's ability to maintain a balance between technological efficiency and the depth of humanitarian values. In a broader context, the collaboration between mechanical, organic, and virtual solidarity offers a blueprint for a digital society to sustain social cohesion amid the currents of individualism and technological disruption. Thus, Dompet Dhuafa not only serves as a pioneer in digital philanthropy but also as a living laboratory for understanding the evolution of solidarity in a continuously changing society.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative approach with a document study method to investigate social solidarity practices within the context of a digital society. Specifically, it focuses on the role of Dompet Dhuafa, a leading humanitarian organization in Indonesia, in utilizing digital technology to facilitate philanthropy and enhance social cohesion. In examining Dompet Dhuafa's activities, the study explores how digital platforms contribute to building social solidarity, particularly through mechanisms such as online donations, crowdfunding, and the accessibility of humanitarian efforts.

1. Research Design and Qualitative Approach:

The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth understanding of social phenomena, particularly in complex and evolving contexts such as digital philanthropy. Qualitative research is inherently flexible, making it suitable for exploring the nuances of social behavior, interactions, and the implications of technological innovations in a way that quantitative research cannot always achieve. This approach focuses on interpreting meaning from textual data, allowing the researcher to uncover patterns, themes, and insights that are central to the phenomenon under study. In the context of this research, the qualitative approach is particularly relevant because it aims to capture the social dynamics and cultural significance of virtual solidarity, which cannot always be quantified through numbers alone.

The primary focus of this study is on social solidarity, especially as it evolves in response to the increasing use of digital platforms. The concept of solidarity in this research is explored through the lens of digital technology and its impact on societal relationships. Specifically, it examines how Dompet Dhuafa, as a philanthropic institution, uses digital tools to foster human connection and address societal needs, transcending geographical and social boundaries. Thus, the methodology is grounded in understanding the qualitative aspects of digital engagement, including the motivations for online giving, the transparency of donation processes, and the collective social action enabled by technology.

2. Document Study Method:

The document study method is used to collect secondary data, which are public records, reports, and other official publications. This research relies heavily on publicly available documents from Dompet Dhuafa, such as annual reports, financial statements, fund distribution reports, and digital donation features. The advantage of using this method is that it allows access to reliable and valid data that have already been published, making it an efficient and cost-effective way to gather comprehensive information without the need for primary data collection. Additionally, since Dompet Dhuafa is a well-established institution, its documents are accessible, transparent, and provide a wealth of information about the organization's activities and the evolution of its digital platforms.

The use of documents as data sources provides the researcher with a comprehensive understanding of Dompet Dhuafa's operations, financial performance, and engagement strategies. By analyzing these documents, the researcher can identify patterns, track changes over time, and assess the organization's impact in fostering social solidarity through digital technology. This method is particularly useful for understanding the internal workings of Dompet Dhuafa, the way it communicates its activities to the public, and how it constructs its narrative around humanitarian efforts.

3. Data Collection:

The data collection process involves systematically gathering relevant documents that are available on the Dompet Dhuafa website.

a. Annual Reports: These provide an overview of Dompet Dhuafa's achievements, financial performance, and strategic priorities. They are critical for understanding the scope of the organization's outreach, the scale of its impact, and how it communicates its successes and challenges to stakeholders.

b. Financial Reports: These reports detail the inflow and outflow of funds, offering insight into how donations are managed, allocated, and utilized. This financial transparency is vital for understanding the operational efficiency of the platform and the trust it builds with donors.

c. Fund Distribution Reports: These documents break down how funds are distributed across various humanitarian initiatives, including health, education, and social services. They provide a clearer picture of how the digital platform translates into real-world impact.

d. Digital Donation Features: This includes features and functionalities offered through Dompet Dhuafa's digital platform, such as online donation tools, fundraising campaigns, and the integration of various payment methods. These tools are examined to understand how they facilitate donations and engage users in digital philanthropy.

