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The Dynamic of Worship and Responses of Nahdlatul Ulama Members in Bantul, Yogyakarta, Toward the Indonesian Council of Ulama's Fatwa on the Worship During the Covid-19 Pandemic

Riyanta

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
email: riyanta@uin-suka.ac.id

Imam Muhsin

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
email: imam.muhsin@uin-suka.ac.id

Fathorrahman

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
email: fathorrahman@uin-suka.ac.id

Saptoni

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
email: saptoni@uin-suka.ac.id

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Abstract:

This research explains the dynamic of worship in Bantul, Yogyakarta, as well as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) members' responses toward the fatwa of the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) on the worship during the Covid-19 pandemic. MUI's fatwa rose different responses ranging from obedience, resistance and ignorance. We argue that these differences stem from different characteristics of religiosity. Looking closely at this, this research studies the map of responses of NU people by focusing on the questions: (1) How was dynamic of worship during the pandemic in Bantul? (2) How did Bantul people

Author correspondence email: riyanta@uin-suka.ac.id

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respond to the MUI's fatwa? (3) What factors formed the differences in their responses? The data are collected through interviews with seven informants, observation, and focused-group discussions. Through sociological analysis referring to obedience and disobedience theory, we found that the unprecedented dynamic was found in the worship during the pandemic, such as at Pleret, in the case of several Friday prayer spots in one single village. Meanwhile, the NU members' responses to the fatwa into two patterns: reception and resistance. The forms of reception are (1) accommodation by observing all advice described in the fatwa and (2) contextualization by adjusting the advice in the fatwa to suit the local needs. It came from the structural influence of the organization of NU and people literacy. Meanwhile, the forms of resistance are (1) reactive-declarative refusal and (2) passive-permissive refusal. These patterns are influenced by a religiously fatalistic perspective and by the figures' reluctance to prohibit people from carrying out worship normally as before the pandemic.

Keywords:

Responses to Fatwa; Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI);
Covid -19 Pandemic; NU Members; Bantul

Abstrak:

Penelitian ini menjelaskan dinamika ibadah serta tanggapan warga Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) di Kabupaten Bantul, Yogyakarta, terhadap fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) tentang ibadah selama pandemi Covid-19. Fatwa MUI tersebut menuai respon berbeda dari umat Islam Indonesia. Ada yang mematuhi, menentang, hingga mengabaikan. Kami berpendapat bahwa tanggapan yang berbeda ini berasal dari karakteristik religiusitas yang berbeda. Mencermati persoalan tersebut, penelitian ini mengkaji peta respon masyarakat yang berafiliasi dengan NU di Kabupaten Bantul dengan fokus pada pertanyaan: (1) Bagaimana dinamika ibadah selama pandemi di Bantul? (2) Bagaimana tanggapan masyarakat Bantul terhadap fatwa MUI tersebut? (3) Faktor apa saja yang membentuk perbedaan tanggapan mereka? Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara dengan tujuh informan, observasi, dan diskusi kelompok terfokus. Melalui analisis sosiologis yang

mengacu pada teori ketaatan dan ketidaktaatan, ditemukan dinamika yang belum pernah terjadi sebelumnya dalam ibadah selama pandemi, semisal di Pleret, Bantul, dalam kasus adanya beberapa kelompok salat Jumat dalam satu desa. Sementara itu, respon anggota NU terhadap fatwa tersebut tampak dalam dua pola: penerimaan dan perlawanan. Bentuk pola penerimaan adalah (1) akomodasi dengan memperhatikan semua nasehat yang tertuang dalam fatwa dan (2) kontekstualisasi dengan menyesuaikan nasehat-nasehat dalam fatwa dengan kebutuhan lokal. Itu berasal dari pengaruh struktural organisasi NU dan literasi masyarakat. Sementara bentuk pola resistensinya adalah (1) penolakan reaktif-deklaratif dan (2) penolakan pasif-permisif. Pola-pola tersebut dipengaruhi oleh cara pandang keagamaan yang fatalistik dan keengganan tokoh dalam mencegah masyarakat melakukan peribadahan secara normal seperti sebelum pandemi.

Kata Kunci:

Respons Terhadap Fatwa; Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI);
Pandemi COVID-19; Warga NU; Bantul

Introduction

Indonesian Council of Ulama (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, hereafter MUI) issued a fatwa on worship during the COVID-19 pandemic, namely fatwa number 14 (2020) on the worship during the Pandemic.¹ Normatively, MUI's fatwa has the religious moral ground and emotional bond that can be trusted and obeyed by the society for conducting worship. However, empirically, the fatwa got various responses. Some people support it and perform worship at their respective houses.² Others ignore it and choose to follow the appeal

¹ MUI, "FATWA NO 14 TAHUN 2020 - PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH DALAM SITUASI TERJADI WABAH COVID-19 - Majelis Ulama Indonesia," *MUI Digital*, last modified 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://mui.or.id/berita/27674/fatwa-penyelenggaraan-ibadah-dalam-situasi-terjadi-wabah-covid-19/>.

² Muhamad Agus Mushodiq and Ali Imron, "Peran Majelis Ulama Indonesia Dalam Mitigasi Pandemi Covid-19 (Tinjauan Tindakan Sosial Dan

for figures that are followed in religious matters. This, among others, can be observed in Bantul, Yogyakarta where portrait of diversity is painted with a majority affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The difference in the people's response toward the MUI's fatwa on the worship during the pandemic, sociologically, is to be expected. From a juridical point of view, the nature of MUI's fatwa is merely a moral appeal without any legal strength which otherwise should have been able to force people despite the fact that the fatwa is meant for the common good and in accordance with the medical requirements and political will.³ However, in reality, the Moslem community prefers diverse views of Islamic Law for conducting worship during the pandemic.⁴

The disobedience of some Moslem communities against the MUI's fatwa is probably caused by several factors. *Firstly*, the MUI's fatwa that does not have a link to the task force such as the other Positive Laws creates an ambiguity in implementation. Johar's work⁵ explains that the MUI's fatwa does not have the coercive legal force because its content and material are merely opinions without any legal force. Including in Moslem life, the MUI's fatwa is not binding and cannot be implemented in a coercive way, moreover serving as the only ground for sentence in a criminal action.⁶

Dominasi Kekuasaan Max Weber)," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar-i* 7, no. 5 (2020).

