

THE RATIONAL ACTION OF ELITE: MITIGATION THE COVID-19 AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE IN PESANTREN SALAFIYAH SYAFI'YAH SITUBONDO

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ABSTRACT

The role of religious elite has legitimation as the highest symbolic representation of religious authorities in society especially on Islamic boarding school area. In this digital era where the public space widely open, there is a tendency related to the transformation of religion thinking paradigm, culture and tradition which is becoming interesting discussion. As result, there is a trend of dualism that is accommodative and resistance society. In different interpretation context, religion is no longer elitist, absolute, and contestation. This paper aims at analysing the society resistance and the role of religion elite to anticipate the spread of Covid-19 in Islamic boarding school. Based on the result of interview, observation, and data analysis of descriptive qualitative research, it revealed: First, there is community anachronism paradigm to religion and culture, emergence of society resistance to rules which have been determined by the government. Second, the role of religion elite and religion fatwa has been succeeded to apply in Islamic boarding school area and people who have patron and client relationship. The spreading of information is very effective through social media. Third, the government policy related to the restriction of community activities and socialization of religion elite fatwa are not quite effective to decrease the society resistance. This paper suggested it is necessary to have synergy between religion elite and government, so that it can increase the community rationality to the religion and culture understanding and it is not stuck on orthodox thinking in this Covid -19 pandemic.

Keywords: Elite Power; Public Resistance; Fatwa; Kyai; Pesantren

INTRODUCTION

The public resistance and community anachronism during Covid-19 pandemic is caused by two factors, structural and cultural factor. Cultural factor included low community obedience to practise health protocol, and the effort to resist the rules. Meanwhile, the structural factor is the government as it is not ready to respond the spread of Covid-19. Consequently, the role of religious elite is crucial as an effort to mitigate the spread of covid-19 in Islamic Boarding School and society (Barmania and Reiss 2021). This covid-19 virus globally attacks 225 countries around the world, confirmed 244.897.472, dead , 4.970.435

Meanwhile, based on October 28th 2021 data, 4.242.532 Indonesian was infected by Covid-19, recovered 4.086.759 and dead 143.333 (Satuan Tugas Penanganan COVID-19 2021). Thus, it is expected that the above data can increase public awareness, so that the public resistance decrease by obeying all of rules such as wearing mask, keeping the social distancing, avoid the crowd, washing hand and receive vaccination.

Nowadays, the existed literature tends to discuss the following things: First, the role of religion elite to cut off the spread of Covid-19 in community. Second, increasing the value of objectivity rationality to reality occurred in the

environment, and ability to think flexible. Third, the tragedy of Covid-19 pandemic forces religion elite to adapt with new environment by utilizing the internet media to do dakwah (Islamic preaching) and giving fatwa (Islamic law). As result, it can decrease direct meeting intensity with large number of people. Consequently, a half of religion elite conducts online meeting and limit the quantity of direct meeting (Algahtani et al. 2021; Cover 2021; Mahmood et al. 2021; Subakhi Kusuma Dewi 2020). There is limitation on the existed literature that there are no research discussing public resistance to the government policy and the role of kyai as religion figure and community to cut off the spread of Covid-19 in Islamic Boarding School.

This research is aimed to analyse the counterproductive behaviour of Indonesian community during Covid-19 pandemic. Along with it, there are three questions answered in this research (1) How does the community's anachronism to religion and culture emerge from the community's resistance to rules determined by the government? (2) What are the factors obtained from the roles of the religious elite and religion fatwa that succeeded in being applied in Islamic Boarding School areas and people with a patron-client relationship? The spreading of information is very effective through social media (3) How is the implication of government policy about the restriction of community activities and socialization of religious elite fatwa perceived as less effective in decreasing the public resistance.

This research is arranged based on the fundamental assumption: first, there is a subjectivity paradigm in traditional thought which is strongly adhere the existed tradition, so that it causes a new problem in encountering the phenomena occurred during Covid-19 pandemic. Second, the effort to adapt with current development, a half of Islamic scholars is adapted by increasing the technical ability that

is giving fatwa and do dakwah through internet. It like what has been displayed on social media such as Instagram, Facebook, live streaming, YouTube, etc. Third, the role of kyai as religion figure to be role model for the community like doing vaccination, and practising health protocol.

