



Muslim Resistance: Review of Health Policies for Pandemic Mitigation

Tri Endah K L^{a*}; Yudi Armansyah^a; Muhamad Fahmi Fajar^a

^aProgram Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan, UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi, Indonesia

Information Article

History Article

Submission : 25-Sep-2023

Revision : 31-Jan-2024

Accepted : 15-Feb-2024

DOI Article:

<https://doi.org/10.24905/jip.9.1.2024.32-47>

ABSTRACT

This research examines the resistance of Muslims to the policy of handling the co-19 pandemic implemented by the Jambi city government in limiting and prohibiting congregational prayer activities, wedding celebrations, and Lebaran homecoming. This research collects qualitative data obtained through observation, interviews, and documentation. From the findings, and data analysis, it is known that: First, the resistance carried out by Muslims is due to the communication and socialization carried out by the government in the covid-19 countermeasure policy has not been effective, especially at the beginning of its implementation, both physical distancing, new normal, PSBB, and PPKM policies. However, the resistance that occurs is only among the grassroots - ordinary people. On the other hand, groups of Islamic religious leaders, and leaders of mass organizations mostly accept the policies implemented by the government, until resistance automatically disappears along with the improvement of policies carried out by the government.

Key word: resistance, Muslims, policy, pandemic, covid-19

Acknowledgment

© 2024 Published by Governmental Studies. Selection and/or peer-review under responsibility of JIP.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: endah@lp2m.uinjambi.ac.id

1. INTRODUCTION

The corona virus disease (covid-19) pandemic, which has entered its third year, still leaves problems in the midst of social life and the state. As a non-natural disaster that has reached the pandemic level based on the provisions of the *World Health Organization* (WHO). Even with the regulations in force in Indonesia, it has also placed the Covid-19 pandemic as a non-natural disaster. That requires a comprehensive response from both the government and society to mitigate its impact on public health and safety.

The high level of transmission of this virus, and the complexity of the impacts caused, prompted the government to make various policies to reduce the increase and spread of Covid-19. The Jambi City Government itself has issued Jambi Mayor Regulation number 21 of 2020 concerning guidelines for handling *corona virus disease* (covid-19) not only for handling public health, but also covering social, economic and community welfare aspects because the stipulation of this regulation is in the implementation of economic relaxation, and social society during a pandemic. This regulation applies to every public area, place of business, and place of worship. As a result, since the enforcement of the regulation, the trend of covid-19 cases in Jambi City has not shown a decrease (Yurinanda et al., 2020).

The implications of policies made by the government in the form of *physical distancing*, *new normal*, PSBB to PPKM have sparked many reactions from the community, including among Muslims in Jambi City by verbally rejecting, and in the form of ignoring the restrictions made by the government. This resistance highlights the complexities of public compliance during health crises, as cultural beliefs and social norms often clash with regulatory measures aimed at protecting community health.

Various government efforts to control the spread of covid-19 that touch on aspects of religious activities have become easy "targets" for groups that "dislike" to reduce trust in the government. The narrative that was built was so interesting to provoke the religious "emotions" of the community. For example, the call for a ban on gathering was then shifted to "a ban on worshipping in mosques, or a ban on holding religious celebrations" (Mudhofar, 2021).

The polarization of society in response to government policies, and reinforced by several fatwas, is quite diverse. Most Indonesian Muslims follow, and fully implement the substance of these fatwas. There are also those who accompany it with a critical attitude, because several points in the fatwa determine the status of an area based on government decisions. For example, in determining the red, yellow and green zones, it must be based on solid data, and this is certainly in the experts, namely the government, which also has these experts. For this group, an area that has implemented PSBB is in the red zone (Fernando et al., 2023).

Table 1. Covid-19 Case Data Per Regency/City in Jambi Province as of July 2022 2082

No.	District/City	Positive	Healed	Died	Process
1.	Batanghari	3.165	3.048	114	3
2.	Bungo	2.077	2.046	31	0

No.	District/City	Positive	Healed	Died	Process
3.	Kerinci	590	564	22	4
4.	Jambi City	9.738	9.482	254	2
5.	Merangin	1.679	1.585	94	0
6.	Muaro Jambi	4.131	4.060	68	3
7.	Sarolangun	1.036	1.027	9	0
8.	Full River	1.408	1.388	20	0
9.	West Tanjab	2.419	2.353	63	3
10.	East Tanjab	1.406	1.370	36	0
11.	Tebo	2.137	2.067	31	39