³ M. Asrorun Ni'am Sholeh, "Towards a Progressive Fatwa: MUI's Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 20, no. 2 (2020).

⁴ Tri Bunga Firma, "Normal Baru Dalam Praktik Keagamaan Islam Pada Masa Pandemi Di Kota Padang," *Al-Adyan: Journal of Religious Studies* 1, no. 2 (2020): 144-162.

⁵ Fitri Johar, "Kekuatan Hukum Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Dari Perspektif Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Di Indonesia," *Badilag*, last modified 2019, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://badilag.mahkamahagung.go.id/artikel/publikasi/artikel/kekuatan-hukum-fatwa-majelis-ulama-indonesia-mui-dari-perspektif-peraturan-perundang-undangan-di-indonesia-oleh-al-fitri-johar-s-ag-s-h-m-h-i-11-1>.

⁶ Diana Mutia Habibaty, "Peranan Fatwa Dewan Syariah Nasional-Majelis Ulama Indonesia Terhadap Hukum Positif Indonesia," *Jurnal Legislasi*

In Sarip's work,⁷ the position of the MUI's fatwa in the legal system can only be put at the same level as the opinion of experts in law, language, and religion. The fatwa serves only as one of the normative grounds that can be referred to by the Moslem as well as binding religiously, as long as the differences between *mazhab* (school) do not exist among *ummah* (Islamic community).⁸ In this context, it is understandable that the MUI's fatwa serves only as a moral appeal which legal position is *mubah* (allowable).⁹

Secondly, MUI consists of various Islamic affiliated associations whose identity is different from each other.¹⁰ Didin Saepudin¹¹ analyses MUI that it often accommodates the government's policy and responds to discussed religious matters among the people. However, with such diverse personnel in the MUI, Didin questions if MUI is indeed an organization that represents the public interest in responding to religious matters.

Nevertheless, to some community members, the MUI's fatwa may impact their religious views and attitude so that they obey the appeal despite its weak authority. Syahputra's writing is a bibliographical footprint in analyzing the role that a MUI's fatwa played in Tjahaya Basuki Purnama case.¹² Akmaliah also explains

Indonesia 14, no. 4 (2017), <https://ejournal.peraturan.go.id/index.php/jli/article/view/125>.

⁷ Elya Kusuma Dewi Sarip, Diana Fitriana, "Mendudukan Fatwa MUI Sebagai Doktrin Perundang-Undangan," *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 16, no. 3 (2019).

⁸ . Iswahyudi, "MUI Dan Nalar Fatwa-Fatwa Eksklusif," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 11, no. 2 (2017): 361.

⁹ Heri Firmansyah, "Qawaid Fiqhiyyah Dalam Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia," *Al-Qadha: Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Perundang-Undangan* 6, no. 2 (2019).

¹⁰ Tim Sekretariat MUI, *20 Tahun Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sekretaris MUI, 1995).

¹¹ Didin Saepudin, "Kedudukan Majelis Ulama Indonesia Di Tengah Umat Islam Dan Pemerintah" (Universitas Indonesia, 1987).

¹² Iswandi Syahputra, "Activities on Twitter and the 212 Defend Islam Rally through the Perspective of the Indonesian Ulema Council," *Al-Jami'ah* 58, no. 2 (2020): 323-354.

MUI's involvement in "Indonesian X Factor" in 2013 and its support to Fatin Shidqia who later became the winner of the contest.¹³

In a similar context, MUI's fatwa has a considerable influence on some people in the Ahmadiyah case. Alnizar explains that the MUI's fatwa in 2015 exerted an influence on some people that they attacked *jamaah* of Ahmadiyah.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Hasyim analyses the influence of MUI's fatwa on religious diversity in Indonesia for which MUI considers some of them heresy.¹⁵ MUI's fatwa has an impact on the attitude of persecution and hate narrative directed toward groups with different religious views or schools.

The diversity in the societal attitudes and views toward MUI's fatwa, sociologically, intersects with the diversity among the Moslem communities in conducting the MUI's fatwa on worship limitation during the pandemic. To prove the diverse responses among the Moslem community during the pandemic, we outline the research findings on the Moslem community's responses toward the MUI's fatwa in Bantul, Yogyakarta. The problems studied are of three aspects, namely: (1) how was the dynamic of worship during the pandemic in Bantul? (2) how Bantul people respond to the MUI's fatwa on the governance of worship during the pandemic and (3) what factors are in play in the differences of response?

Method

The current paper is written based on field research whose objectives are to examine, study, and observe the responses of NU members in Bantul Regency to the MUI's fatwa on worship during the COVID-19 pandemic. To gather the data, we conducted interviews with seven figures (NU officials, *takmir* officials, and public figures) who are involved in the dynamics of those responses. To verify the

¹³ Wahyudi Akmaliah, "When Ulama Support a Pop Singer Fatin Sidqiah and Islamic Pop Culture in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah* 52, no. 2 (2014): 351-373.

¹⁴ Fariz Alnizar, "Pretext for Religious Violence in Indonesia: An Anthropolinguistic Analysis of Fatwas on Ahmadiyah," *Studia Islamika* 26, no. 3 (2019).

¹⁵ Syafiq Hasyim, "The Council of Indonesian Ulama (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) and Religious Freedom," *Irasec's Discussion Papers*, no. 12 (2011): 1-26.

interview data, we conducted observation in Pleret Sub-district area and hold FGD inviting fifteen NU figures in Bantul District area. We used a sociological approach to describe the two patterns of responses among the NU members in Bantul. In this approach, we employed the obedience and disobedience theory¹⁶ as a framework of thinking in examining various problems among the NU members in Bantul, especially those related to the reception and resistance patterns.