4. Data Analysis:

The data analysis process follows a structured approach that allows for both descriptive and interpretive analysis. The researcher employs a framework that consists of three main categories:

1. Philanthropic Program Structure: This category examines the organization and design of Dompet Dhuafa's philanthropic programs. It involves identifying the different types of programs and initiatives offered through the platform, such as zakat (charity), infaq (almsgiving), and humanitarian assistance. This analysis seeks to understand how Dompet Dhuafa has structured its programs to maximize participation and support from donors, and how these programs are aligned with the organization's overall mission and vision.

2. Dynamics of Participation in Digital Communities: This category looks at how participants interact with the platform and with each other. It includes examining the role of digital communities in promoting social solidarity, the motivations behind online giving, and how digital platforms influence people's willingness to contribute to social causes. It also explores how Dompet Dhuafa's platform fosters a sense of belonging and community among its users, and how this contributes to building virtual solidarity.

3. Values of Solidarity Created through Digital Activities: This category focuses on the values of solidarity and cooperation that are promoted through the platform. It assesses how Dompet Dhuafa integrates traditional values of compassion, charity, and community support into its digital platform. The analysis also explores how digital solidarity fosters a collective sense of responsibility among participants, and how this solidarity is expressed in terms of financial contributions, volunteerism, and support for the institution's programs.

5. Triangulation and Validation

To ensure the reliability and validity of the findings, data triangulation is employed. Triangulation refers to the process of using multiple data sources or methods to cross-check findings and ensure consistency. In this study, triangulation is achieved by comparing the content of various documents, including annual reports, financial statements, and other published materials. Additionally, the findings are cross-referenced with existing literature on digital philanthropy and social change in the technological era. By doing so, the researcher ensures that the analysis is robust and that interpretations are grounded in a broader theoretical context. Triangulation also helps to mitigate potential biases in the data, as it involves

synthesizing information from different sources to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

6. Role of the Researcher and Reflexivity:

In qualitative research, the researcher's perspective and biases can influence the interpretation of data. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the researcher's role in the analysis process and to reflect on how personal experiences or expectations might affect the research. In this study, the researcher maintains objectivity by focusing on the content of the documents and adhering to the analytical framework outlined above. However, the researcher is also aware of the broader implications of digital philanthropy and the impact of technology on social cohesion, which may influence the interpretation of findings. Reflexivity is an essential component of qualitative research, as it allows the researcher to critically examine their role in the study and how their perspective may shape the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
General Overview of Dompet Dhuafa

Dompet Dhuafa is a philanthropic organization based on *Islamic* values that focuses on community empowerment and humanitarian action. The institution optimizes the management of *zakat*, *infaq*, *sadaqah*, *waqf* (*Ziswaf*), and other sources of social funds through a professional and transparent approach, establishing itself as a form of modern philanthropy grounded in the principle of trust. The core concept of its movement is rooted in the value of compassion, which is implemented across five main sectors: Health, Education, Economy, Social Affairs, and *Da'wah* and Culture.

Dompet Dhuafa was founded in 1993 by journalists from Harian Republika who wanted to develop a systematic contribution platform for underserved regions. The first donation column appeared on the main page of Harian Republika on July 2, 1993, which became the institution's formal establishment date. Dompet Dhuafa was formally established as a foundation on September 14, 1994, through Notarial Deed No. 41 by H. Abu Yusuf, S.H., with official ratification published in the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia No. 163/A.YAY.HKM/1996/PNJAKSEL (https://www.dompetdhuafa.org/, 2023).