The COVID-19 pandemic has posed significant challenges to public health policies worldwide, including in Muslim-majority regions. The resistance from Muslim communities towards pandemic mitigation policies, particularly those affecting religious practices, has been a notable issue. This resistance is multifaceted, involving ideological, cultural, and religious dimensions (Sandhu & Sandhu, 2020). The papers reviewed provide insights into the nature of this resistance and suggest strategies for more effective policy implementation. Such an approach not only acknowledges the unique values and beliefs of these communities but also promotes a sense of ownership and participation in health initiatives, ultimately leading to more sustainable outcomes (Williams et al., 2021). Engaging local leaders and incorporating community feedback into health strategies can foster trust and collaboration, essential elements for overcoming resistance and ensuring the success of public health measures (Al-Balas & Al-Delaimy, 2021). By building strong partnerships with these communities, health authorities can create tailored interventions that resonate with local customs and beliefs, thereby enhancing the overall effectiveness of public health campaigns. This collaborative model encourages continuous dialogue between health authorities and community members, allowing for the adaptation of strategies as needs evolve and ensuring that interventions remain relevant and impactful over time.

From the literature review above, studies on emergency law related to the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic can be seen in Fitra Arsil and Qurrata Ayuni's research entitled, "*Model of Emergency Arrangements and Indonesian Emergency Options in Facing the Covid-19 Pandemic*" and Hasibuan and Ashari with the title "*Optimizing the Role of the State in Facing the 2019 Corona Virus Disease Pandemic in the Perspective of Emergency Constitutional Law*". However, these two studies do not connect with political policies made by the government.

In contrast, studies related to aspects of public policy include: *First*, Anas F.'s research study with the title, "*Local Government Policy in Overcoming the 2019 Corona Virus Disease Outbreak in Lamongan Regency*". *Second*, Aquarini's research entitled, "*The Effect of Political Policy on Physical Distancing Compliance to Prevent the Spread of Covid-19*". *Third*, Adila Solida et al's research in 2021 entitled, "*The Effectiveness of Implementing the Jambi Mayor's Policy on Covid-19 Handling Guidelines in Economic and Social Community Relaxation*". *Fourth*, finally Herdiana's research with the title, "*Local Level COVID-19 Countermeasures through the New Habit Adaptation Policy (AKB) in West Java Province*". The four studies looked at the policy side of handling covid-19, specifically Adila Soldia's research looked at the

effectiveness of the policies implemented by the Jambi City government in tackling covid-19. However, none of these studies connects from the legal side of the emergency as a fundamental basis in making policies to tackle Covid-19.

Based on the literature review, both in terms of emergency law and government policy. It appears that there is no research that specifically examines the Covid-19 handling policy. Especially when connecting it with the religious activities of Muslims, and the law of emergencies in it. Therefore, this research is very urgent to do by considering the policy. This research aims to look at the implementation of emergency policies during covid-19 around the social activities of Muslim worship in Jambi City, some of which experienced large-scale restrictions at the beginning of the spread of covid-19.

2. METHOD

As the research progresses, it is crucial to examine how religious leaders can serve as pivotal figures in bridging the gap between health authorities and local communities. In many Muslim-majority regions, these leaders wield significant influence over their congregations, making them essential allies in promoting adherence to public health guidelines. By leveraging their authority and credibility, they can help dispel misconceptions about COVID-19 and encourage vaccine uptake among hesitant populations (Ayub et al., 2023). Furthermore, understanding the interplay between traditional beliefs and modern health practices may lead to innovative solutions that respect cultural values while enhancing public health outcomes. This dynamic approach not only addresses immediate health concerns but also fosters a long-term partnership model that empowers communities to engage actively in both spiritual and physical well-being initiatives.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Regulatory Standards for Religious Activities of Muslims during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Jambi City When looking at the regulatory standards, it's clear that these rules were made to protect public health while also respecting people's right to practice their religion, allowing worshippers to safely join in group activities while following health guidelines (Gozum et al., 2021). The regulation of community activities, including the religious activities of Muslims during the pandemic, is carried out by the Jambi City government by referring to regulations that have been issued both at the central level and additional regulations at the regional level. The Jambi City government uses some important regulations to manage community religious activities during the pandemic (Document, Jambi City Covid Task Force, 2022).

1. Presidential Decree Number 11 of 2020 concerning the Determination of *Corona Virus Disease 2019* (Covid-19) Public Health Emergency.
2. Instruction of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 1 of 2021 concerning Improving Discipline in the Implementation of Health Protocols in the Prevention and Control of *Corona Virus Disease 2019* at the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

3. Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 31 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities Level 4 *Corona Virus Disease 2019* in the Regions of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Papua.
4. Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 32 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Restrictions on Level 3, Level 2, and Level 1 Community Activities, as well as Optimizing *Coronavirus Virus Disease 2019* Handling Posts at the Village and Village Levels to Control the Spread of *Coronavirus Virus Disease 2019*.
5. Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 34 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities Level 4, Level 3, and Level 2 *Corona Virus Disease 2019* in Java and Bali Regions.
6. Jambi Mayor Regulation Number 21 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for Handling *Corona Disease* (Covid-19).
7. Jambi Mayor Instruction Number 23 of 2021 concerning the Management of Health Protocols and Community Engagement Strategies to ensure compliance with safety measures and promote public awareness about the ongoing pandemic.