Discussion and Result

Dynamics of Worship during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Bantul; People's Response to the MUI's fatwa

Worship, in public understanding, is understood only as a religious practice in the form of ceremony or rituals (*ibadah mahdlah*). Daily activities which are not rituals in nature are often underestimated and taken for granted because they are considered "not worship" activities. Such a view, in a certain limit, may result in putting activities outside worship on the lower level in the list. Some community members even take an extreme measure that they feel they have not yet conducted the worship when they do not perform ritualistic activities yet. Moreover, for some people, the ritualistic worship "must" be performed in a congregation (*berjamaah*) as worship performed individually is considered imperfect or at least does not provide "satisfaction".

The attitude and understanding of worship as such have become more evident and stronger at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020.¹⁷ Pandemic situation and condition that require obedience to health protocols from all parties becomes an arena of "struggle" for some Bantul people to maintain their influence and legitimacy. Instead of supporting and implementing the appeal from the government and related parties to

¹⁶ Stefano Passini and Davide Morselli, "Authority Relationships between Obedience and Disobedience," *New Ideas in Psychology* 27, no. 1 (2009): 96-106.

¹⁷ Kuku, "Di Tengah Covid-19, 220 Masjid Di Yogya Gelar Salat Id | Gaya Hidup," *Gatra*, last modified May 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://www.gatra.com/news-479778-gaya-hidup-di-tengah-covid-19-220-masjid-di-yogya-gelar-salat-id.html>.

conduct worship in their house, they posit their arguments which are more emotional than rational in nature, namely by continue conducting ritualistic worship in the congregation. Such worship of course has the potential to result in crowding which in turn may result in a new cluster of Covid-19.

The forms of ritualistic worship conducted in the congregation by some Bantul people during the pandemic are usually related to *mahdlah* worship, especially prayer (*salat*), both the *wajib* (mandatory) and the *sunna* (not a compulsory) ones. There are two mandatory prayers that are often talked about and sometimes lead to debate during the pandemic, namely Friday Prayer (*Salat Jumat*) and the five mandatory prayers (*salat lima waktu*). The *sunna* prayers are *tarawih* (performed during Ramadhan evenings) and Eid prayers. These ritualistic worships are taught to be performed in the congregation. On the other hand, however, to prevent the proliferation of the Covid-19 pandemic, people are urged to do social distancing and avoid crowds. In fact, prayer worship is an activity that may lead to a crowd when conducted in a congregation.

The paradoxical situation and condition between the requirements for preventing the Covid-19 proliferation on one hand, and the requirement to conduct prayer in the congregation on the other hand, pose challenges to shareholders. Therefore, mass and religious organization figures, such as those affiliated with MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah, also have their roles, each according to their respective capacities, to provide information and enlightenment to the people in terms of worship during the pandemic. Various forms of rules and provisions for worship during the pandemic have been issued (fatwa, edict, circulars, and instruction), all of which are directed to curb the Covid-19 so that its proliferation is under control and less extensive.¹⁸

¹⁸ Some examples of fatwa issued by NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI: a) Circulars Number 3953/C.I.034/04/2020 on the governance of *tarawih* and Idul Fitri prayers during the Covid-19 pandemic; b) Muhammadiyah Notice on the Limitation of Worship in Mosque, available in this Muhammadiyah, "Edaran PP Muhammadiyah Tentang Tuntunan Idulfitri 1442 H Dalam Kondisi Pandemi Covid-19 - Muhammadiyah," *Muhammadiyah.or.Id*, last modified 2021, <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/edaran-pp-muhammadiyah->

Riyanta, dkk.

However, Bantul society is highly dynamic in responding to the problems in worship and other religious activities during the Covid-19 pandemic. This can be categorized into three groups. *Firstly*, worship in an emergency condition model. These models is conducted by the community group who obeys and observe the government and religious organizations' appeal by avoiding worship activities that could lead to crowd forming. Therefore, during certain times, this group suspended the Friday prayer and substituted it with the *zuhur* (mid-day) prayer, performed congregational prayer in their respective homes, and temporarily ceased all social-religious and societal activities. *Secondly*, the new normal adaptation worship model. The model is conducted by the group that still conducted the Friday prayer, the five mandatory prayers in the congregation, and social-religious and societal activities, but accompanied by strict implementation of health protocols. *Thirdly*, the normal worship model. The model is conducted by a group that totally ignores the pandemic and health protocols in conducting worship and other religious activities.¹⁹

In the MUI's fatwa Number 14 the Year 2020 on the Governance of Worship in Covid-19 Pandemic Situation, the legal provision that governs worship in the emergency conditions is in the point 4 reads as follows:

“in a condition where the spread of the Covid-19 is out of control in an area that it threatens life, Moslem must not conduct Friday prayer in that area, until the condition comes back to normal and must substitute it with the *zuhur* prayer in the respective place. It is also forbidden to conduct worship activity that involves many people

tentang-tuntunan-idulfitri-1442-h-dalam-kondisi-pandemi-covid-19/; c) MUI's fatwa Number 14 Year 2020 On the Governance of Worship during the Covid-19 Pandemic MUI's fatwa Number 31 Year 2020 on the governance of Friday prayer and congregational prayers to Prevent Covid-19 Pandemic

¹⁹ Result of *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures, conducted on 22 November 2020, and observation in some mosques in Pleret Sub-district on 1 November 2022

and is believed to be able to become the medium for the spread of Covid-19, such as the five prayers/*rawatib*, *tarawih*, and Eid prayers at mosques or other public place and attending general recitation and *majelis taklim*".²⁰

The provision could not be immediately implemented. People who wanted to implement it were confronted with the problem of arising the phrase "*in a condition where the spread of Covid-19 is out of control in an area that it threatens life*". Some questions arose: has Bantul District fall under the area category as mentioned, how to know it, what was the ground, and who has the authority to stipulate the condition of an area?

