How Does Islamic Organizations Respond to COVID-19 in Indonesia?  
A Case Study

Aisyah Putri Rahvy,1, 2 Ilham Akhsanu Ridlo1, 2*

ABSTRACT

Background and purpose: Indonesia has made several regulations to tackle the corona virus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, including large scale social limitation (Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB)). This regulation is related to physical distancing in all sectors and activities, including religious activities. But efforts made by government and other organizations are not enough to ensure society that these regulations will not affect their religiosity. To strengthen this policy, majelis ulama Indonesia (MUI) and other Islamic organizations have made fatwa and official statement about how worships, especially those which are done in groups should be conducted during this pandemic. This paper aims to provide report and analysis of Islamic organizations response during pandemic in relation to Islamic worships during COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia

Methods: This is a case study of Islamic organizations response during pandemic. It includes Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama responses (fatwa and official statement) to this issue and public responses as well. COVID-19 case also compared to vaccine hesitancy case, due to similarities of Islamic organization response between them.

Results: Some fatwas had been made by MUI as response to Islamic worships performance during pandemic. But still there were cases like Banjarbaru and Solo case, indicating that fatwas could not guarantee the success of COVID-19 prevention in religious worships.

Conclusion: Religious and community leaders are needed to strengthen government move by helping government promote and educate people about health issues from religious perspectives. Moreover, some kinds of punishment made by government are needed to strengthen fatwas and rulings, as most of these religious opinions do not have legal enforcement.

Keywords: Pandemic; COVID-19; Islamic Organization Response; Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

During Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, most countries are applying lockdown to assure physical distancing and minimize contact between people. Policies and regulations made to end this pandemic indeed are not easy for the citizens, including Indonesian. Indonesia is currently in battle with 425,796 confirmed cases up to May 2nd 2020 with 3.4 % death rate.1

In April 3rd 2020, Ministry of Health published a large-scale social limitation regulation, locally called Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB) to flatten the epidemic curve. PSBB requires people to limit their activities outside their houses, including large-scale religious activities. Question raised shortly after the PSBB applied was more likely: until how far Indonesians will obey this regulation when it comes to religious matters? Indonesia is famous of its reputation as country with the largest Muslim population in the world, data from Central Bureau of Statistics in 2010 showed that 87.18% population in Indonesia are muslims.2 Indonesian Muslims mostly join some Islamic organizations, such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and others. In terms of worship, there are types of worship those performed in groups within Islamic practice, such as Shalat Junah and Shalat Tarawih which are restricted to be performed since PSBB regulation. Islamic organizations were then placed in the spotlight as their thoughts and movements are being questioned. Indonesian Ulema Council/Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), a non-governmental organization serve as top clerical body for ulama, zu'ama, and Islamic scholars in Indonesia, has made some fatwas about religious worships such as Shalat Jama'ah, and Shalat Eid to support the government in implementing the restriction of mass gathering including religious activities. The fatwas aim to support effort to minimize the virus from spreading through worship gathering. There were different responses toward the fatwas due to people’s different perception on the virus and commitment to their...
religious practices. Nevertheless, there was evidence of transmission of the virus at religious places or activities, from several reported cases of COVID-19 after such activities. In Banyumas, there were 10 people confirmed positive after performing Shalat Jama'ah in a mosque, and similar cases in other part of Indonesia. We realize that religious-related factors, such as Islamic organizations and leaders’ role contribute to the success of COVID-19 prevention in Indonesia.

This paper aims to provide report and analysis of Islamic organizations response during pandemic in terms of Islamic worships impacted by COVID-19 pandemic.

METHODS
This paper emphasizes analysis of Islamic organizations’ role during COVID-19 pandemic. Analysis was made after all events related to Islamic organization and muslims response had been arranged in form of timeline. This paper used case study method to analyze the phenomena of religious-related cluster in pandemic. The main areas of this paper include Islamic organization responses, also several related cases as response from public. Researchers will focus on MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU, as their roles are considered significant in influencing Indonesian Muslims. Events and cases related to Islamic worships in specic were obtained from official website of Islamic organizations, also from online news. After that, we analyzed events and cases based on the aim of this study. Moreover, only initial case of coronavirus spread is included in timeline. Cases analyzed in this paper were compared to other faith-related health issue like vaccine hesitancy due to similar characteristics of both types of case.