These regulations and instructions are crucial in establishing a coordinated response to the pandemic, ensuring that local governments can effectively implement health measures while also engaging with communities to foster understanding and compliance (Sahlan et al., 2022). In addition to these local regulations, ongoing education and communication efforts are essential in building trust within the community and encouraging adherence to health protocols. Effective collaboration between local authorities, healthcare providers, and community organizations plays a vital role in reinforcing these messages and addressing any concerns or misconceptions that may arise among the public.

In contrast, a more specific regulation for places of worship in Jambi City is contained in the Jambi Mayor's Instruction number 23 of 2021, which at point p explains that places of worship or places that function as places of worship can hold congregational worship/religious activities with a maximum capacity setting of 75% for the green zone, 50% for the yellow zone, and 25% for the orange or red zone while still implementing proper health protocols (See Jambi Mayor's Instruction number 23 of 2021). This regulation aims to strike a balance between allowing religious practices and ensuring the safety of congregants during the ongoing pandemic, reflecting a commitment to public health without compromising spiritual needs. As communities navigate these guidelines, it is crucial for religious leaders and congregants alike to remain vigilant in upholding health protocols, fostering a safe environment that encourages both worship and community well-being (Mudhofar, 2021). By adhering to these capacity limits and health measures, places of worship can continue to serve as vital support systems for their members while minimizing the risk of virus transmission within the community.

Nevertheless, for Jambi City, the houses of worship cluster (mosques/mushalas) did not become the largest contributor to *coronavirus* patients, except that at the beginning of its development there was a "tabligh congregation cluster" where there were Jambi JT members who had been exposed upon returning from recitation activities in Gowa, Sulawesi. This initial cluster served as a critical reminder of the importance of adhering to health measures, prompting local authorities and community leaders to implement stricter guidelines aimed at preventing further outbreaks within places of worship. In response to this situation, educational campaigns were launched to raise awareness about hygiene practices and social distancing, fostering a collective effort to protect the health of all community members (Yurinanda et al., 2020). These initiatives not only aimed to curb the spread of the virus but also emphasized the significance of community solidarity in overcoming public health challenges, reinforcing the idea that collective responsibility is essential in safeguarding vulnerable populations.

The factor causing the non-emergence of the houses of worship cluster is due to the good anticipation of the government together with religious leaders where at the beginning of its development, MUI and FKUB were involved in the socialization of the policy of determining the pandemic status from the central government. This proactive engagement helped establish clear guidelines and protocols for gatherings, ensuring that places of worship could continue to serve their communities while prioritizing health and safety measures. Such collaborative efforts not only foster trust between authorities and community leaders but also empower individuals to participate actively in public health initiatives, ultimately leading to better outcomes for all (Nurmansyah et al., 2022). By creating a framework for safe worship practices, these organizations have set an example of how cooperation can bridge the gap between governance and faith-based communities, promoting resilience in times of crisis.

According to Mr. Retno Kismanto, the secretary of the Jambi City covid-19 task force explained that: *"The team was formed to carry out the task of carrying out social, economic, marriage supervision, and tabligh akbar relaxation. In each task, it is divided by field and community. For example, teams in the economic area of markets, business places. Then there are teams in restaurants, restaurants, hotels. There are also teams in religious communities"*. This structured approach not only facilitates effective communication and collaboration among different sectors but also ensures that the specific needs of each community are addressed comprehensively, fostering a sense of unity and support during challenging times. The task force's efforts are crucial in promoting adherence to health protocols while also revitalizing the local economy and maintaining social cohesion, ultimately contributing to a more resilient community as they navigate through the pandemic (Makmun, 2020). As these teams continue to work together, they can identify innovative solutions and share best practices that enhance overall community well-being and resilience in the face of ongoing challenges.

In addition to socialization and coordination, the covid-19 task force team together with OPD, FKUB, and MUI also provided assistance in the form of masks, and a large number of *hand sanitizers* to

be given to mosques, religious organizations, worshipers, and so on. This collaborative effort not only promotes health and safety but also fosters a sense of unity and support among community members, reinforcing the importance of collective responsibility during these trying times. By working hand in hand, these organizations are setting a powerful example of how collective action can lead to meaningful change and strengthen community ties amidst adversity.

This is the key factor, the absence of a cluster of houses of worship because of rapid anticipation, and the level of discipline of Jambi City Muslims in paying attention to health protocols in houses of worship is quite good. When the government appealed for congregational prayer activities to be carried out in their respective homes, most people followed the instructions, as well as among mosque administrators who helped by encouraging residents around the mosque to pray at home, and eliminating activities that gathered many people in the mosque. Such community cooperation not only reflects the resilience of Jambi City Muslims but also highlights the importance of adaptability in maintaining spiritual practices during challenging times.

