

Private and Public Islam: Social Behaviour of Indonesian Muslim in Facing Covid-19

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Abstract: This article reports on a library research regarding the behaviour changes of Indonesian muslim resulted from the Covid 19 pandemic. Using Henri Lefebvre's theory of public space, this study has found that, *first*, the changing of social-diversity that creates a new space dimension, it is the private space; *second*, the behaviour of social-diversity in private space showed the pattern of Islamic hyper-locality which is a form of Islam Locality with its different attribute and character; *third*, Islamic hyper-locality leads any confrontation of muslim groups who want to beg the public space and its religious activities; *forth*, the distortion of the value of Universal Islam and uncapability in facing the global war.

Keywords: Covid-19, social behaviour, Islamic hyper-locality, theory of public space.

Abstrak: Artikel ini merupakan hasil penelitian kepustakaan tentang perubahan perilaku umat Islam Indonesia akibat pandemi Covid-19. Dengan menggunakan teori ruang publik (*theory of public space*) yang diperkenalkan Henri Lefebvre, studi ini menemukan bahwa, *pertama*, perubahan keragaman sosial menciptakan dimensi ruang baru, yaitu ruang privat; *kedua*, perilaku kemajemukan sosial dalam ruang privat menunjukkan pola hiper-lokalitas Islam yang merupakan bentuk lokalitas Islam dengan atribut dan karakter yang berbeda; *ketiga*, hiper-lokalitas Islam menciptakan konfrontasi kelompok-kelompok muslim yang berebut ruang publik dalam aktivitas keagamaannya; *keempat*, distorsi nilai universal Islam dan ketidakmampuan menghadapi perang global.

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Introduction

Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) is a phenomenon of cytokine syndrom which destroys the human body immune (Mehta, et al., 2020). Its pathological finding is also associated with the respiratory disease or acute respiratory distress syndrome (Zhe Xu et al, 2020). In Indonesia, Covid-19 is not only a health problem, but it also has impacts on social-religious lives.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as one of Islamic organisation also being part of institution which takes action in facing Covid-19 related to social-religious issue. The leaders of this organisation called Pengurus Besar NU (PBNU) published fatwa to change the construction of Indonesia muslim social-diversity, *Instruksi PBNU Nomor 3945/C.I.34/03/2020 tentang Protokol NU Peduli Covid-19* (The instruction of PBNU number 3945/C.I.34/03/2020 on NU Protocol on Covid-19 Awareness and number 3952/C.I.34/03/2020. By those instructions, the whole staff, NU citizen and people are suggested to do praying of *Tarawih* and *Eid Fitri* at home (Kurniawan, 2020). The ulama in Egypt, particularly in Al Azhar, also acknowledged similar fatwa (BBC, 2020). Since then, the mosques as public space are getting quiet. All those “public prays/activities” like *salah jamaah* are “postponed” a while until Covid-19 ends. Along that time, Friday praying also been changed into *dhuhur*, *tarawih* also been done at home, while *Ied Fitri* has no difference, at home (not at the field or mosques as usual). Those conditions led to pro-contra and panic. Andrea Remuzzi and Giuseppe Remuzzi gave example how Italian government took any political action on it when the victim of Covid-19 were getting increasing. Along 1-11 March 2020, there were 9%-11% victims among total population in there. They suggested any resource allocation including human resources, health facility, all of them to cover up bad situations. It was taken based on statistical record in Hubei Province, China which effectively reduce the number of victim within 3-4 days only though it had a consideration that China and Italy owned difference on social distancing concept application (Remuzzi & Remuzzi, 2020).

Furthermore, the physical-social distancing policy also led Yan Bai, et.al to analyse it because Covid-19 transmission was not always the transfer of disease from the infected one to another, but also from uninfected ones to others, which so called as asymptomatic carrier so it make it possible for a person looks like in a fit, fresh, and healthy condition being a carrier of Covid-19 (Bai et al, 2020). By looking all of it, this is not an exaggerate action if ulama around the world also instructs the same way to do social-physical-distancing. It is further strengthen because political-religious-bodies also publish their rules like Indonesian government did. It was conducted through Ministry of Religious Affairs which in line with fatwa of Grand Mufti, Saudi Arabia on Tarawih and Idl Fitri at home to prevent the spread of Covid-19 (Dimas, 2020).