RESULTS
Timeline of Islamic organization response and related cases
Timeline of Islamic organization response and related cases are described in Figure 1, including publication of fatwa from different religious organization.

Fatwa MUI No. 14 year 2020 was published
On March 16th 2020, MUI made a fatwa related to worship performance during pandemic to rule Shalat Jum'ah and Shalat Jama'ah in pandemic. MUI commanded all muslims to prevent any possible activity which increase the potentials of coronavirus spread as the part of al-Dharuriyat al-Khams and ruled certain condition in which muslims could go to mosque, based on the status or level of their area related to COVID-19.

Cluster of Ijtima' Gowa
This event was supposed to be held in March 19th-22nd 2020 on Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan.5 Government dismissed this event before it was started. But around 8000 people had gathered in Gowa, and few days later some other areas in Indonesia confirmed COVID-19 cases related to this cluster. On May 13th 2020, nine patients in Manggarai Barat were confirmed coronavirus positive from this cluster.

Fatwa MUI No. 18 year 2020 was published
On March 27th 2020, a fatwa about tajhiz al-jana'iz or Islamic Funeral ruling was made and published to the public. It contains procedures of taking care of muslims who died because of coronavirus based on Islamic rules and medical protocols. It includes how bathing the body, shrouding, and Shalat Jenazah or funeral prayer are conducted under medical protocols.

Surat Edaran 3953/C.I.034.04.3030 was published by NU
This letter from NU was published in April 3rd 2020, commanding their followers to perform tarawih and Eid Al-Fitr prayer using health protocol to prevent the spread of coronavirus.

Fatwa MUI No. 28 year 2020 was published
After making fatwa about worship performance, on May 13th 2020 MUI published a document which included a guide to perform Eid Al-Fitr at home during pandemic. This fatwa explains about how Indonesian muslims should perform Eid Al-Fitr prayer during coronavirus pandemic.

Muhammadiyah Letter and Guide for Eid Al-Fitr was published
As one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah in May 14th 2020 made a letter and a guide about
performing *Eid Al-Fitr* prayer during pandemic.\(^9\) These letter and guide were made by *Majlis Tarijih* as a part of *Muhammadiyah* which has authority to give certain *fatwa* specifically for *Muhammadiyah* followers.

**Solo case**

May 16\(^{th}\) 2020, local government put 90 families in Serengan, Solo under surveillance after they had been detected to be in contact with a coronavirus suspect while performing *tarawih* prayer.\(^{10}\) Seven people of them were developing COVID-19 symptoms and classified as under surveillance patients.

**Banjarbaru case**

An under surveillance patient in Banjarbaru, Kalimantan Selatan was forced to be buried with non-medical protocol by her family\(^11\) in May 26\(^{th}\) 2020. The hospital, police officers, and local government had explained to her family the necessity and importance of medical protocol for COVID-19 suspect funeral, but they refused to use it. After hours of negotiation, her family finally let the hospital and other institution to perform medical protocol.

**Several related cases as response from public**

As tradition when there was someone who had just died in neighborhood, in 3rd April 2020 a citizen (MA) in Tulungagung\(^12\) held a “tahlilan”, a form of prayer for the dead for his father. Three days later, he started to experience COVID-19 symptoms. His father was not diagnosed as COVID-19 patient, so they did the funeral with a non-medical protocol. But MA was suspected to be exposed to the virus while taking care of his father in hospital. This case contributed to the increase of 12 patients in total, making this a new cluster in Tulungagung. Similar to what happened in Tulungagung 9 days before, around 25 people were under surveillance because of *tahlilan* by April 12\(^{th}\) 2020. People who attended *tahlilan* found out that the one they were praying for was confirmed as COVID-19 positive a week later.

In April 18\(^{th}\) 2020, at least 10 people were confirmed as other coronavirus cases in Banyumas, Jawa Tengah.\(^{15}\) One of the suspects performed *Shalat Jamaah*. After tracking other people who were in contact with the suspect, they found 10 positive cases in sum which later named as Kober cluster. The first confirmed case was in Gowa for *Ijtima’ Ulama* that supposed to be held in 19th-22nd March, 2020. After having cases related to *Shalat Jamaah* as a part of Islamic worship, 10 days later in April 28\(^{th}\) 2020 a letter by *takmir masjid* or people who are in charge to take care of local mosque in Banyumas\(^11\) were being controversial since it included the idea of destroying the mosque. *Takmir* published the letter as a form of protest to the government which implemented *Fatwa* MUI No. 14 year 2020.