Even with the potential for transmission from Muslim marriage activities that have been anticipated by the covid task force together with the Jambi City ministry of religion by implementing strict protocols. As is the policy of implementing a marriage contract which can only be done at the religious affairs office (KUA), and mosques around the place of residence, and cannot be done at home. This is because, whether at the KUA or mosque, control and supervision can be carried out by officers by following the rules set by following the handling procedures of the covid task force. These measures aim to ensure the safety of all participants while still allowing couples to celebrate their union in a meaningful way.

On the other hand, based on the results of an interview with Mr. Retno Kismanto, secretary of the Jambi City covid task force, he explained that:

"In particular, in overseeing Muslim worship activities during the pandemic, we also pay attention to the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council which is contained in fatwa number 14 of 2020. Even though this fatwa had caused turmoil in the community because one of the dictums of the appeal prohibited the implementation of Friday prayers in congregation for areas designated by the task force team as "dangerous" areas for transmission of the covid-19 virus" (Interview, Retno Kismanto: 2022).

Based on the search of MUI fatwa document number 14 of 2020, in the second general provision, that for Muslims who have been exposed to the *coronavirus*, they must protect themselves by isolating themselves, and can replace the obligation of Friday prayers with zuhr prayers, because Friday prayers are congregational prayers that involve many people who will potentially transmit the *coronavirus*. Furthermore, it is described in the dictum about the prohibition of the implementation of sunnah prayers that open up opportunities for covid transmission, such as rawatib prayers, tarawih prayers, and Eid in mosques or open places, including the implementation of public recitation and tabligh akbar

(See MUI Fatwa Number 14 of 2020, Second General Provisions). This guidance reflects a careful consideration of public health and safety, emphasizing the importance of prioritizing community well-being during a pandemic while still maintaining spiritual practices within the confines of personal worship.

However, this fatwa has been misunderstood by many Muslims, which means that the MUI will deliberately replace Friday prayers with zuhr prayers, including the prohibition of tarawih prayers, and Eid during the pandemic. This is due to: *First*, disinformation as a result of people not reading the MUI fatwa in its entirety. *Second*, the emergence of a literary understanding that sees the pandemic issue only from the theological-normative side, rather than from the *mashlahah* side. *Third*, political factors, because the government regime is considered at odds with Islamic values due to the unfinished polarization of the 2019 presidential election.

The argument presented by the congregation who refused the Friday prayer was replaced by the zuhur prayer based on the legal provision that Muslims who did not perform the Friday prayer three times in a row, then he was categorized as a person who "kufr". Such views arise because they do not see the full product of Islamic law that was born from normal situations and conditions.

In contrast, those who support the MUI fatwa are guided by Qs. Al-Hadid verses 22-23, which means: *"Every calamity that befalls the earth and that befalls yourselves were written in the Book (Lauh Mahfuzh) before We brought them to pass. Indeed, such is easy for Allah. So that you may not grieve for what has escaped you, nor be overjoyed for what He has given you. And Allah does not like anyone who is proud and boasts"* (Qs. Al-Hadid: 22-23).

Even with the Prophet Muhamamd's hadith which reads: *"The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "If you hear of a plague in an area, then do not enter it. But if there is a plague where you are, then do not leave that place"* (Hr. Al-Bukhari).

Thus, in fact, if you look at the covid pandemic from a theological-normative perspective, Islam basically teaches the actions that its people must take in the face of an infectious disease outbreak (pandemic). Including the semi *lock down* policy carried out by the government which has a strong legal basis in Islamic teachings, as described in the verses and hadith.

Based on more in-depth data searches, in socio-religious activities, such as weddings among Muslims, there are still many people who are not disciplined in taking care of licensing administration during the covid-19 restriction period, such as not applying for a permit, or if they apply for a permit close to the D-day. Whereas in the licensing procedure for crowd activities, the public is asked to apply for a permit one week before the day of implementation, because there is an administrative process, *screening*, ratification from three officials that must be passed. Often the licensing process that is submitted is close to the time of implementation, making it difficult for the task force team to ensure that licensing is actually carried out according to procedures (Interview, Ridwan: 2022).

Based on the data findings, there is a tendency in congregational worship activities carried out in the mosque, such as five daily prayers, Friday prayers, and holiday prayers, based on the findings, no request for permission from the mosque management. The reason is that congregational prayer activities in various forms are routine activities, and are integrated with one another. So that between the government and the mosque management have understood each other.

The birth of Jambi mayor's instruction number 23 of 2021 which establishes Jambi City in PPKM Level 2 status. Where, all agencies / institutions are strictly regulated the implementation of their operational activities, starting from educational institutions, offices, markets and public, essential and non-essential areas. This includes places of worship (mosques, mushala, churches, temples, monasteries, and temples) which must pay attention to the capacity of places of worship with a maximum of 75% for the green zone, 50% for the yellow zone, and 25% for the orange or red zone (Jambi Mayor Instruction Number 23 of 2021, Part P).