In comparison, Indonesian government took action of physical distancing lately. At the end of February 2020, it was claimed that Indonesia was free from Covid-19. It led a critical response from australian Prime Minister, Scott Morrison, satirely said that “What if there is a case but Indonesia doesn’t confirm it?” (Garjito & Rahmayunita, 2020). On the same time, there were many alternative ways to control the spread of the virus for instance the Center for Systems Science and Engineering (CSSE) in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, USA who made an online application to update the spread development since 22 January 2020 (Dong et al., 2020). The lateness of Indonesian government in announcing a confirmation and a preventive one were far from the idea of physical distancing at that time, in the same meaning with neglecting the closest intervention that could be made. While the reality ran, public spaces were then closed, just to be solution as the limit number of medical and political solutions, also private spaces were needed urgently as a vital concern of nation, social and religious.

One of Indonesian government policies that could be said as quite to follow the foreign action was drugs buying of anti-virus namely chloroquine, but it took many hard protests from citizens which led the government to notice people not to use it over, be careful. According to Achmad Yrianto, the government’s spokesman,

those imported drugs were for medication, not for prevention ones (DetikNews, 2020). This trap happened due to scientific reports spread over to public by many sources. Jianjun Gao, Zhenxue Tian and Xu Yang provoked people that chloroquine was a recommended medicine to beat Covid-19 (Gao et al., 2020). It also led one of ministries in Indonesian government, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as the Minister of Coordination of Maritime and Investment took an alibi. He said that, "My question is, which country is ready? No one is ready. So, if there are observers state our government is not ready, well, no one predict this situation could happen." (Karunia, 2020). His statement is a prove when government is on its climax showing its inability to keep public spaces from their normal circumstances. As the result, private spaces of religious activities then being an answer as the only one option could be made as the most rational choice. This rationality is supported by religious fatwa and the absence of a state to overcome Covid-19 pandemic. This research concerned to discover this phenomenon where private spaces on social-religious aspect now are happening, whether due to fatwa by ulama or logical consequences from the state's absence.

Although the private spaces here were created as the change of public spaces, triggered by religion authority fatwa and state's political policy, there those private spaces then cannot be separateable from political dimension. Meanwhile, the spread of Covid-19 is not a natural pandemic but by design, war and global conspiracy. Seeing from law point of view applied between two countries, China and USA, there is a research from Gabirelle Wast that in USA, there is The Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act (JASTA) which allows federal country to take its own decision whether Covid-19 is a biological weapon or not, produces terror or not. While in International Criminal Court (ICC), there is Article Number 7 on Crimes Against Humanities, so that if anti-China proposal is existing, they can send China into international law. Further, Gabrielle Wast also decided that Covid-19 should has any verdict in the international court, however China needs to be investigated, a suspicious one (Wast, 2020).

Out of the context whether Covid-19 is a war or conspiracy made by China or USA, there is a changing the public spaces into private ones on this case. It could be whether from fatwa or the government interventions so forth. By this situation, it is a direct effect that Islam as claimed as the universal religion, should “bow” being conquered by conspiracy and global war which surely make its believers to adapt, change the public spaces into more private ones, a correction of its own claim or its universalities (An-Na'im, 2000). Private spaces changed indirectly to send Islam into a cage out of its universalities, far from conspiracy and global war while hiding behind its individual muslim walls. Seeing those facts, Abdullah A. An-Na'im stated that it was a dilemma to discuss the universality of Islam once it faces Human Right Principle because in practice, Islam has its own values and not easy to throw it into universal. It led more discourses on dilematic Universal Islam (An-Na'im, 2000). The creation of private space of social-religious is an other reason to show the big dilemma of universal Islam.