Technological innovation sets Dompet Dhuafa apart from conventional philanthropic institutions. Digital platforms such as Dompet Dhuafa Digital Charity allow donors to access real-time financial reports, monitor program progress, and even select specific projects they wish to support. This transparency not only builds public trust but also responds to the demands of the millennial generation, which prioritizes accountability in charitable giving. For three decades, Dompet Dhuafa has consistently optimized public trust to address global humanitarian challenges. Since its establishment until 2023, the institution has distributed aid to more than 31 million beneficiaries (*mustahik*) across various regions. Its commitment is not limited to empowerment programs but is also reflected in the expansion of strategic collaboration networks. Currently, Dompet Dhuafa operates 5 central service offices, 25 domestic branches, and 5 international branches, supported by partnerships with 88 partner organizations in 33 countries. This expansion strengthens its capacity to deliver a positive impact on a global scale.

Dompet Dhuafa provides an integrated donation platform that facilitates philanthropic accessibility in both humanitarian and religious practice domains. Through flagship programs such as *zakat*, *waqf*, *qurban*, and humanitarian aid, the institution enables the public, particularly Muslims, to fulfill religious obligations and

make digital donations without having to leave their homes. The process is supported by a user-friendly system, allowing donors to contribute anytime and anywhere through a simple account registration process. The fund allocation is flexible, adjusted to individual financial capacity and priorities, while upholding the principles of transparency and accountability. In this way, Dompet Dhuafa not only expands the reach of its social impact but also responds to the needs of modern society for efficiency and convenience in charitable giving. Every incoming and distributed fund is reported openly through annual reports, such as those covering the 2019–2023 period.

Table 1. Annual Report of Dompet Dhuafa for the Period 2019–2023

Source of Funds	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Zakat	215,801,304,053	204,546,161,071	211,766,883,962	211,108,015,845	186,304,586,309
Infaq	48,301,957,464	42,903,847,398	37,394,905,333	39,504,379,620	27,411,122,108
Restricted *Infaq*	46,889,558,282	37,182,079,493	51,269,223,372	55,030,185,607	66,494,930,997
Qurban	45,217,063,246	66,288,643,859	61,149,316,198	56,602,424,679	58,849,175,704
Humanitarian Aid	12,975,998,463	31,450,757,880	20,943,700,175	9,956,771,475	35,520,617,762
Waqf	23,746,404,279	26,331,081,266	28,681,090,386	33,230,160,846	17,714,713,139
Others	4,312,754,873	3,649,640,751	2,508,600,231	5,372,403,860	5,492,480,128
Total	397,245,040,660	412,352,211,718	413,713,719,657	410,804,341,932	397,787,626,147

(Yayasan Dompet Dhuafa Republika, 2023)

Based on the annual report in Table 1, this represents Dompet Dhuafa's form of transparency to the public. Every incoming fund in specific items is reported openly and can be accessed by the public through their official website. In addition to reporting incoming funds, Dompet Dhuafa consistently presents public reports on fund distribution for each annual period, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Fund Distribution Report of Dompet Dhuafa for the Period 2019–2023

Source of Funds	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Education	50,848,275,528	40,144,524,874	38,899,497,232	44,517,764,959	66,597,957,306
Health	40,544,698,060	23,753,655,773	26,033,459,133	27,066,093,751	33,870,074,676
Community Social Affairs	95,071,418,541	86,262,269,510	102,321,181,502	100,322,393,378	87,235,253,796
Economy	82,160,596,887	17,730,493,728	44,181,891,954	38,780,711,442	38,547,611,499
Humanitarian Aid	47,334,710,254	41,092,357,209	26,635,584,876	20,522,392,324	32,437,881,202
Da'wah and Culture	6,689,688,553	5,389,958,066	7,591,742,435	16,319,764,744	26,955,039,788
Qurban	-	63,500,018,204	60,148,717,079	53,133,268,044	49,713,550,468
ZISWAF Outreach	33,613,742,845	24,448,650,682	26,089,859,694	24,985,303,917	29,881,037,935
Office Operations	44,995,318,215	41,345,554,612	42,833,703,836	40,948,472,390	45,506,654,824
Total	401,258,448,883	343,613,797,992	374,735,637,741	388,254,781,375	410,745,061,494

(Yayasan Dompet Dhuafa Republika, 2023)

Dompet Dhuafa implements fund distribution holistically, not limited to a single sector but encompassing various aspects such as social affairs, education, economy, religion, *da'wah*, and culture. This approach reflects the principle of

community-based needs and responsiveness to urgent situational dynamics. Fund allocation is carried out inclusively, without restricting specific groups, ensuring equal access for all individuals in need of financial assistance or mentoring programs. This mechanism is supported by transparent evaluation standards and comprehensive field assessments, ensuring that assistance is accurately targeted according to priorities and the urgency of conditions on the ground.