In the context of this research, for routine congregational prayer worship activities (Friday prayers, and five daily prayers), mosque administrators do not need to apply for licenses such as wedding celebrations. Licensing rules apply, if the mosque management wants to carry out PHBI activities in the form of a grand tabligh, for these activities it is mandatory to apply for a permit to the covid-19 task force at the sub-district level (Interview, M. Kosim: 2022). It is the same with other religious communities (non-Muslims) who are required to obtain a permit if activities are carried out outside of routine worship, such as weddings, and gatherings that involve many people. These regulations aim to ensure public safety and health, particularly in light of the ongoing challenges posed by the pandemic, while also balancing the needs of religious expression within the community.

Although not reductively looking at the religious attitudes of the people of Jambi City in relation to the handling of covid-19, the results of research from Adila Solida et al can provide a description of the general attitude of the community in seeing policies made by the Jambi City government. Where, the results outline that 69% of covid-19 handling policies made by the government are effective based on quantitative data. However, 62% of people do not have good knowledge about the implementation of the policy. Plus 74% of people showed an unsupportive attitude in implementing the policy, and only 24% supported the implementation of the policies made (Halim & Hm, 2020).

From the datlack sufficient understanding of how the policy is implementedi City was initially not fully supported by the community, with a fairly high survey rate. Although, the research results published in October 2021 cannot be used as a benchmark, considering that the data collected was conducted since the beginning of the *coronavirus*, when the government was looking for the best model in handling covid-19. And we know that the government has repeatedly changed several policies to deal with the spread of covid, so that the community's economy can continue to run even though it is surrounded by infectious disease outbreaks. These policies include *physical distancing*, *new normal*, PSBB, and finally PPKM.

So that it can be concluded, that the regulation of social-community activities in which regulates the worship of religious people, especially among Muslims, is carried out by taking into account the needs and interests of religious people comprehensively. Outside of that aspect, if there is a violation of health protocols, it is submitted to the task force team formed per agency or in each institution.

Forms Of Resistance Of Jambi City Muslims In The Restriction And Prohibition Of Religious Activities During The Covid-19 Period

This discussion looks at three types of resistance related to the policy for dealing with the covid-19 pandemic among Muslims in Jambi City, focusing on group prayers, wedding celebrations, and Lebaran homecoming, where one of the rules for managing covid-19 includes restrictions and bans on people's movement. Specifically, at the beginning of the spread of the covid-19 virus when it was at its highest level, the government imposed strict *physical distancing*. And at that time, the community began to resist government policies. Reduced, the community's resistance takes two forms:

Initially, there was verbal resistance. Many individuals vocally oppose the COVID-19 policy, particularly when it comes to space restrictions in public areas. Including in this case related to worship activities carried out by Muslims. In general, the rejection is carried out oMany individuals vocally oppose the COVID-19 policy, particularly when it comes to space restrictions in public areas. This rejection extends to the activities of worship that Muslims engage in. as policies carried out by countries, such as Singapore, and Germany.

Second, resistance in the form of rejecting the covid-19 pandemic policy made by the government. Resistance is mainly carried out in the form of ignoring, or deliberately not following health protocols set by the government, such as not wearing masks, not maintaining distance, and not washing hands before entering public areas (Observation, 2021).

So, the options chosen by the government in the form of PSBB and PPKM at the beginning of their implementation faced many challenges and obstacles, because the general public "rejected" by voicing in public spaces, and taking actions that tended to be against the law ., 2020).

On the other hand, Jean Baudrillard, a French postmodern sociologist, uses the term hyperreality in *In The Shadow of the Silent Majorities* to explain the distortion of meaning through language in a society (Ni'am Sholeh, 2020). According to Baudrillard, in the world of hyperreality everything is considered more real than reuses the term hyperreality in *In The Shadow of the Silent Majorities* that people sometimes believe rumors more than information, rumors (word of mouth) are considered more true than the truth. Finally, people can no longer distinguish between truth and falsehood, between issues and reality (Tobroni et al., 2020).

Coronavirus was born in the era of a pervasive information society, so that all information, news, opinions, views, and interpretations merge into one without being stopped by stakeholders to fill the timeline of public knowledge. At the same time, Indonesia has a low literacy rate. This is where the

struggle for information, between true news and hoaxes become one, causing people to encounter fundamental problems in articulating attitudes towards policies for handling covid-19.

Resistance during congregational prayer activities can be seen from ignoring the rules of the Covid-19 protocol in houses of worship, where it is still found that people do not follow the rules of *physical distancing*, such as wearing masks, using *hand sanitizers*, and the like that are echoed by the government (Observation, 2021). In many cases, not a few people because of their high religious *enthusiasm* still insist on coming to the mosque even though their area is designated by the government as an orange or red area.