Covid-19 and the Changing of Social-Religious Behaviour in Indonesia

Siti Mahmudah as she referred to Khalil Abdul Kairm, Islam sharia on the beginning of Islam has a role as a fixed regulation and is adapted with the situation and condition at that time. For Khalil, the characteristic of Islam sharia could be a blueprint recently. It means that sharia is not permanent and its tafsir can be changing based on recent situation (Mahmudah, 2016). Khalil Abdul Kairm's hypothesis get its truth along the pandemic Covid-19 which has spread into 215 countries in the world and since 1 May 2020, World Health Organization (WHO) stated that there were 3,175,207 positive victims while 224,172 were died (WHO, 2020).

In Indonesia, Vice Chairman of MUI, Zainut Tauhid Sa'adi, stated that people in DKI Jakarta are allowed to not having Jumuah pray but change it into Dhuhr pray along Covid-19 pandemic. This decision could be read in Fatwa MUI Number 14 Year 2020 on Praying Implementation along Covid-19 Pandemic (Farisa, 2020).

Beside MUI, the biggest religious organisation in Indonesia, like NU and Muhammadiyah also had the similar fatwa. For instance, *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama* (LBM PBNU) stated that person with Covid-19 is prohibited to attend Jum'ah praying. Some NU ulamas formulate this policy, signed by Chairman of LBM PBNU KH. Najib Hasan and Secretary KH. Sarmidi Husna. The formulation team consists of KH. Afifuddin Muhajir, KH. Ahmad Ishomuddin, KH Miftah Faqih, KH. Abdul Moqsih Ghazali, KH Mahbub Maafi Ramdhan, KH Najib Hasan, KH Sarmidi Husna, KH Azizi Hasbullah, KH Darul Azka, dan KH Asnawi Ridwan (Sahal, 2020).

Muhammadiyah also had one. Their central structure recommend strongly to muslim and Muhammadiyah citizen to practice Jum'ah pray into Dhuhr pray. The chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Haedar Nashir, stated *"By the spread of Covid-19, it is accordance to 'daruroh' / urgent condition based on Al Qur'an and Al Sunnah Al Maqbulah, referred to PP Muhammadiyah maclumate, hereby we recommend all muslim brothers to do Dhuhr pray at home as the change of Jum'ah pray at mosque."* (Prabowo, 2020).

Behaviour changing of social-religious along Covid-19 pandemic is not a secret anymore and almost all religious activities in Islamic countries also change into more private-individual-personal. Even University of Al-Azhar, Egyot, the most referred fatwa related to Islamic law, also published a fatwa that suggested all muslim keep doing Ramadhan and how to do the prays along the pandemic. Grand Syeikh Al-Azhar, Ahmed al-Tayeb, said that obey the government is a must as a muslim. The impact of this fatwa was that no iftar (breakfasting) together at mosques and no i'tikaf, those are applied for until the last ten days of Ramadhan (Dzulfaroh, 2020).

Not only in Saudi Arabia and Egypt with their Sunni in majority, but also Iran as Islamic state with Shi'ah as majority also applied the changing of social-religious behaviour. The Iran's highest leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei asked for all muslim there to obey government to pray at home, not visiting the holy places along this year Ramadhan. He said, "We cannot leave for salah and praying due to our limitations.

We must avoid any form of meeting during Ramadhan.“ (Dzulfaroh, 2020).

Based on aforementioned practices in some countries, whether conducted by the government or any religious bodies, one thing is the same that there is a change in the pattern of social-religious among muslim and it is one of shifts from public space activities to private-personal-individual space.

Religious Behavior Transition from Public Space to Private Space

F. Budi Hardiman cited the perspective of Henri Lefebvre in defining public space. It is that public space can be understood through geographycal-architectural approach in a problem of modern economic-politic orders. By this, Lefebvre argued that public domain is a network of participation and exact social space which support cooperation and civitas coordination, especially the interaction between big cities and global economic (Hayati, 2018). The pattern is spreading in Indonesia before Covid-19 pandemic, but it is getting smaller since the space of public is decreasing, changed into private ones. Beforehand, public space make it possible to share activity together, doing breakfasting together, salah in jamaah, Tarawih, Idl Fitri, even silaturahmi widely open, but now it is changed into a prohibition and move to private ones, tend to be personal-individual spaces, recommended by government, scientific actors and bodies even religion leaders.