Literature Review

The Relationship between Religion and Elite Power

Literature examines the role of religious elites in many sectors. Religious elites in *pesantren* have a powerful influence and role in society. First, the role of religious leaders helps break the chain of transmission of Covid-19 in the community; secondly, the increasing values of the rationality of objectivity to the reality that occurs in the environment and able to think about flexibility, while the third is the disaster of the Covid-19 pandemic forcing religious elites to be able to adapt to the new environment by utilizing internet media to preach and give fatwas, to reduce the intensity of direct meetings with pilgrims, which is a large number so that some religious elites hold online meetings and limit the quantity of in-person meetings (Algahtani et al. 2021; Cover 2021; Mahmood et al. 2021; Subakhi Kusuma Dewi 2020)

Religion and elite power have a very dynamic relationship. Sometimes both positively impact each other, but they can also negatively impact and cause conflicts in the presidential election, regional heads, and legislative elections. As in Ghana found, a relationship between religious states, as the political elite invited religious leaders to invest in prayer and enforce precautions to address the virus's damaging effects. More importantly, this paper looks at the future of state-religious relations and the future of religious freedom in Ghana (Prempeh 2021)

Furthermore, Ajid Thohir studied the

Struggle of Freemasonry and the Islamic Ideology of the XX Century During Colonization in Indonesia. Freemasonry carries a secular ideology that rejects all forms of religious intervention in human life (Thohir et al. 2021). Therefore, their criticism is directed at religions, especially Islam, the largest religion in Java (Sisler 2011). The secular ideology infiltrated by the indigenous elite made Freemasonry against Islamic movements, such as the Islamic Company, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Persis, Al-Irsyad, etc., which rose against Western colonialism and colonialism.

The Dutch Colonial Government used Freemasonry and the indigenous elite, who joined forces to confront this Islamic movement and resolve ideological conflicts. Freemasonry seeks to collide Javanese culture with Arab (Islamic) culture and separate indigenous elites from religious groups that endanger colonialism. These interests intersect with Freemasonry's goal of spreading extreme views toward traditional religious formulations, rejecting various forms of religious fanaticism, and countering dogma (beliefs). The indoctrination of Freemasonry's teachings, such as liberalism and secularism, is carried out massively through lectures, discussions, member meetings, social activities, and mass media. These shared interests led to a mutually beneficial relationship between colonial practice and Freemasonry's role in confronting religious movements against colonialism (Razafindrakoto, Roubaud, and Rua 2021).

Public Resistance

Resistance or refusal is to protest an inappropriate change that occurs. This kind of resistance is a weak action against the above-strong rulers and people in business. (Dalsheim 2013; García 2021). The relationship between the weak and the strong is an unbalanced power relationship, so the weaker parties in the lower structure are trying to balance the relationship

with the resistance not to be oppressed. According to Barbosa's definition (Barbosa and Coates 2021), resistance is all actions by lower-class society aimed at softening or rejecting the demands imposed on that class by the upper classes or making their opposition demands. According to Scott, popular resistance can be divided into two categories (Armitage et al. 2021): resistance caused by direct causes and resistance caused by indirect causes. Community resistance is a direct result of oppression, threats, pressures, coercion, government, capital owners, or vice versa. Indirect resistance through covert resistance (Toro-Alzate, Hofstraat, and de Vries 2021).

There is also the case of public resistance to government policies during the Covid-19 pandemic. The outbreak of Covid-19 (Betsch, Wieler, and Habersaat 2020; Hafner and Sun 2021) has impacted the emergence of a multidimensional crisis over working-class life in Indonesia. Not to mention receding the problem of layoffs due to the economic crisis experienced before the presence of Covid-19. The wave of mass layoffs has jumped significantly due to stagnant global and national economic activities amid the pandemic. The increasing unemployment rate is likely to cause social turmoil in the community if this situation lasts a long time (Hafner and Sun 2021).

Religious Fatwa

Fatwa is a term for opinions or interpretations on issues related to Islamic law (Bourchier 2019; Sumbulah 2015). *Fatwa* itself means "suggestion", "suggestion", "answer" or "opinion" in Arabic. That is an official decision or recommendation by a body or individual recognized by its authority, given by a *mufti* or sheikh in response to or answering questions posed by a person without attachment. Therefore, the person requesting the fatwa should not submit

to the fatwa's content or the law (Rusli 2021). This fatwa was issued by the *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI), in religious life in Indonesia, as a decision on the *ijtihadiah* issue that occurred in Indonesia as a guideline for Muslim worship in Indonesia (Gade n.d.; Olsson 2014). According to Syafiq, fatwas from the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) in influencing the construction of democracy have fluctuated since its establishment in 1975 (Hasyim 2020). During the Suharto regime, characterized by the authoritarian national leadership, *MUI fatwas* tended to serve the people's interests. Regime since the reform era they have stimulated an undemocratic state of Indonesian Islam. This article examines the *MUI fatwa* and its effect on democracy in the context of Indonesian Islam. Fatwas can increase or worsen the implementation of democracy.