**DISCUSSION**

**Faith-related cases of COVID-19 and Islamic organizations’ role**

Lay people were less likely to be convinced that health policy is rooted in a certain ideology, values, or philosophy and this is implied from no identifiable effect of political party support acceptability.\(^{13}\) Government seems to put MUI in trust with no exception as it is the actor behind Indonesian government-muslims relationship, and it bridges both sides’ perspectives and stances in public policy-making. The role of MUI is mostly interpreted through *fatwas* to give Islamic perspective and rulings of some issues and to ensure Indonesian Muslims that government regulations or policies related to those issues are still on track with Islamic beliefs and teachings. *Fatwas* usually comes after public policies. Looking back to the contribution of MUI during the pandemic, it has published three different *fatwas* which related to daily and routine worship performances, Islamic Funeral ruling (*tajhiz al-janaiz*), and *Eid Al-Fitr* prayer performance. These three *fatwas* are *Fatwa* MUI No.14/2020, *Fatwa* MUI No. 18/2020, and *Fatwa* MUI No. 28/2020. Ironically, cases like cluster of *Ijtima’ Gowa* and Solo\(^15\) still happened even after *MUI* had made a formal move to guide Indonesian muslims.

Islamic funeral ruling, called as *tajhiz al-janaiz in fiqh*, is another topic to be ruled by MUI. In a normal condition, burial of the body will involve such ceremonies like bathing the body which often conducted by several people, shrouding, and *Shalat Jenazah*. In Islam, dead body is shrouded in cloth named *kain kafan*. MUI response to this is similar with its response to Tsunami Aceh in 2004, through *Fatwa* No. 34. At that time, MUI responded quickly by making a *fatwa* over funeral ruling during the emergency period. This *fatwa* was made under consideration and *rakshah* (dispensation) that body of the victims should be taken care based on *fiqih* of emergency condition. Moreover, MUI has also provided and explained certain *dalil from Holy Quran, hadith*, and *ushul fiqh* as the foundation to make those *fatwas*. But still, Banjarbaru case which is strongly related to this rule happened.

This may be the reason why these cases happened. *Fatwa* has non-binding legal force characteristic, or in *fiqih* it is known as *mulzim-ghair mulzim*. Al-Syâtibî in Muhammad defines *fatwa* as an explanation of *syara* or Islamic Shari’ah ruling that cannot force all muslims to follow and perform it.\(^16\) This is in line with Mulyati,\(^17\) that *fatwa* contributes to the process of forming religious norms in society with its “quality feeling” effect to create religious emotion and moral sanction instead of legal enforcement. With these characteristics, effectiveness of *fatwa* in the society is fully depended on people’s submission towards the *fatwa* itself. Even when MUI is supported by the government and treated as the representative of all muslims in Indonesia, MUI is still not able to force Indonesian muslims to follow its *fatwas* as both *fatwa* in general and MUI *fatwa* in specific do not have the authority of law enforcement.

At the same time, *Muhammadiyah* and NU also respond to this pandemic. *Muhammadiyah* through *Majlis Tarijih* has made a guide for its followers to perform *Eid Al-Fitr* in their own houses and tell its followers to obey the government and lessen physical contacts. Meanwhile, *Nahdatul Ulama* also shows its supports by educating people about COVID-19 prevention through some information dissemination in mosques, *tulim*, and *pesantren* or Islamic boarding school.

Furthermore, both of these organizations have spread information about COVID-19 using their websites to...
do health promotion and education from both medical and Islamic perspectives. A study of Slamet and Laila\textsuperscript{18} in Jepara showed that both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama were using several media platforms, like websites and printed publications to spread information. Moreover, a study from Tomkins et al\textsuperscript{19} showed that collaboration between religious organizations, health organizations, and policy makers contributed to immunization promotion and delivery in Pakistan, after it had been previously opposed. Heward-Mills\textsuperscript{20} found the relation between unhealthy habits prevention, such as smoking and alcohol consumption, and African faith leaders’ role by promoting it in Sunday church service. This is supporting the idea of faith leaders who are able to give such crucial impacts to their followers’ health behavior and habits.