The changing from public space to private one is vital. Buya Ismaya defined private space as a space to run activities which needs more privacy and free from disruption. Its access also made only to cover it up by exact people, the nuance also more closed rather than public space (Ismaya, 2007). This statement has strong meaning that private space has specialty. In some cases, it could be true, but in the context of religious rituals, private space has its inverse meaning, the lessening of value and nuance of praying itself, here is the dilematic thing.

Indonesian government issued a public policy on physical and social distancing since 31 March 2020 through PP (Government

Regulation) NO. 12/2020 on Large Scale Social Restriction in the effort to handle Covid-19. By this regulation, public space is shrinking since there is limitation to massive social network. On Article 2 Verse (1) stated that, "By the permit of minister who handles health on behalf of government, the local government could implement PSBB by limiting the mobility of people and goods in an exact province or regency/city." PSBB consists of : a. Making holiday to schools and workplaces; b. The limitation of religious activities; and/or c. The limitation of activities in public space or facilities (Setkab, 2020).

The definition of Physical-Social Distancing from that government policy was affirmed such as by Islamic organisations like Nahdlatul Ulama as proven on Instruction Letter of PBNU No.3945/C.I.34/03/2020 on Protocol of NU Covid-19 Care and Instruction Letter No. 3952/C.I.34/03/2020. On all policies, NU resommend all NU structure, its citizens, and public society to keep doing Tarawih and Idl Fitri at home (Kurniawan, 2020). Beside that, all *pesantren* communities in Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama (RMI NU) also followed the same. The changing pattern from public space to private one was strengthen also by the publication of *Surat Edaran Pengurus Pusat* (Letter from central structure) Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama nomor 835/A/PPRMI/SE/III/2020 on 13 March 2020 on Protocol of Prevention the Spread of Corona Virus Disease (Covid-19) in *Pondok Pesantren* (Islamic boarding institutions/schools) (Onlinw, 2020). This protocol mentioned some important points in recommending *pesantren* all over Indonesia to follow: a. All people in *pesantren* whether teachers, guests, *santri* (students), parents, are all should be checked by using hold infrared thermometer or as well known as "shoot" thermometer; b. For those who has 37.3 Celcius degree temperature cannot enter the *pesantren* area; c. Massive activities which involve many people are postponed temporarily.

All definition and policies done by government and religious organisations related to Covid-19 handling are fulfilling the standard of social acitivity characteristic in private space. Zizi A. Papacharissi referred Thomson mentioned as stated as "*not only are public*

experiences immediately transmittable to private individuals, but it is possible to experience public events from the privacy of one's personal sphere, providing for the experience of despatialized simultaneity." (Papacharissi, 2010). Both government and those organisations believed in what she ever said as *"to experience public events from the privacy of one's personal sphere."* The ulama's fatwas in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, MUI, NU, MUI and Muhammadiyah are just the same, encouraged muslims to practice their religious rituals at home where those private praying rooms being the change of the activities in public spaces.

Hyper Islam Locality

Personal quality from each individual is a prominent element on the transition of social-religious activities on public spaces to private ones and to quest the meaning of Islam Locality (Islamic Locality) to find a new other reality which is suit to be called as Gyper Locality of Islam. Islamic Locality so far is defines as Edi Susanto cited from Woodward that kind of Islam with a package of written text, oral tradition or rituals unknown from its origin, Saudi Arabia. The real example for it is mystical Kejawen. Its tradition as the logical implication of local culture interaction and the accepted Islam (Susanto, 2016). While the practice of Jumuah praying, Tarawih, Idl Fitri praying, their cancellation and the postponing, even the limitaation of massive religious activities show a context of not mixturing value between the origin Islam and the culture of Arab. In practice, the changing of Tarawih and Jumuah praying into Zuhr salah at home only change the space from public to private, not change the origin value or even mix it with local culture. By them, it is right to categorize this phenomenon of social-religious activities changing as "hyper-local".