Such questions required clear and firm answers to avoid confusion in society. However, the absence of explanation and confirmation on the condition of Bantul District area as mentioned in the MUI's fatwa made people interpret the provisions individually according to their understanding. There was an interpretation conducted collectively by involving some people who were considered public figures, and one conducted individually by a public figure with considerable influence who is well respected. The grounds for the decision were also different one to each other. Some were based on the Decision Letter of the Governor of the Special District of Yogyakarta and the Decision Letter of the Regent of Bantul on the State of Covid-19 Disaster Emergency Response; the others were based on conviction and common sense in relation to the local community situation and condition.²¹

As a result of the difference in such interpretations, there were dual interpretations in the congregational worship conducted in some areas. For example, one occurred at a hamlet in Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District. Public and religious figures with the

²⁰ MUI, "FATWA NO 14 TAHUN 2020 - PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH DALAM SITUASI TERJADI WABAH COVID-19 - Majelis Ulama Indonesia." *MUI Digital*, last modified 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://mui.or.id/berita/27674/fatwa-penyelenggaraan-ibadah-dalam-situasi-terjadi-wabah-covid-19/>.

²¹ Based on the result of the *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures, conducted on 22 November 2020.

coordinated by the Head of the Hamlet collectively decided to follow the MUI's fatwa by suspending the Friday prayer and congregational mandatory prayers, *rawatib* (not a compulsory prayers before and after the five mandatory ones) as well as other religious and social activities until the situation and condition were declared safe by the authority. The ground for the decision was the Decision Letter of the DIY Governor supported by the Decision Letter of the Bantul Regent on the State of Covid-19 Disaster Emergency Response.²² The decision was then distributed to the members of the community through circulars signed by all officials of the hamlet and the head of *takmir* (mosque manager) and was known by the Head of the Hamlet.²³

However, then appeared a group of people who claim to act on behalf of members of the community and refused hamlet officials' decision as well as took a different attitude. They provisioned their own decision by continuing the congregational Friday prayer and mandatory prayers/*rawatib* as well as other religious activities at the mosque. The ground was the recommendation from the local public figure on the situation and condition in the area which according to him were still safe and under control. It was also reinforced by their monolithic understanding of fate and narrow understanding of *mahdlah* worship. Therefore, different interpretations of the emergency status of the area in turn gave rise to dynamics in the second category of worship, namely the new normal adaptation worship model. In this case, some parts of the community still held Friday prayer, congregational prayers at the mosque, and other religious and social activities while obeying strict health protocols.²⁴

The first and second groups believed that their respective decisions were true and that they could not be compromised. As a result, there were two worship models conducted by the community in that area, namely worship in emergency conditions and new

²² Until the current article was written, the Governor of DIY and Bantul Regent's Letter of Decisions on the Emergency State of Covid-19 Pandemic has been extended 7 times.

²³ Interview with Mr. Mujiono, Head of RW 08, Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district on 20 November 2020.

²⁴ Interview with Mr. Basuki Raharjo, Head of Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district on 20 November 2020.

normal adaptation worship. The two models of worship also divided the community into two groups. Some people called the two groups “Friday prayer school (*Jumatan mazhab*)” and “no Friday prayer school (*there is No Jumatan Prayer mazhab*)”.

When the first difference appeared, there was a tension that prompted them to conduct repeated mediation and discussion. While the situation did not lead to a split, it seemed the community was divided due to the difference. Moreover, the issue was then taken to the political domain which incidentally was at the same time as the election of the head of *takmir*. The tension, which should have been resolved after the local public figures agreed to follow the New Normal Adaptation policy, drag on after the election was completed. Something that should not happen was unavoidable, namely the politicization of the mosque.²⁵

The above case shows rather complicated social and religious (worship) dynamics in responding to the pandemic situation and condition. It was related to the formal policy stipulated by the shareholders who have the formal position in the community on one hand, and the non-formal policy decided by one or more public figures or those considered to have authority on the other hand. The figures or people considered as public figures did not have formal positions or “forums”, but their personality or seniority made them role models to the other community members.

The basis for conducting the worship (the Friday prayer) during the pandemic for the people was counterfeit (*taqlid*). This is understandable because the major parts of the community, especially in rural areas, are lay in religious matters. To maintain peace and harmony among the people, while the *takmir* decided to suspend Friday prayer and other congregational prayers, the decision was not imposed on parties who disagreed. In this case, they hold on to an Al-Qur’an quote that reads: *لَا أَعْمَالُنَا وَلَاكُمْ أَعْمَالُكُمْ* (to me are my deeds, and to you are yours).²⁶ Nevertheless, the *takmir* staffs were aware

²⁵ Interview with Muh. Rosid Husaini, public figure in Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District on 23 November 2020.

²⁶ The quote from Al-Qur’an can also be found, among others, in QS. al-Qashash/28 verse 55.

that the situation and condition were not a small burden both psychologically and sociologically.²⁷

Besides the two groups above, there was another group who performed worship without any changes whatsoever. They held Friday prayer, congregational five prayers at the mosque, *tarawih* prayer, routine recitation, and others as usual just like before the pandemic. Appeals from the government and other related parties on the mandatory health protocols were totally ignored. In this case, the *takmir* officials and community members were of the same view in responding to Covid-19. They believed that the pandemic would not reach their area. This belief was based on two things: *firstly*, their residence was considered far from the urban area which was believed to be the site of the Covid-19 spread, and *secondly*, the local people's mobility was quite low.²⁸

Dynamics in worship do not link only to the dualism in the policy on Friday prayer, namely between conducting or suspending it. The responses to the pandemic also gave rise to more than one Friday prayer spot in a single hamlet. This happened at the Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District. In the beginning, before the pandemic, all residents of 13 RT (Neighbour Association) and 3 RW (Community Association), RW 7, 8, and 9, conducted Friday prayer at the hamlet mosque, namely al-Falah. The

²⁷ According to the narrative from the informant, who happened to be the head of *takmir*, such situations and condition have put some psychological burden and made him into a complicated position. In addition to his position as the head of *takmir* who is responsible for the mosque management and all its activities, he resides close to the mosque so that he could hear and see all activities during the pandemic. To reduce the burden, he was "forced" to go to his office every Friday although he should have worked at home (WFH/Work-From-Home) on that day. Interview with Muhammad Busro, Head of Takmir of Quwatul Islam Mosque, Kuwaru, Poncosari, Srandakan, Bantul on 24 November 2020.