In Indonesia, most people are willing to obey rules if those are made and supported by their religious organizations and leaders. Organizations like Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have their own commissions of ulama which function is to give thoughts and consideration towards certain issues from Islamic perspectives. Muhammadiyah has Majlis Tarjih,\textsuperscript{21} and Nahdlatul Ulama is standing with Bahsul Masail.\textsuperscript{22} This organization plays an important role in resulting Islamic law consideration.\textsuperscript{23} MUI consists of ulama from almost all Islamic organizations in Indonesia as a way to ensure that their opinions and perspectives are heard and considered. But when it comes to Majlis Tarjih and Bahsul Masail, both of these commissions have different styles in examining issues from Islamic side as certain Islamic organizations usually have their own bases and referrals of fiqh. This is surely narrowing its scope of influence merely to their followers. But at the same time it will enhance the possibility of its followers’ acceptance, because most of certain groups’ followers will have a tendency to listen and obey their own groups’ regulations.\textsuperscript{23}

Three big Islamic organizations in Indonesia have done a lot of efforts to support government during the pandemic. But still, their efforts have some other questions related to how effective the efforts are and how obedient their followers are to those fatwas and advices. The answers of these questions are further discussed in the next part of this paper.

**Responses from the public and how this is not a “fresh” issue**

After MUI published fatwas related to COVID-19, the public was starting to react responsive to those rules. Islamic organizations, like Muhammadiyah and NU, were suggesting Indonesian muslims to obey both government rules and MUI fatwas. Religious community leaders were also influencing their followers using faith-based approach. It is actually not a new idea that health programs can be impacted by faith and religious worship. Sabahelzain\textsuperscript{24} studied the relation between vaccination hesitancy and religious belief in Pakistan. His study proves the connection of faith and health behavior, while religious faith is influencing most of certain religion followers’ thoughts and acts that related to their health. A study from Lane et al.\textsuperscript{25} found that religion was ranked 3\textsuperscript{rd} as the reason of vaccine hesitancy globally based on WHO/UNICEF Join Reporting Data from 2014-2016. Reasons related to religion were “due to certain religious sects (minority)” and “traditional cultural beliefs”. Religion was constantly being in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} place as reason for vaccine hesitancy for three years in a row. This is proof that health issues somehow can be connected to certain faiths or beliefs.

Also in Indonesia, religious belief is often a main reason why people are against certain programs or policies. Religious faith of parents makes them prohibit their children from getting immunizations. A study from Sulistiyan\textsuperscript{26} showed a phenomenon in which families in Sendangmulyo, Semarang was reluctant to give their children immunizations. This happened even after MUI published Fatwa MUI No. 4 year 2016 that specifically examined Islamic opinion of vaccines. Through that fatwa, MUI ensured the permission of immunizations under certain condition. First, immunization is permissible (mubah) as it is a form of ikhtiar or an effort to prevent diseases. Second, vaccines should be made by halal materials. When it is under an emergency condition and it will threaten somebody’s life if he/she is not vaccinated, vaccine is still permissible despite the availability of haram materials. But after publishing such fatwa, there are still some cases related to community reluctance of immunizations.

In Sendangmulyo,\textsuperscript{27} more than 50 percent of participants believed that vaccine was haram or not allowed because of its haram materials. Furthermore, immunizations was never been discussed explicitly in certain religious gathering such as ta’lim, making its status of permission stayed unclear in the society. This also indicated the lack of awareness and role of religious leaders in community to educate their followers of certain issues related to faith and belief. But this is in contrast with a study from Padmawati et al.\textsuperscript{27} about the rotavirus vaccine acceptance of religious and community leaders in Yogyakarta. Her study explained the need of halal label for rotavirus vaccine in order to increase community acceptance. Moreover, religious and community leaders were aware that their role as key players could contribute to promote vaccine in society especially in post-labeling. From these studies, we can assume that not all religious and community leaders in Indonesia are already aware of their role in educating their followers about health-related religious issues. It is also obvious if not all of them understand the potentials of their roles to lead and influence their followers in this kind of issues.

The question is: how are these phenomena of vaccines related to today’s issue about COVID-19? Both vaccine and coronavirus pandemic issues are strongly connected to people’s religious beliefs and performances. These two issues are in a similar condition, in which society is currently threatened by certain diseases and government needs to do something to prevent harms. If MUI and other Islamic organizations have made actual responses to support immunizations from religious side, this time during the pandemic they once again express their responses as a form of responsibility towards their followers. Sadly, both of these cases are dealing with society’s religious dogma. People believe that using vaccine consists of haram materials will affect their worships to God, despite MUI fatwa about its usage in emergency condition. The
same goes with the case of COVID-19 pandemic. Government had demanded social and physical distancing, including religious mass activities for all people to slow down the spread of SARS-CoV-2. This Islamic organizations are in charge to ensure religious worship performances can be progressive to current condition if it is needed, by educating their followers using Islamic perspective. But still some of the followers believe that religious worship, as a form of command from God, should not be restricted by any “human-made” regulations.