Hyper-local as terminology was firstly introduced by David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila to figure out one wine poduction which was managed by using a principle, reject the production trend thoruh saintific technology. It showed a fight form of the 21th century-people who mostly use scientific technology. In short, it is called as anti-intervensionist, however the wine was keep being marketed globally

(Inglis & Almila, 2019). From here, there are three points could be noticed related to hyper-local; first, the anti-intervensionist; second, the fight for common sense; and third, the active involvement on global market. So, at the first step of production is full locality, while at the result step it still tiuch global market. On this level, there is a perspective place Covid-19 as a result of global conspiracy, exist by design and not a natural disease, also part of trade war, all of those can be relevant (Wast, 2020), although it needs further and deeper study.

Back to the core problem, the changing of Jumuah praying and trawih at home is not again being an intervension from authorities whatsoever because every individual has freedom to decide how many rakaah, what surah to read, how many verses to pick, the speed to do too on every salah. In other word, the limitation is only different form of intervansionist-relation-cutting which exist when Tarawih is done jamaah at mosque. Not only them, the solidity of muslims also likely break out, disfunction, because mosque is part of medium of interaction cannot be used so far. However, home as private space in this context (interaction strengthen and jamaah solidity) cannot replace the function of moque as public space. How could it can be said, many individuals cannot ignore the regulations from government and those religious authorities. The stakeholders should do it by seeing the benefit, make their people stay away from a big mudharat. It is their role to make people safe and they do follow the task and function well. MUI as the example, has issued a guideline on doing tawarih at home, complete with Witir, short surah to read, and Kamilin *du'a* (Maulidiya, 2020). Not only MUI, but also Muhammadiyah made guideline for their people to pray at home (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2020). Even many websites affiliated with NU told a history about doing Tarawih at home (Kurniawan, 2020). All of them were creating a control network to their jamaah for being on the track in authorities' intervension while from jamaah or ummat's perspective, it would be a challenge to understand their personal quality on their private spaces with an exact standard. Seeing of all those, Hyper Locality Islam along Covid-19 pandemic can be a sample as a large scale limitation of public spaces, the shift of social-religious activities from public to private, the

unexisting of direct intervention from stakeholders to constituent, the opportunity of individual to free from intervention, and a break time for individuals too to measure their individual quality according to general standard has been given as a consensus in stakeholders' perspective.

In one side, the worship (*'ibadah*) with hyper local as mentioned becomes a quality measurement of individual in religious practice. Means that a personal's obedience in practicing Islam fully depends on themselves, but at the same time, hyper local reduce individual's spirit and the religion *syi'ar* (value spreading) because the nuance through jamaah at the mosque has been disappeared. Psychologically, the situation could reduce personal *ghirah* or enthusiasm-spirit. This big homework should be recovered by stakeholders after the pandemic is over.

The using of term of Hyper-Locality-Islam on this research is so much different with Local Islam. On the case of worship like Jum'ah praying and Tarawih along Covid-19 pandemic, has no different with activities before pandemic. There is no difference on *the rukun salah* (salah step, requirements and guideline). The different thing is only on the shift from public to private space so that cannot be called as Local Islam. For the Local Islam itself, it is mentioned by Edi Susanto that it is an Islamic practice which has been translated (transformed) into local society values (Susanto, 2016). Based on it, this paper used Private Islam as its term to explain muslims' understanding di many regions (local) in doing individual or communal worship.