²⁸ It was informed that there was a view different from that of the majority of people coming from the local youths. They disagreed with the Friday prayer policy and even did not obey health protocols strictly. However, their voice was almost unheard because the community ignored it and eventually it vanished. Interview with Abdur Razak Paryanto, public figure in Suren, Pleret, Pleret, Bantul, Yogyakarta on 9 October 2020.

mosque, built-in 1935, is located at RW 08. Although the two other RW also built mosques circa the 1990s (respectively named al-Yasir and al-Furqan), up to the beginning of 2020, al-Falah was established as the hamlet mosque to conduct common Friday prayer for all residents.²⁹

The establishment of Friday prayer outside al-Falah occurred when the decision of the hamlet officials on the suspension of Friday prayer during the pandemic was not obeyed by some parts of the community. People who live in RW 07 were disappointed because the Friday prayer was still held in al-Falah, especially by the adherents of “*mazhab Jumatan*”, although it was officially suspended. The disappointment prompted some religious figures in RW 07 to initiate an independent Friday prayer at the mosque located in RW 07 neighborhood, namely al-Furqan. For several weeks, seeing the pandemic situation and condition were yet to end, residents of RW 09 then also held their own Friday prayer at al-Yasir. Therefore, from the start of the pandemic until now, most of the residents who have been attending the Friday prayer at the hamlet mosque (al-Falah) were limited to residents of RW 08.³⁰

The multiple Friday prayers at several mosques in one village were not without turmoil. In addition to a historical reason that must be kept and maintained by all residents in the village,³¹ it was also related to the validity according to the *fiqh* law. In *fiqh* study, the Friday prayer in one village is called *ta'ddud al-Jum'ah*. *Safīnatun Najah* mentioned that there are six requirements of validity for Friday prayer, and one of them reads “must not be preceded or occurred at

²⁹ Interview with Muh. Rosid Husaini, public figure in Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Villag, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District on 23 November 2020.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ According to the story, al-Falah mosque was built by people who wanted to preserve the tradition and deeds of *ahlus sunnah wal jamaah*. The mosque was decided as the hamlet mosque. Besides serving as a center for worship and social-religious activities, it also serves as a symbol of unity and oneness for the residents. As such, based on the statement from the Head of Hamlet, their ancestors instructed Kerto residents to continue conducting Friday prayer at the village mosque.

the same time with other Friday prayer in one *balad* (village)”³² Its explanation (*syarh*) book stated that “... if Friday prayer should be conducted in more than one place (hamlet, *balad* or *qaryah*) due to the necessity that makes it difficult to gather in one place, it is allowed to perform more than Friday prayers and all are valid based on more authoritative *qaul* (opinion), whether the *takbîratul ihram* (initial *takbir*, opening of a prayer ritual) of the imam are simultaneously or in sequence.” However, it is advised as a *sunna* to repeat the *zuhur* prayer to prevent *khilaf*/differences in opinion among ulemas.³³

The *fiqh* provisions on *ta'addud al-Jum'ah* above were attention and energy-consuming matter of debate among local religious figures. The debate revolved around the meaning of *balad/qaryah*, “difficult to gather”, and the validity of the Friday prayers which are measured by *takbîratul ihram* recited by the imams. Each has their arguments that a deal were unable to be taken. They instead agreed to disagree (in a single opinion). Therefore, Friday prayers have been conducted in three mosques in one hamlet until now.

Interestingly, in the subsequent development, as a basis for Friday prayer, some residents and religious figures did not consider the area issue (*balad* or *qaryah*) anymore. Instead, they focused more on confidence and satisfaction. Therefore, although Friday prayers were held in each administrative area called RW, it did not prevent some residents of the other administrative area to hold Friday prayers at the hamlet mosque (al-Falah). They think that conducting Friday prayer at the village mosque gives them more confidence and satisfaction. In addition, they did it due to historical reasons, namely

³² In the book *Safînah al-Najâh*, it is mentioned that there are 6 conditions of validity for Friday prayer, namely: 1) The whole Friday prayer is conducted during the *zuhur* time; 2) The Friday prayer must be conducted (still) within the limits of a *balad* (village or small area); 3) Must be conducted in congregation; 4) Must consists of 40 adult and males, and *mustawthin* (settled residents in the area); 5) Must not be preceded by or at the same time with other Friday prayer in the same *balad*; 6). The Friday prayer must be preceded by 2 sermons. For further reading, see Salim ibn 'Abdullah ibn Sumair al-Hadhrami Salim ibn 'Abdullah ibn Sumair Al-Hadhrami, *Safînah Al-Najâh* (Surabaya: Dâr al-'Ilm, n.d.). p. 19.

³³ Muhammad Nawawi ibnu Umar al-Jâwi al-Bantaniy Al-Syâfi'iy, *Kâsyifah Al-Sajâ Syarh Safînah Al-Najâh* (Limassol: Dâr ibn Hazm, 2011). p. 373

to respect the service of their ancestors. As such, Friday prayers at three different mosques in the same village did not sociologically split the community based on the area of the Friday prayer implementation.

Accommodative and Contextual Response among NU Members of Bantul

Several factors influenced the reception of the fatwa among Bantul NU members, namely structural, structural NU figure, and knowledge. In the structural factor, there was an “alternative fatwa” that strengthened that of MUI instead of denying or negating each other. As its nature is organizational and systemic, the “counter fatwa” was more effective because it binds every affiliated person including the sympathizers. In K.H. Damanhuri’s words, MUI is religious organization that possesses no mass basis. On the contrary, almost all Bantul people have affiliated with a mass religious organization, especially NU. Compared to a vehicle, for Damanhuri, MUI is a train with empty cars and without passengers.³⁴ This makes its fatwa far from the society that serves as its mass basis as a prerequisite for a fatwa.

Besides religious figures (*kyai*), the guiding references, which were used by NU members in conducting worship during the pandemic, were in the form of instructions or circulars issued by NU officials. Structurally, the instruction or circulars were issued gradually from the *Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama* (PBNU) on the central or national level,³⁵ then *Pengurus Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama* (PWNU) on provincial level, and *Pengurus Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama* (PCNU) on district level. The circular from PCNU was then delivered to *Majelis Wakil Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama* (MWCNU) on the sub-district level before eventually being forwarded to people through

³⁴ Statement by K.H. Damanhuri, Rois Syuriah Pengurus Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama (PCNU) Bantul District, delivered during the *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

³⁵ Mohay Faisal, “PBNU Keluarkan Edaran Pelaksanaan Salat Tarawih Dan Idul Fitri Dalam Keadaan Pandemi Covid-19,” *Tribunnews*, last modified 2020, <https://www.tribunnews.com/corona/2020/04/04/pbnu-keluarkan-edaran-pelaksanaan-salat-tarawih-dan-idul-fitri-dalam-keadaan-pandemi-covid-19>.