Digital Philanthropy of Dompet Dhuafa in Building Humanitarian Connectivity

Amid the acceleration of digital transformation that reconstructs patterns of social interaction, the concept of solidarity is no longer limited to physical or geographical bonds. Modern society, which exists within the duality of physical and virtual spaces, has discovered new ways to realize empathy through digital platforms, a phenomenon that can be referred to as virtual solidarity (Sidiq et al., 2021). This form of solidarity emerges as a response to the need for efficiency, inclusivity, and sustainability in addressing humanitarian challenges (Sackitey et al., 2025). Dompet Dhuafa, as a philanthropic institution based on *Islamic* values, serves as a concrete example of how technology not only facilitates access to charitable giving but also creates an ecosystem of solidarity that integrates traditional values with contemporary innovation. Through the use of smartphones, the institution has transformed philanthropy from an incidental activity into a structured, transparent, and inclusive collective movement that reaches all segments of society (Nardi, 2024).

The virtual solidarity promoted by Dompet Dhuafa represents an evolution of Emile Durkheim's theory of solidarity. While mechanical solidarity is built upon shared backgrounds (such as religion or culture), and organic solidarity arises from interdependence within industrial society, virtual solidarity instead relies on digital connectivity to create social cohesion (Nasir & Situmorang, 2024). In this context, individuals from diverse identities, ranging from urban to rural and from Muslim to non-Muslim, can unite on a single platform to support empowerment programs without being constrained by distance or time (Sirisawat et al., 2022). For example, a donor in Jakarta can contribute to the construction of a well in East Nusa Tenggara with just a few taps on a screen, while a volunteer in Aceh monitors the donation progress through a mobile application. In this case, technology functions as a social glue that connects individual interests with collective goals (Alsaleh, 2024).

The ease of giving through one's fingertips lies not only in the technical aspect but also in technology's ability to build trust (Indriyani & Ibrahim, 2024). Dompet Dhuafa responds to public skepticism toward digital philanthropy by adopting a transparency system based on blockchain and real-time reporting (Ferdaus, 2023). Every donation received through the DD Digital Charity platform can be traced throughout its distribution path to the final recipient, ensuring that donors are confident their contributions are accurately targeted (Putri et al., 2024). Features such as live tracking for free surgery programs or monitoring the progress of school construction serve as evidence of the commitment to transparency. In addition, integration with digital payment systems (e-wallets, mobile banking) and social media enables donations to be made within seconds, even while users are browsing Instagram or reading online news (Guandalini, 2022). This shifts the perception that charitable giving must be done through specific rituals, such as visiting a mosque or a philanthropic institution, into an activity that is fluid and integrated into everyday life (Ihsan et al., 2017).

The existence of virtual solidarity also expands the coverage of beneficiaries. Dompet Dhuafa, through collaborations with crowdfunding platforms such as Kitabisa or BenihBaik, can reach marginalized groups that were previously geographically isolated. In this context, solidarity is no longer confined by narrow nationalism but becomes a universal humanitarian movement. Technology also enables participation in non-monetary forms, such as donating e-commerce reward points or contributing labor through online volunteer programs. This flexibility accommodates the diverse capacities of society, thereby making philanthropy more inclusive (Triantoro et al., 2021).