The Resistance of Privatisation of Public Rites

Small groups who are being resist to fight with their own power come up. This because policies and fatwas intervention also physical-social distancing pressure. The groups of anti-social distancing, anti-physical-distancing, and "anti-to-receive-stakeholders' policy" meets its own phenomena with their rational reasons behind their movement. At least, there are two reasons. The first reason is religious thing. In Pakistan for example, people reject the closing of mosques due to religious tendency. Muneeb-bur-Rehman, an ulama, he was on the

meeting to refuse and he said that it was not possible to close mosque in Islamic country whatever the reason. And later, government allowed thousands of people of Sunni to continue Tabligh Jamaat in Punjab Province. The resistance was not only coming from ulama, but also civil society. There was Muhammad Ashraf, a store owner in Islamabad, who said, “ I do pray salah on Jumuah, more than 300 people attend it and that is like usual Jumuah praying.” (Permana, 2020).

Many resistances also happened in Indonesia. Still with religious reason to refuse privatisation of religious activities. This happened to Ustad Abdul Somad who questioned why mosques should be closed while mall were not (Dimedjo, 2020). Ulama do any resistance while his followers react stronger by taking many posters or publications down at the mosques. Those posters are containing informations to prohibit salah jamaah in mosque, the case happened in Masjid Raya Bandung for instance (Yusuf, 2020).

The second reason of resistance is economic. For example, many traders in *Pusat Niaga Palopo* (Palopo Shopping Centre) were begging to do daily trading while pandemic was getting worst because they needed money to fulfill daily life, primary needs such as foods (Chaeruddin, 2020). In a further case, this reason is logic for especially informal workers who have to work daily with only daily income possibility. According to *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS) / the Central Bureau of Statistics, there are 126.51 million Indonesian with above 15 years old aged. From those numbers, there are 70.49 million people as informal workers, higher number than formal workers with 56.02 million in total (Jayani, 2020). In a wider context, there are about 4.6 million of people protest to President Jokowi's decision who bans *mudik* (going to origin city/villages/*kampong*), they beg to keep doing *mudik* as well as usual. President Jokowi also published the data who were disagree with his decision too. He said, “ *From survey conducted by Ministry of Transportation, it is found that 68 % are not doing mudik, 24% are keep stance to do, while 7 % have done mudik. It means that there are still a big number (ed-to concern), that 24%.*” (DetikNews, 2020). If the policy affects to economic sector lasts for long time, it

could be a more serious crisis to happen, but surely it is not what all people hope. This kind of insisting is part of social-religious resistance category. *Mudik* has been part of ritual-cultural activity which connect to religious activity tightly, that is Idul Fitri. Changing *mudik* outside Syawwal month will omit the meaning and its momentum, and that is not a simple matter. The reasons are so logical since changing something that has been rooted as a culture is difficult. Today, the government face not only complexity of social matter, but also economic and religiosity. By them, a right decision should be made to hush the resistance.

Wrap the head around something, the resistance also punch the religious stakeholders. Although it is not so massive, it literally happened, and what so called as diversity problem. One of them happened in Ujung Bulu Village, Ujung District, Parepare City, South Sulawesi. People there insisted to enter Al-Manar Mosque and disobey the government's regulation to do tarawih at home, some of them were jumping to the fence only for having tarawih together inside the mosque (Gunadha & Intan, 2020).

The resistancy towards government policies and religious authorities is not individual-personal case, but a social case although it happens in limited scale in some places, locations and regions. Thus, it can be classified into an insisting movement phenomenon. Not only happened to two mosques, but also hundreds. City Mayor of Makassar, Iqbal Suhaeb said that received data were differently appear and showed hundreds in number. As an institution which has strength and power, The Government of Makassar did a "counter attack" by coordinating police on PSBB disobeyers, but people had much more strategies to face it by turning off mosque lamps (Santoso, 2020). If the government element had reacted to the disobeyers, religion leaders also had. When people hardly to keep doing tawarikh jamaah, a main leader of Muhammadiyah like Haedar Nashir criticized it by saying, "*It should be muslim who think and act by considering widely, mostly when urgent situation.*" (Nurita, 2020)

When government protester used economic as the reason, people who keep protesting to religious bodies or authorities also use religious

reason like what happened with Sayuti, one of jamaahs in Al-Barakah Mosque, Lontar Atas Street, Kebon Kacang Village, Tanah Abang District, DKI Jakarta. He said that he will do tarawih together with no physical-social-distancing practice because he felt safe, fully sure, "There are still internal only to meet during this PSBB. So we do jamaah as usual, only us the citizen in here, we never go outside area, Insha Allah it is safe" (Affan, 2020). This kind of resistance is only can be understood as manifestation of localised religious belief till the most individual point of individual, the most private, and someday will produce a reflection upon each person through dialectics of space and into a wider scale. It is discussed too in detail by Henri Lefebvre as cited by Rob Shields (Shields, 1999).