Pengurus Ranting on the village level and *Pengurus Anak Ranting* on the hamlet level. The circulars related to legal matters are typically issued by *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail* (LBM) NU targeting all NU members, whether structurally (NU members who hold a position in the organization) or culturally (members whose religious activities are those of NU).

The circular followed by NU members was the one issued by the NU instead of the MUI's fatwa although implicitly, their spirits were the same. NU members' obedience to the organization is also exemplary. However, as NU is a social-religious organization that is inseparable from *pesantren*, their obedience had been ambiguous. In addition to the obedience to the organization, *nahdliyin* who are dominated by religious students (*santri*) are also required to obey *kyai* and this can be greater than the obedience to the organization.³⁶ As such, *kyai* or religious figures in NU tradition has great influence who become role model for their congregation that they serve as the important key for the community's obedience to the essence of MUI's fatwa. The example can be drawn from the case in Pleret, in which the people follow the unofficial fatwa from Kyai Haji Ihsanuddin from Binaul Ummah *pesantren* in performing their daily rituals.³⁷

In the figure factor, *kyai* or religious figures among NU typically do not have any structural hierarchal position and may not communicate with each other. They might even have opposite stances on this specific issue. If the hierarchy was present, its nature is cultural and built through *pesantren's* chain of knowledge (*sanad*). Therefore, *nahdliyin* who have no pupil-teacher bond with *kyai pesantren* are rather independent. The influence of K.H. Rosyid Mulyadi from Jejeran, Pleret, whose opinion on the issue is taken by some *takmir* there.³⁸

³⁶ Zaenal Arifin, "Kepemimpinan Kiai Dalam Ideologisasi Pemikiran Santri Di Pesantren-Pesantren Salafiyah Mlangi Yogyakarta," *Inferensi* 9, no. 2 (2015): 351; also read Zamakhsari Dhofier. "Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia." (Jakarta: LP3ES. 2011) p. 55.

³⁷ Result from *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures in Bantul District on 22 November 2020.

³⁸ In the cases where the *takmir* in some areas accepted and implemented the advice on the prevention of Covid-19 by suspending the

In addition, the reception by NU members was set by the third factor, namely the community's knowledge and understanding of the fatwa, both relating to its existence and content. In-depth, limited discussion involving religious figures in Bantul District in the focus group discussion supported this.³⁹ It was mentioned that MUI's fatwa on the worship during the pandemic was not well known among Bantul people. One of the reasons for this is the lack of socialization.

However, people who knew about it did not immediately accept it. They questioned the technical aspect of the fatwa implementation in the field as the current fact showed that MUI's fatwa was not like medicine which could be taken and administered right away. It was like a portion of fast food that needs processing to consume and the result may be different from one person to another. The processing was necessary because the content of the fatwa still needs interpretation or at least adjustment with the situation and condition on the field. In relation to this, based on observation and interview results with related parties, at least there found two patterns of reception by Bantul people.⁴⁰

Firstly, accommodation pattern. This pattern appeared when the community or some of its members and related parties accepted MUI's fatwa and implemented it fully. The accommodative nature of this reception pattern indicates openness in the community toward information and change. As such, it can be confirmed that this group possesses good access to information and was not *jumud* (frozen or static) in their thinking. Generally, they came from learned or educated groups, especially ones with higher literacy. Economically, they fall into the middle or upper class and are relatively established. Usually, they have a strategic position in the society and government, such as *takmir* officials, hamlet officials, village officials, and others

Friday prayer, as mentioned in the previous subheadings, the *takmir* was affiliated to NU.

³⁹ Result from *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

⁴⁰ Result from *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

Riyanta, dkk.

like a public servant (Aparatur Sipil Negara/ASN) and members of TNI/Polri (National Army or The Police).⁴¹

The influence of educational background on the accommodative reception pattern is rather logical and grounded because one of the causes beyond low acceptance among Bantul people toward MUI's fatwa was the lack of socialization. For the learned or educated group with higher literacy, the issue was automatically resolved. Advances in technology supported by sophisticated communication devices (smartphones) were available to almost all people enabled them to access information wherever and whenever. They can also gather additional information and diverse views on the fatwa. Therefore, this group was enabled to have wider social and religious insights than the other groups to determine their stance toward MUI's fatwa.

Secondly, contextualization pattern. In this case, Bantul NU members' response to MUI's fatwa was conducted contextually in line with the specific situation and condition on the field. For them, the contextualization of MUI's fatwa was necessary considering that the factual situation and condition among Bantul people were diverse. This diversity was related to many factors; among others were geographical position, environmental condition, cultural background, and social-religious organization affiliation. Bantul people who followed this contextual reception were rather numerous, and even probably a majority. They live and spread the whole Bantul District area, both in urban and rural areas.