However, virtual solidarity does not entirely replace the mechanisms of mechanical and organic solidarity. Instead, the three complement one another. In rural areas with limited internet access, face-to-face approaches through Dompet Dhuafa's community philanthropy programs remain relevant. Meanwhile, in urban areas, collaboration with companies through digital corporate social responsibility (CSR) represents an adaptive form of organic solidarity. Interestingly, technology actually strengthens traditional solidarity by facilitating the dissemination of information. For instance, the Online *Zakat al-Fitr* campaign not only simplifies the payment process but also educates the public about the meaning of *zakat* through interactive video content. Thus, virtual solidarity functions as a bridge that preserves local values while simultaneously opening the door to modernization (Arpannudin et al., 2021).

The greatest challenge of this model of solidarity is the risk of dehumanization. Critics often question whether donations made through a screen can diminish the meaning of empathy, given the impersonal nature of interactions between donors and recipients. Dompet Dhuafa addresses this concern by presenting digital storytelling that emphasizes human-centered narratives. Each program is accompanied by beneficiary testimonials, field progress photos, and even video documentation that illustrates the tangible impact of donations. This approach not only builds emotional closeness but also reminds the public that behind the screen, there are individuals whose lives have been changed thanks to their contributions (Rahmayanti et al., 2024). In addition, initiatives such as *Meet the Beneficiary*, in which donors are virtually connected with *mustahik*, represent efforts to humanize the digital philanthropy process.

Ultimately, the virtual solidarity promoted by Dompet Dhuafa is not merely a response to technological advancement but a form of cultural adaptation in preserving humanitarian values in the era of disruption. The institution's ability to integrate *Sharia* principles with digital innovation demonstrates that religion and modernity are not opposing poles. On the contrary, the two can synergize to create a more massive, transparent, and sustainable social movement. In the context of Society 5.0, where technology serves as an extension of human capacity, virtual solidarity not only facilitates charitable activities but also revitalizes the meaning of *gotong royong* (communal work) as a collective national identity. Thus, Dompet Dhuafa is not only a pioneer of digital philanthropy but also a guardian of the spirit of solidarity amid the wave of modern individualism.

The Discourse of Critical Analysis on Mechanical, Organic, and Virtual Solidarity Theories: Development of Solidarity Patterns in Contemporary Sociology

The concept of solidarity in classical sociology, introduced by Émile Durkheim through his work *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), became the foundation for

understanding social cohesion within society (Khairulyadi et al., 2022). Durkheim distinguishes two forms of solidarity, namely mechanical and organic, which reflect the transformation of social structure from traditional to industrial society. Mechanical solidarity emerges in simple societies that are bound by shared values, beliefs, and rituals, where individuals hold homogeneous roles and collective bonds are built through *a conscious collective*. In contrast, organic solidarity develops alongside the increasing complexity of the division of labor in modern societies, where functional interdependence among individuals, such as doctors, engineers, or merchants, replaces homogeneous bonds. However, in the digital era of the 21st century, a new phenomenon has emerged that challenges Durkheim's dichotomy, namely virtual solidarity, which is formed through interactions within virtual spaces. This discourse invites us to explore how Durkheim's theory can be reinterpreted, critically examined, and further developed to understand the dynamics of solidarity in an increasingly digitized network society.

The concept of Mechanical Solidarity, as proposed by Durkheim, remains relevant for analyzing traditional communities or religious groups that maintain value homogeneity (Meeteren & Kleibert, 2022). For example, in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) communities or customary villages, social bonds still rely on shared religious identity or local wisdom. However, the limitations of this concept become evident when applied to multicultural urban societies. In this context, organic solidarity appears more dominant, as individuals rely on the specialization of others to meet their needs, as illustrated by the food supply chain involving farmers, distributors, and delivery applications. However, Durkheim did not take into consideration the emergence of virtual spaces that allow the formation of solidarity beyond geographical boundaries or homogeneous backgrounds. Virtual solidarity, which arises from interactions on social media, crowdfunding platforms, or online communities, offers a new paradigm in which social cohesion no longer requires shared identities or physical proximity but is instead built through shared goals facilitated by technology (Sahharon et al., 2023).