As government suggested to do large scale limitation that involved many people, followed by religion leaders by issuing fatwas, together praying can be done at home, in the same time however it effected to society or social individuals to have full authority to understand religion or political policy according to their context, inside different interests of their own too. The authorities given by government and religion leaders are taken over and being functioned by individual to fight for.

The Distortion of Islam Universality

Any shift from public space to private space for social-religious activities is a form of distortion upon Universal Islam's value. On the opposite, the resistance whether from aforementioned economic or religious reasons takes role as part of making the universal value exist. Like what arose in Pakistan, people who did protests not only because of salah is a religion calling, but the fact that Pakistan is an Islamic country which means the understanding of politic-geographic-ideology met its symbiosis, that Islam should be maintained in the context of Islamic country (Permana, 2020).

Indonesia is not an Islamic country, it has Pancasila as national principle, the logic of Pakistani cannot be accepted by majority ulamas here, but the resistance of Ustad Abdul Somad was a proof that the

Pakistani ulama's logic can be still understood inside Indonesian context (radarbandung, 2020).

Regardless of right or wrong, what Ustad Abdul Somad and ulama in Pakistan have showed a reflection of resistancy on mainstream. When this mainstream tried to create a private space as the changing of public space and shift the activities into more private, some of them were stand still. Therefore, privatisation or localisation of social-religious from public space to private one seems cut off the universality of Islam, though it can be debated discourse. For Abdulla Ahmed An-Na'im, this is a dilemma of Islam when it should face human right discourses (An-Na'im, 2016). He saw that cultural legitimation as the source of dilemma in front of human right since taking back to the samples, ulama in Pakistan and UAS and all of their followers were also human who had their own right, on some cases, should be respected at least by religion leaders although might be it was wrong in front of government. They were sound of a right to practice religious activities according their belief and state also religion leaders must facilitate them. In the other word, hold the universality of Islam has the same meaning with keep the principle on majority idea and political ideas from the state.

Through this research, it is hoped that any signalled distortion on Islam due to prohibition and limitation of praying activities is not going too far seriously affect to the quality of diversity. Let's take note that once the policies of those prohibitions are managed wisely and being followed by a right manner, it could be a process of enlightenment to muslims. It is mentioned in Islam that there is always a hikmah behind every event? Covid-19 pandemic is a phenomenon in this modern century to make people grow up and to increase the quality of diversity among society.

Conclusion

Local Islam is not only on its reawakening phase, but it finds its more extreme form, the hyper-local. It is a religious practice that gives authority to its doer to interpret into their very personal space. Individual and private. Inside those personal and private spaces,

intervention from authorised institutions are not to happen anymore, there even every person or individual has a full right to decide, to choose, even to insist.

That such of Hyper Local since Covid-19 pandemic has changed the social-religious order in every country with majority of muslims (whether Syiah or Sunni), like Saudi Arabia, Iran and Egypt. Indonesia, though it is not an Islamic country, but it has majority number of muslims in the world, has the same case. The experience are the same, where a shift of social-religious activities from public to private happened. In the context of Indonesia, the experience in facing Covid-19 explained and showed a finding its dynamic, the personal-private of social-religious muslim society.

For the minority people who did resistance, although they did not affect too much to the majority, this group should be maintained. The samples in Pakistan and Indonesia had given line of a same experience where this such of group was exist. They strongly wanted to keep public spaces and whatever activities inside them to be run. All of those diverse behaviour of social-religious could happen because of Covid-19, here that the paper is written to find a light. It could be possible in the future, there is a changing of behaviour differently. It takes only time to prove.

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