The next resistance, in the form of violations in wedding celebration activities, occurs because the community insists on holding a wedding party, either at home or in a building without applying for a permit to the covid-19 task force, or if applying for a permit is not carried out according to predetermined procedures or requirements. On the other hand, other violations in wedding celebrations occur after being granted permission by the government, where during the implementation between the committee and guests do not apply health protocols according to standards. Thus, in many cases, creating new cases in the wedding celebration area (Forsyth, 2020). The peak of resistance occurred massively when the government established a "semi *lock down*" policy. Where, at the beginning of the *coronavirus* outbreak, precisely in March, April and May 2020. At that time, debates and upheavals that were pro and contra to government policies were widely presented in the public sphere.

Based on an interview with Pahrudin, a young Muhammadiyah Jambi figure and public policy analyst at Nurdin Hamzah University, he said that:

"At the beginning of the implementation of the covid-19 handling policy in the form of limited lock down, new normal, PSBB, and even PPKM, there was indeed resistance from the community. The community's rejection of the policy is not the issue; the government's limited communication and socialization is. However, over time, the community has understood the forms of restrictions and The community's rejection of the policy is not the issue; the government's limited communication and socialization."

Indeed, it is not only the religious sector that makes people reject pandemic policies. At that time, people, especially informal workers who lived relying on informal sector economic income in public areas, had to taste bitter pills because they were prohibited from doing activities in order to break the chain of spreading the *coronavirus* in the midst of society. Not to mention several private companies that "laid off" many of their workers because they could not operate due to restrictions on community mobilization.

It was only in June 2020 that the government began to make a *new normal* relaxation policy which allowed people to carry out limited mobilization for essential and non-essential activities. *New normal* is a term used by the government to create a new normal order of life, which means that people must get used to life as it should be by coexisting with the virus with various rules that must be obeyed so

that the coronavirus pandemic does not experience a spike due to *new normal*. One of them is by implementing the 3M health protocol, namely maintaining distance, using masks, and always washing hands using running water (Ni'Ami & Najib, 2022). This protocol policy has various obstacles, including people who are not familiar with the rules made. However, according to the data obtained, violations do not only arise from Muslim worship activities.

Strictly speaking, the government applies fines and sanctions for violators of the covid-19 protocol in the form of a monetary fine of Rp.50,000 and sanctions in the form of picking up garbage and so on. These penalties are applied so that people comply with the protocol rules that have been implemented. But in reality there are still people who do not want to obey these rules, and are often found wandering on public roads without wearing masks, and crowding in public places, especially in shopping places. This clearly violates the rules of the covid-19 protocol, without realizing that this can endanger the person who violates it, and other people. The large number of corona cases with asymptomatic status makes it difficult to identify who is exposed to the virus, so masks are very important to minimize these unwanted things, but some people selfishly without thinking about the consequences that will arise in the future act as they please. This is evidenced by the date of December 18, 2020, fines from violations of health protocols reached Rp.199,700,000 million, obtained from violations of business actors as much as Rp.76,000,000 million with 17 business places, then fines from not wearing masks reached Rp.123,700,000 million with 2,474 violators. Then for business places, 601 were given warnings, 17 businesses were given fines, and 22 businesses were sealed. These business places include cafes, department stores, fitness centers, hotels and other public places (Tobroni et al., 2020).

In contrast, throughout the implementation of the PSBB regulation up to PPKM, no violations have been found in the houses of worship cluster in Jambi City. Violations have been identified at wedding celebrations held in private homes, which were licensed. However, as far as it appears, it does not have a major impact on the addition of covid patients. This means that violations from the administrative aspect of licensing, on the other hand, in the implementation of the community in general, also carry out health protocols when wedding celebrations are held. This is in line with the results of research from Aguspairi et al in 2021 which revealed a description of community compliance in implementing health protocols in 420 mosques in Jambi City. It is known that all mosques provide a place to wash hands by 100%, the number of worshipers who use masks during prayer services is > 80% as many as 67 mosques (73.9%). Then, as many as 82 (84.5%) mosques implemented physical distancing and as many as 95 (97.9%) mosques had written appeals about health protocols, especially appeals for the use of masks. Some mosques appear to have high motivation in implementing health protocols such as in preparing hand washing facilities, written appeals and oral appeals in implementing health protocols in the face of the covid-19 outbreak (Mirza Devianti & Michael, 2021).

However, from the research results mentioned above, it was found that 100% of mosque administrators in Jambi City had a good attitude in implementing health protocols by providing hand

washing stations. Although there are still 15.5% of mosques that have not given a distance sign to the prayer shaf, and 2.1% that do not give written appeals about health protocols. Regarding worshipers, 36.1% still do not wear masks during mosque services. The involvement of Islamic religious organizations in Jambi City (Interview, M. Ferdy: 2022) in the communication, socialization, and implementation of policies to overcome the Covid-19 pandemic in Jambi City is one of the government's strategic steps. This is because through key figures in these mass organizations who directly interact with the community, it can facilitate the acceptance of policies from the community.