The main criticism of the theory by Durkheim is its reductionist tendency to separate mechanical and organic solidarity as linear phases of societal development. In contemporary reality, the three forms of solidarity, namely mechanical, organic, and virtual, often overlap and mutually reinforce one another. For example, social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter or #SavePalestine combine virtual solidarity (mobilization through Twitter or TikTok), organic solidarity (collaboration among activists with different areas of expertise), and mechanical solidarity (collective identity based on race or religion). This phenomenon demonstrates that postmodern society cannot be fully categorized within Durkheim's binary classification. Virtual solidarity, in fact, serves as a bridge that connects traditional and modern elements, creating a complex form of social hybridity (Carenzio et al., 2022).

From the perspective of digital sociology, virtual solidarity possesses unique characteristics that distinguish it from Durkheim's concepts (15). First, scalability, where digital platforms allow solidarity movements to reach millions of people within hours, as seen in fundraising efforts for disaster victims through Kitabisa or Dompet Dhuafa. Second, identity flexibility, where participants in virtual solidarity can choose to engage anonymously or through avatars, making social bonds no longer tied to real identities. Third, transiency, as virtual solidarity is often situational and temporary,

for instance, viral donation trends that quickly fade once a particular issue loses momentum. These aspects contrast with mechanical solidarity, which is stable, and organic solidarity, which endures as long as economic interdependence exists (Sahharon et al., 2024). However, the weakness of virtual solidarity lies in the depth of its bonds. Durkheim emphasized that mechanical and organic solidarity generate genuine social integration, whereas virtual solidarity is prone to producing "weak ties" that are less capable of sustaining long-term commitment (Özkula, 2021).

Durkheim's theory is also questioned in the context of ethics and alienation. Organic solidarity, as proposed by Durkheim, reduces conflict by making individuals dependent on one another. However, in virtual solidarity, interdependence is often symbolic rather than functional. Donations made through applications, for example, may not involve direct interaction between donors and recipients, potentially resulting in "instant philanthropy" with minimal deep empathy. On the other hand, virtual solidarity may exacerbate alienation if technology replaces real human interaction. An extreme example is the phenomenon of "performative activism," in which individuals feel they have contributed simply by sharing a link, without engaging in concrete action. This critique echoes the concept of *anomie* by Durkheim, a condition of normlessness that may occur when virtual solidarity is not accompanied by a clear social structure.

However, virtual solidarity also presents opportunities for the revitalization of collective values. Platforms such as Dompet Dhuafa prove that technology can become a tool to strengthen social awareness across boundaries. In this context, the concept of *conscience collective* by Durkheim undergoes a process of democratization (19). Collective consciousness is no longer monopolized by religious institutions or the state but is instead shaped participatively by the digital civil society. In addition, virtual solidarity is capable of integrating marginalized groups such as persons with disabilities or remote communities into the mainstream of social movements through technological accessibility (Burelli & Camboni, 2023). In this context, virtual solidarity not only advances the theory of Durkheim but also reconstructs the meaning of "social connectedness" in an era where physical and virtual spaces intersect (Wijanarka et al., 2023).

CONCLUSION

According to this analysis, Durkheim's theory of solidarity can still be a valuable critical tool for examining how society is changing, but it must be modified to take into account current circumstances. Virtual solidarity is a new kind of complexity that reflects society's shift from the industrial to the digital eras; it is distinct from mechanical or biological solidarity. Navigating Durkheim's conceptual limitations and harmonizing the interplay among mechanical, organic, and virtual solidarity poses a substantial hurdle for contemporary sociological inquiry. As a result, this conversation not only advances Durkheim's body of knowledge but also paves the way for a more thorough comprehension of social cohesion in the face of technological advancement.

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