Fatwas can hinder democracy if its content is not in line with democratic principles, while fatwas can support the development of democracy if the content promotes democracy. The rise of conservatism in Indonesia is influenced by fatwas' issuance that does not promote democratic values. In addition to examining the role of fatwa givers and the methodology of issuing fatwas, the study also analyses the social and political situation that encourages the issuance of fatwas. It was concluded that a democratic state could be achieved by opening space for the issuance of fatwas among other *fatwa* institutions in Indonesia since the monopoly on issuing fatwas had created an undemocratic tendency in Indonesian Islam. In the case of the dissolution of Ahmadiyya, the MUI fatwa became theological justification and ideological persuasion for the attack (Burhani 2021), as well as the role of vigilante groups in carrying out fatwas against what they consider heretical groups (Caeiro 2010). Fatwas from the MUI have become "ideological inducements" against Ahmadiyah

and make violent attacks on such communities theologically justifiable (Alexandre Caero 2011; Sisler 2011).

Pondok Pesantren

The term *pondok pesantren* is a combination of two words, namely the word "*pondok*" and the word "*pesantren*." The word *pondok* itself is taken from the Arabic, *funduq*, which means hotel or inn. And the word "*pesantren*" itself comes from the word *santri*, which has the prefix *pe* and suffix (Chalik 2016). The word *santri* itself comes from the word *shastri*, which is taken from Sanskrit and means: one who knows the scriptures. *Pesantren* is one of Indonesia's original cultural forms and the oldest educational type. (Murtadlo 2019), which serves as a clerical institution, a place to study religion and develop science, and a place of community service (Azizah 2013). The implementation of *pesantren* educational institutions in the form of dormitories is led directly by *pesantren* caregivers. In carrying out their duties, *pesantren* caregivers are assisted by the ranks of *pesantren* administrators selected to be included in the structure of *pesantren* officials, assisted by several *ustadz*, *ustadzah*, teachers and staff of educational institutions. Both general-formal and diniyah-non-formal education (Said et al. 2020). The centre of religious activities is centered in the mosque of each dormitory (Syafe'i 2017).

In addition, school buildings or study rooms as centres for teaching and learning activities, as well as cottages as *santri* (Fahham 2020). For 24 hours, from time to time, they live collectively between *kyai*, *ustadz*, *santri*, and other boarding school caregivers as one big family (Veradella anugrah, Yesinta, machfud fauzi 2019). The community strongly feels the work of *pesantren* in various ways. A prime example is the formation of clerical cadres and the development of Islamic science, which are protest movements against the

colonial government of the Dutch East Indies. These protests are always driven from and by students. At least it can be mentioned for example; Peasant uprising in Cilegon-Banten 1888 (Syafe'i 2017). Jihad Aceh 1873 (Said et al. 2020), and others are indisputable that *pesantren* has a considerable role in Islamic history in Indonesia ((Pribadi 2018; Syafe'i 2017)).

From the current literature study, there are limited studies that specifically examine how public resistance to government policies and how the role of kyai as religious figures together with the community can help break the chain of transmission of Covid-19 in *pesantren* and the community.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study uses Anthony Giddens theory of "structuration". The theory of structure theory that assesses the structure of this society does not eliminate elements from the perspective of existing theories. Furthermore, this theory explains if society or individuals have the right to determine what is desired without being bound by the existing system. Not only that but systems and individuals also influence each other. This is because systems and individuals are seen as different things. This leads to duality. Structuration is also referred to as a social activity that crosses time and space due to the duality of structure (Sovacool and Brisbois 2019; Warczok and Beyer 2021).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used qualitative research, phenomenology perspective (Tjipto Subadi 2006). Qualitative research is research aimed to find out and comprehend all of research subject experience (Ali 2017; Siswati 2018). Technique of data collections are in-depth interview, observation, and analysing so that accurate data is

collected. In this research, there is a phenomenon of public acronyms during Covid-19 pandemic, but some of them is accommodative society, the people who can think flexible and logic, able to adapt with updated condition. Consequently, the transformation of community behaviour emerges new habitus.

The research is conducted in Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo, KHR. Azaim Ibrahimy as the educator of Islamic Boarding School. He is the fourth educator and founder of Majelis Dzikir Basmalah dan Jamiiyah Shalawat Bhenning focused in both offline and online dakwah which is shared through social media such as YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, S3TV.