Thus, the response of Islamic mass organizations in Jambi City through MUI, FKUB, NU, and Muhammadiyah in general accepts government policies in order to tackle the co-19 pandemic, because it has given a positive image of the policies carried out by the Jambi City government. Of course, community participation through the involvement of religious organizations continues to be needed until the covid-19 endemic policy is set by the central government

Forms of resistance observed in various Muslim communities during the pandemic not only highlight the complexities of adhering to health protocols but also reveal deeper ideological divides regarding authority and tradition. For instance, qualitative studies have shown that opposition can manifest in passive forms, such as non-compliance with guidelines, or active demonstrations against imposed restrictions, reflecting a collective consciousness shaped by longstanding cultural practices (Fernando et al., 2023). This dynamic underscores the necessity for policymakers to approach public health initiatives through an inclusive lens that respects religious sentiments while addressing community concerns. Additionally, fostering partnerships between health authorities and local religious leaders could serve as a bridge to reconcile these tensions, ensuring that interventions are both culturally sensitive and effective in promoting public health objectives. Ultimately, recognizing the multifaceted nature of resistance is crucial for developing strategies that not only comply with health mandates but also resonate deeply within the fabric of the community's beliefs and traditions.

- **Passive, Active, and Reactive Resistance:** In Indonesia, resistance among Muslim communities manifested in passive, active, and reactive forms. Passive resistance involved non-compliance without overt protest, active resistance included organized opposition, and reactive resistance was characterized by spontaneous, emotional responses to policy enforcement (Fernando et al., 2023).
- **Open and Covert Resistance:** In Central Java, resistance was both open, with continued communal worship, and covert, through the maintenance of beliefs that contradicted health guidelines. This was influenced by local religious leaders and fatalistic religious beliefs.

Factors Influencing Resistance

- Religious and Cultural Beliefs: The resistance is often rooted in religious beliefs and cultural practices. In Moluccas, Indonesia, resistance was linked to religious attitudes and the social construction of the pandemic experience, which included fear and anxiety (Ridwan et al., 2022).
- Role of Religious Leaders: Traditional religious leaders, such as the kyai deso in Java, played a significant role in shaping community responses, often counteracting public health efforts due to their influence and the community's trust in them.

Strategies for Mitigation

- Incorporating Religious Teachings: Islamic teachings emphasize hygiene and quarantine, which can be leveraged to promote compliance with health measures. Historical practices, such as those advocated by Avicenna, align with modern infection control strategies (BaHamam, 2022).
- Engagement with Religious Leaders: Effective pandemic management requires the involvement of local religious leaders in disseminating health information and encouraging compliance with health protocols. This approach can bridge the gap between national guidelines and local customs.
- Holistic Islamic Approach: A comprehensive strategy that combines spiritual, physical, emotional, and intellectual care is recommended. This includes promoting moral conduct and spiritual resilience alongside strict enforcement of health protocols (Ismail et al., 2022).

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and data analysis, it can be concluded that: *First*, resistance to the policy of limiting and prohibiting the religious activities of Jambi City Muslims during covid-19 occurred at the beginning of the implementation of limited *lock down policies*, *new normal*, PSBB, and PPKM because the communication patterns and socialization carried out by the government had not been effective. Plus the absence of infrastructure readiness, and adequate human resources to deal with *coronavirus* countermeasure policies.

Second, basically, Islamic religious organizations in Jambi City do not reject the policy of handling covid-19 carried out by the government in order to suppress the spread of the *coronavirus*. Resistance is carried out among the grassroots community, due to factors of knowledge, and weak understanding as well as the many hoax news that have emerged around the news of the co-19 pandemic.

Third, the resistance carried out by Muslims in Jambi City is seen in the form of verbal, and direct acts of rejection which of the three forms of resistance, such as restrictions on congregational prayers, wedding celebrations, and holiday homecoming. It is known that in congregational prayer activities there are still people who do not fulfill the health standards in the mosque. Then, they did not apply for

a marriage celebration permit according to procedures, requirements, and provisions, and forced them to continue going home, even though the border area had been strictly guarded by the Jambi City covid-19 task force.