Moreover, the case of Gowa’s Ijtima’ Ulama adds another fact of how people will prioritize any effort to fulfill their religious-based needs. This event was supposed to be held in March 19th-22nd, but it was forced to be finished before it was even started with around 8000 people had gathered in Gowa. This case is not only related to how Islamic organizations could prevent any possible harms in religious gathering, but also how government applied an early warning system to stop SARS-CoV-2 from spreading through this kind of event. PSBB regulation was made 3 weeks after this event, making it “late” enough to prevent a number of people from gathering.

Meanwhile, cases related to tajhiz al-jinayah is found in Banjarbaru. As for Banjarbaru case in May 26th, the family was not being supportive in term of conducting medical protocol for the funeral. Even if the patient was classified as under surveillance patient and not yet as a coronavirus patient, but both government and MUI have explained why the normal performance of Islamic funeral is not possible to be conducted. MUI also explains in detail how tajhiz al-jinayah should be performed during the pandemic and why it is permitted to do so based on fiqh.

From those cases, we may see that these are evidence of people’s religious and personal beliefs characteristic which cannot easily be affected by externalities, even when it consists of another religious organization which comes from another religious organization. Also, this may be an effect of non-binding fatwa characteristic. According to Mulyati,17 fatwa has a characteristic named as mulzim ghair-mulzim, explaining how fatwa may not have a power to “force” people to apply it. MUI fatwa does not contain legal enforcement from law perspective, but it does have an impact of society’s “quality feeling” by creating a sense of guilt and other moral sanctions. For this case, we may observe that MUI fatwa does not really cause a change of religious behavior and worships in pandemic. Moreover, the role of religious community leaders in those cases are not effective enough. Even in Banyumas after confirming 10 cases of COVID-19 in April 18th, ten days later takmir of the mosque made a letter expressing refusal on physical distancing for jamaah prayer by wanting to destroy the mosque instead.

MUI, Muhammadiyah, NU and other Islamic organizations in Indonesia have made certain moves to influence muslims in preventing coronavirus spread. But MUI is lacking of certain muslim groups’ representatives. This is why such organizations movement cannot be successful enough in guiding muslims as their followers to certain Islamic opinions. Therefore, local community and religious leaders are needed by person to educate their followers about certain worships performance during the pandemic. According to Padmawati et al.,27 both religious and community leaders played an important role in educating and influencing people about vaccine halal status. Community representatives considered themselves as key players in promoting vaccine halal status to society. They must work together with religious leaders, who had deeper understanding of Islamic knowledge, to ensure that vaccination was not contrary with Islamic law and perspective.

Both issues have the same kind of barrier in society. Thus, these problems need supports from religious organizations in order to ensure muslims that government effort towards certain health issues are tolerable and will not affect individual religiously. In addition, if people are still reluctant to obey both government and MUI fatwa, a form of punishment should be made. As fatwa does not have legal enforcement, government should prevail on religious communities in order to make them obedient to government regulations. Fatwas are made to support government regulations. So it is possible for government and Islamic organizations to formulate a penalty for people who do not follow regulations related to religious worships during COVID-19 pandemic. This is also stated in a study from Ahmed et al.30 that authorities in certain countries like Pakistan and Malaysia applied strict punishments to parents who refuse vaccinations for their children. Government should also take this idea into discussion of human rights, about how punishing people who are not obedient during the pandemic is not against the religiosity right as part of human rights, while it is actually protecting each citizens’ right to live.

CONCLUSION

Several responses of Islamic organizations like MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU are proven not effective enough to prevent the spread of COVID-19 through religious worships. Government and Islamic organizations should further analyze public responses and evaluate their policies about religious worships during pandemic, especially by benchmarking this issue to similar religious-related case like halal-haram vaccine. This step will help government to increase the effectivity of PSBB regulation, especially in religious-related cases of COVID-19.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

All authors have contributed equally.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The author declares that they have no conflict of interest.

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