Bantul NU members' contextualization pattern in accepting MUI's fatwa could be seen in daily worships. For example, the first provision of the fatwa affirms that every person must try to maintain health and avoid anything that is believed to be able to expose him or

⁴¹ An example is one occurred in Pandak Sub-district, Bantul District. There was a mosque in which the religious figure happened to be the Head of Village (*Kepala Desa*), while the *takmir* official is a public servant working as a doctor in a local public hospital. Since the government stipulated the emergency status for the Covid-19 pandemic, the mosque was closed from any worship activity. This statement was made by K.H. Damanhuri in the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures in Bantul District on 22 November 2020.

her to disease as it is a part of maintaining the primary goal in religion (*al-dharuriyat al-khams*)".⁴² This provision was implemented by applying strict health protocols, among others by providing a hand washing facility at some points in the mosque area, body temperature checking for visitors, hand sanitizer in certain places, and obliging the congregation to wear the mask. In addition, to support the worship and religious activities during the pandemic, preventive measures were also in place, such as distancing prayer rows, folding the mat or carpet, installing banners in front of the mosque with the appeal to observe health protocols, and installing announcement that the mosque was only for local residents.⁴³

The Resistance among NU Members of Bantul: Reactive-Declarative and Passive-Permissive

MUI is a religious Islamic institution consisting of ulemas from various elements and groups whose undoubted competency and authority do not immediately guarantee that its fatwa will be accepted by all Bantul people. This even still happened although the intention and objective of the fatwa are directed toward the common good. Resistance (refusal) toward the fatwa also surfaced on various forms and expressions. Although they were not always shown in an explicit and demonstrative way, the refusal was clear in some following patterns.⁴⁴

⁴² MUI, "FATWA NO 14 TAHUN 2020 - PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH DALAM SITUASI TERJADI WABAH COVID-19 - Majelis Ulama Indonesia." OVID-19 - Majelis Ulama Indonesia," *MUI Digital*, last modified 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://mui.or.id/berita/27674/fatwa-penyelenggaraan-ibadah-dalam-situasi-terjadi-wabah-covid-19/>, also read Salman Abdul Muthalib et al., "Changes in Congregational Prayer Practices During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Aceh from Maqashid Al-Sharia Perspective," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 16, no. 2 (2021): 421-449.

⁴³ Observation results on some mosques in Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District.

⁴⁴ Based on the observation and statement from Kyai Musta'in during the routine recitation on the evening of Tuesday *Kliwon* in al-Falah, Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District on 18 January 2021.

Firstly, the reactive-declarative pattern. In this case, refusal toward the fatwa was performed using oral narrative and real actions. In terms of numbers, the groups who refused the fatwa in this manner were rather small. They came from groups with various backgrounds, whether tribal, cultural, educational, or social-religious affiliation. However, they were members of society who have the “stage” so that, despite their small numbers, their voices could be loud and clear. There were two main stages to spread their narratives, namely the cultural stage and the digital stage (social media).⁴⁵

The refusal narrative through the cultural stage was usually delivered by religious figures who have a cultural mass basis (congregation) and were not involved in the NU organizational structure. The narrative was rather effective in influencing the congregation until it sinks into the unconsciousness as it was wrapped in religious language. Included in this kind of narrative was a provocative statement that looked simple but could be misleading, such as: “are you more afraid of Allah than of Corona virus?”, or the mention of Corona in Javanese slanted into “...kon ora...” (Which means: ...are asked not to...) in a statement delivered during a routine recitation: “due to kon ora, everything is ignored; Friday prayer is ignored, the five mandatory prayers are ignored, Qur’anic recitation is ignored, tahlilan is ignored”.⁴⁶

There was also a statement that was claimed to come from a *riwayat* (narrated saying) yet being told while opposing intention to the prevention of Covid-19 proliferation: “the mosque is the best place in the world, so use it as a place of protection. Do not be far from it”. Another statement was correct but when misunderstood, it could mislead the listeners: “Corona is a being/creature belonging to Allah. It will not lead to harm unless with Allah permission, so do not be afraid of Corona”. There were still many other statements with narratives refusing the effort to prevent Covid-19. Those narratives which were rather provocative

⁴⁵ As stated by K.H. Nasih Ridwan in the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

⁴⁶ As stated by K.H. Hasan Asy’ari in the routine recitation to commemorate Isra’ Mi’raj Prophet Muhammad Saw in al-Falah, Kerto, Pleret, Bantul, Yogyakarta on 9 November 2020.

were also spread through social networks and media such as Whatsapp, Facebook, YouTube, and others.⁴⁷

The effectiveness of such narratives was greater when delivered by people with influence and became the role model for the community. It even works better when the verbal narrative was also followed by demonstrative actions or deeds and performed in front of the audience, congregation members, or followers. An example of this is the case in a hamlet in Wonokromo Village, Pleret Sub-district, where a *kyai* did not want to wear a mask when attending a religious gathering because he doubted its efficacy so he delivered his opinion openly in front of the congregation. When protested by one of the local religious/social figures, the *Kyai* even tried to defend using arguments that were also delivered in front of the forum. This could be conditioned after the government officials consisting of the police, TNI, health officers, and the task force of Covid-19 came and provided education and socialization, especially on Corona virus and its prevention measures.⁴⁸

The MUI's fatwa indeed does not explicitly state the use of the mask. Nevertheless, implicitly, the fatwa contains a legal provision that requires everybody to obey the health protocols during the Covid-19 pandemic, one of which is the wearing of a mask.⁴⁹ This is

⁴⁷ Jabbar Ramdhani, "Warga Demo Masjid Ditutup Untuk Tarawih Dan Jumatan, Polisi Ajak Dialog," *Detik*, last modified 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4998650/warga-demo-masjid-ditutup-untuk-tarawih-dan-jumatan-polisi-ajak-dialog>. And also Abu Sahma Pane, "Pro Kontra Larangan Sholat Jum'at Di Tengah Wabah Corona : Okezone Tren," *Okezone*, last modified 2020, accessed May 26, 2022, <https://www.okezone.com/tren/read/2020/03/19/620/2185963/pro-kontra-larangan-sholat-jum-at-di-tengah-wabah-corona>. And also Ibid.

⁴⁸ As stated by K.H. Nasih Ridwan in the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

⁴⁹ The provision read "Every person must try to maintain health and avoid anything that is believed to be able to expose him or her to disease as it is a part of maintaining the primary goal in religion (al-Dharuriyat al-Khams)". Read MUI, "FATWA NO 14 TAHUN 2020 - PENYELENGGARAAN IBADAH DALAM SITUASI TERJADI WABAH COVID-19 - Majelis Ulama Indonesia."

because mask usage is recommended by health experts in the World Health Organization.⁵⁰

The disobedience toward the health protocols as stated implicitly in MUI's fatwa probably would not have a significant impact when conducted by lay people. They typically do not have any influence over their neighborhood. This was different from members of society who were considered public figures, whether in religious or social matters. Religious figures were the important key to the society's obedience to both MUI's fatwa and health protocols.⁵¹

Secondly, the passive-permissive or silent pattern. This was conducted by some NU figures and their supporters. Structurally, these figures were not in a strategic position, but they have a big influence culturally. Some of them were made into public figures (*a role model person*), whether they were religious or social figures. Therefore, they have many supporters and followers.⁵²

In responding to the pandemic situation and condition, they prefer silence and apathy. The silence was shown by not giving any statement, neither verbal support nor refusal, on every social distancing policy at worship sites. This was because they paid more attention to the local people's beliefs that were used to the normal worship practice. One figure in Kretek⁵³ even said that he was reluctant if he were to appeal for worship limitations in the mosque.