REFERENCES

- Al-Balas, Q. A. E., & Al-Delaimy, W. K. (2021). An Ethical Roadmap for Prioritizing Medical Resources Within Muslim Societies During the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 60(5), 3372-3378. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-021-01344-0>
- BaHammam, A. S. (2022). The Contributions of Islam and Muslim Scholars to Infection Control: Dealing with Contagious Diseases and Pandemics. *Journal of Nature and Science of Medicine*, 5(4), 372-378. https://doi.org/10.4103/jnsm.jnsm_109_22
- Fernando, H., Abdullah, I., & Yusuf, M. (2023). RESISTANCE OF MUSLIMS TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON PROHIBITING CONGREGATIONAL WORSHIP DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 17(2), 351-368. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v17i2.2627>
- Forsyth, D. R. (2020). Group-level resistance to health mandates during the COVID-19 pandemic: A groupthink approach. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 24(3), 139.
- Gozum, I. E., Capulong, H. G., Gopez, J. M., & Galang, J. R. (2021). Culture, Religion and the State: Towards a Multidisciplinary Approach to Ensuring Public Health During the COVID-19 Pandemic (and Beyond). *Risk Management and Healthcare Policy*, Volume 14, 3395-3401. <https://doi.org/10.2147/rmhp.s318716>
- Halim, A., & Hm, P. (2020). The study of Seloko Adat as safety-valve to prevent religious conflict in Jambi City, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 23(3), 223. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.50532>
- Ismail, F. H., Masruri, M., & Zahari, W. A. M. B. W. (2022). Persediaan Menghadapi Pandemi Berikutnya: Penyelesaian Menurut Islam: Preparing for the Next Pandemic: Solutions According to Islam. *Journal of Quranic Sciences and Research*, 3(2), 46-56.
- Makmun, M. (2020). POLITICAL FIQH DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: Religiosity and Mosque Congregant Health in Jombang. *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 7(2), 125-142. <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v7i2.3789>
- Mirza Devianti, R., & Michael, T. (2021). Accountability of mosque administrators against violation of Covid-19 health protocols in the mosque environment. *International Journal of Research in Business and Social Science* (2147- 4478), 10(2), 284-289. <https://doi.org/10.20525/ijrbs.v10i2.1050>
- Mudhofar, M. (2021). Kepatuhan Rumah Ibadah Dalam Penerapan Protokol Kesehatan Covid-19 Di Era New Normal. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)*, 4(1), 145-153.
- Ni'am Sholeh, M. A. (2020). Towards a Progressive Fatwa: MUI's Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 20(2).
- Ni'Ami, M. F., & Najib, A. M. (2022). Ragam Alasan Perilaku Hukum Dalam Pernikahan di Masa Covid-19 (Studi Kasus Desa Denanyar Kabupaten Jombang. *AL-HUKAMA'*, 12(1), 109-126. <https://doi.org/10.15642/alhukama.2022.12.1.109-126>
- Nurmansyah, M. I., Handayani, S., Kurniawan, D. W., Rachmawati, E., Hidayati, & Alim, A. M. (2022). Congregational Worshiping and Implementation of the COVID-19 Preventive Behavioral Measures During the Re-opening Phase of Worship Places Among Indonesian Muslims. *Journal of Religion and Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-022-01593-7>
- Ridwan, M., Sulaeman, S., Gani, E. S., Yusuf, H., & Banawi, A. (2022). Experience of the Muslim Community Resistance During COVID-19 in Moluccas, Indonesia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 30(4).
- Sahlan, S., Donuata, P. B., & Prasetyo, E. (2022). The Dissemination and Provision of Interfaith COVID-19 Vaccinations in Sikka Regency. *Mattawang: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 3(1), 111-115. <https://doi.org/10.35877/454ri.mattawang901>
- Sandhu, S. V., & Sandhu, H. S. (2020). Role of Religious Practices in the Spread and Mitigation of COVID-19. *Annals of the National Academy of Medical Sciences (India)*, 56(04), 235-238. <https://doi.org/10.1055/s-0040-1716940>

- Tobroni, I., Rizqi, S., Pelana, R., Sianipar, G., & Fathurrochman, I. (2020). Covid 19: Political cooperation and ritual modification of religious worship through large-scale social restrictions. *Systematic Reviews in Pharmacy (Sys Rev Pharm.)*, 11(12), 644-648.
- Williams, J. T. B., Miller, A., & Nussbaum, A. M. (2021). Combating Contagion and Injustice: The Shared Work for Public Health and Faith Communities During COVID-19. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 60(3), 1436-1445. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-021-01243-4>
- Yurinanda, S., Multahadah, C., & Aryani, R. (2020). Development of COVID-19 Case in District and City of Jambi Province with Exponential Smoothing Methode. *Eksakta : Berkala Ilmiah Bidang MIPA*, 21(2), 110-123. <https://doi.org/10.24036/eksakta/vol21-iss2/244>

AUTHOR PROFILE

Tri Endah Karya Lestiyani, Permanent Lecturer of Government Science Study Program of UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi. He is a researcher in the field of policy and especially in policies with an Islamic approach.

Yudi Armansyah, is a lecturer at the government science study program of UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi. His research focuses on government policy making.

Muhammad Fahmi Fajar, is a permanent lecturer at the government science study program of UIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi, has research expertise in the field of community sociology, especially on the impact of government policies.