Therefore, each time the government or other parties gave advice to every religious or local figure to urge their congregations to follow every social distancing policy in worship sites and obey the health protocols in conducting religious activities, these religious figures chose to be silent. This attitude was also shown toward the

⁵⁰ World Health Organization, "Penggunaan Masker Dalam Konteks COVID-19," *World Health Organization* (2020): 1-23, https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/searo/indonesia/covid19/penggunaan-masker-dalam-konteks-covid-19.pdf?sfvrsn=9cfbcc1f_5.

⁵¹ Result from the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures on 22 November 2020.

⁵² Observation result from Suren Hamlet, Pleret Village, and Wonokromo I Hamlet, Wonokromo Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul.

⁵³ Interview with Muhammad Busro, Head of *Takmir* Quwatul Islam Mosque, Kuwaru, Poncosari, Srandakan, Bantul on 24 November 2020.

MUI's fatwa which was issued to strengthen the government policy that had not been well-responded. Nevertheless, he still limited himself in worship at the public mosque and conducted worship activities in his own home more often instead.

In addition to silence, there were also religious figures who chose to completely ignore the social distancing policy in worship sites. There was even a public figure who openly refused any policy from anybody to limit activities in mosques. He believed that when worship is conducted in an optimum and perfect way, Allah will protect and keep him from any virus.

In this context, the fatalistic view became one of the socio-religious phenomenons shown by some parts of society in responding to the Covid-19.⁵⁴ In such a fatalistic view, one of the figures in Kretek Sub-district ignored the health protocols in his every activity. Social and religious activities, including Friday prayer at the mosque, continued to be conducted in a normal way. Although there was some doubt about the decision, the resigned attitude (*tawakkal*) had greater dominance over their decision.⁵⁵

Conclusion

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Muslims in Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia performs their daily rituals in three patterns. Firstly, they obey the government's advice by doing the worship in their houses to suit the emergency condition. Secondly, the worship adapts to new normal habits by implementing the health protocols in public mosques. Thirdly, the worship runs as usual and is continuously carried out by ignoring the health protocols. This dynamic is in line with the NU members' responses toward MUI's fatwa on the worship during the pandemic. There had been pro- and contra- among society in responding to the fatwa. People who obey the fatwa conducted all their daily *mahdlah* (purely ritual) worship in their respective houses and avoided the *ghairu mahdlah* (impurely

⁵⁴ Nur Hidayah, "Dari Jabariyah, Ke Qadariyah, Hingga Islam Progresif: Respons Muslim Atas Wabah Corona Di Indonesia," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar-i* 7, no. 5 (2020): 423–438.

⁵⁵ As stated by Drs. Abu Yazid, *takmir* official of al-Takwa Mosque, Wonokromo Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District, in various occasions.

Riyanta, dkk.

ritual) activities as stipulated in the MUI's fatwa. The research shows as well that there was polarization among NU members in Bantul in responding to the above-mentioned MUI's fatwa in the forms that may be classified into two. The first was the reception and the second was the resistance. In the former, they respond to the fatwa in two models, namely accommodation and contextualization. In the accommodation model, they fully implemented the fatwa. Meanwhile, in the contextualization model, they adjusted their rituals based on the situation and condition on the field due to the notion that, for them, the factual situation and condition of the society were highly diverse. This pattern was influenced by structural NU figures that possessed knowledge literacy. Meanwhile, the resistance formed two models. First, the reactive-declarative model which was delivered openly by NU figures who were not in NU structural organization. They urged their congregations to continue doing worship at the public mosque as usual and did not pay attention to the health protocols. Second, the passive-permissive model is conducted silently by the public figure. Personally, the figure disagreed with the MUI's fatwa, but they expressed this disagreement personally, not outwardly.

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Interviews

- Interview with Muhammad Busro, Head of *Takmir* Quwatul Islam Mosque, Kuwaru, Poncosari, Srandakan, Bantul on 24 November 2020
- Interview with K.H. Nasih Ridwan in the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures on 22 November 2020.
- Observation result from Suren Hamlet, Pleret Village and Wonokromo I Hamlet, Wonokromo Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul.
- Observation and statement from Kyai Musta'in during the routine recitation on the evening of Tuesday *Kliwon* in al-Falah, Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District on 18 January 2021.
- K.H. Nasih Ridwan's statement in the *Focus Group Discussion (FGD)* with religious figures on 22 November 2020.
- As stated by K.H. Hasan Asy'ari in the routine recitation to commemorate Isra' Mi'raj Prophet Muhammad Saw in al-Falah, Kerto, Pleret, Bantul, Yogyakarta on 9 November 2020.

Riyanta, dkk.

Interview with *takmir* affiliated to NU on 22 November 2020.

Interview the Head of Hamlet, Kerto, Pleret Bantul on 22 November 2020

Interview with Muhammad Busro, Head of Takmir of Quwatul Islam Mosque, Kuwaru, Poncosari, Srandakan, Bantul on 24 November 2020.

Interview with Abdur Razak Paryanto, public figure in Suren, Pleret, Pleret, Bantul, Yogyakarta on 9 October 2020.

Interview with Muh. Rosid Husaini, public figure in Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Villag, Pleret Sub-district, Bantul District on 23 November 2020.

Interview with Mr. Mujiono, Head of RW 08, Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district on 20 November 2020.

Interview with Mr. Basuki Raharjo, Head of Kerto Hamlet, Pleret Village, Pleret Sub-district on 20 November 2020.