Technique of data collection was using primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly from deep interview between researcher and research subject, meanwhile secondary data is gotten from the collection of supporting data to enrich the research finding

In this research, data analysis method utilized information analysis a structuration approach introduced by Anthony Giddens. This approach conceptualizes concepts of actions, structures, and systems that begin by viewing ongoing social practices as the most crucial analytical aspect. Giddens states that social practices should be understood as conformity between speech and action or significance and action. Giddens's structure focuses its attention on the interdependence between structure and action. It is a means for action, but at the same time, structures can only be produced in and through action. Giddens referred to it as the duality of structure. And using data display Miles and Huberman (Miles, Matthew B 1994). Miles and Huberman analysis model is interactive analysis proses in form of cycle, so that it can reveal the fact. If it is the activity of qualitative information

analysis, it is often attempted interactively, directly, sustainable until it perfectly done. This analysis method is consisted of three elements; information reduction, information display, deduce and conclusion test (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Anachronism The Effect of Public Scepticism to Government

The anachronism is placement of phenomenon, setting, figure, or dialogue which is not suitable with place and time. Joyce Dalsheim writes an articles related to anachronism in Israel and Palestine (Dalsheim 2013). Dalsheim stated that anachronism is able to disrupt the thought about social justice, peace, and human freedom. In the case of Israel and Palestine, the thought of anachronism is collected on liberals, progressive, radical theorist and activist who is seeking for peace and social justice expressing hostility to the settlement motivated by religion and their settlement project. One of the ways to differentiate them with the settlers is telling them that this settlement act is owned in the past. Palestine is understood as the party who is trapped in oppressive system of colonialism, which is owned in the past, prevent them to move forward. Both of this anachronism perception restricts the thinking way about human freedom and peace. This article highlighted the puzzles about who and what which is owned in the past, and how are thinking about that term can contribute to the collective production of certain moral and hostility production.

Huebner, Daniel R was also studied about Anachronism in sociologist perspective (Huebner 2021). This paper gives new perspective about the questions of "anachronism" with assistance of historiography and pragmatism. History creates new cases about how present time is experienced

as several temporalities, how definition of anachronism is depended on dynamic of body identification with other historical, and how this definition can be a provocative hermeneutic strategy than prevented topic. Pragmatists demonstrated how anachronism emerge as surprise placed socially and manifested in encountering certain thing from the past and present time, and how this surprise can encourage analysis to the past utilizing critical analysis of researchers as a source in sociological research. This paper is an attempt to construct pragmatic, contextual tools to strengthen the accuracy of the research against specific historical events and ethical projects and the implementation of democratic, inclusive politics (García 2021; Nancy Armstrong 2020; Ramizi 2020).

Lot of public resistance is caused by community social restriction applied by the government. Public resistance is emerged after policy determined by government. Public resistance can be seen as resistance action to injustice and public dissatisfaction to government. There are factors influencing anachronism action during pandemic those are :

1. When it was founded the first Covid-19 cases in Indonesia, public has begun to perceive invalid information between data presented by government and real fact. As result, the community confused and emerge community distrust, consequently public confused and the worst thing are lots of hoax information which make them more panic;
2. Less of coordination between central government and district government. It is seemed that the policy run by itself, even the ironic thing is the policy applied in district area is not synchronous with central government, so that it causes complicated issue in community.
3. Public resistance is occurred because they

imitate the official behaviour which is not obeying social restriction policy. For instance, the official who held wedding reception, even though people are banned to do religion activities in worship place, market is opened but masque is not allowed to open. It makes people against the government.

4. Public resistance is occurred because the relationship of government and figure or organization partisan Non government.
5. There is no clear punishment in the form of rules, law or formal decision letter, but there is informal punishment that is social punishment around the society.
6. Central government must persuade the society to directly involve so that civic engagement is created in order to increase community trust. The construction of social trust will make central and district government trusted so that civic engagement needs to be fixed. Social trust has positive effect to the increasing of public participation. It is expected government put forward data transparency, accountable and guarantee the freedom to opine, ensure justice in diversity. The main key is only community trust to government. (Sources: CSIS Indonesia (Vidhyandika D. Perkasa 2020)).

It is frequently happened the policy delegitimization, such as government determined policy to ban the worship in worship place, such as pray in the mosque, church for Christian, temple during social restriction at Covid-19 pandemic but there is still community resistance such as the prohibition to open mosque due to health protocol and prevent the spread of Covid-19 virus. Government is interpreted as party who discredit certain religion.

It is occurred in all of areas, including, the refusal of mosque closing and forcibly take the

Covid-19 remain by society. The enforcement of community activity restriction is applied to anticipate the spread of Covid-19. One of government policy is the closing of worship place such masque,

church, *wihara*, *pura* (temple) and other public places. For Muslim, the closing of mosque and the prohibition of worship activity which is one of discrimination form and effort to hurt Muslim feeling, government who rules the present time is considered as resist Islam regime. Pro and contra emerge, because there is inconsistency of government policy, where there is rule that the mosque is closed but the shopping centre is opened with the limitation of operational hours. This government policy makes the public trust dismissed.

Table 1. Public Resistance during Covid-19 Pandemic

No	The form of action	Channel link	Note
1	The refusal to close mosque	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d62gwFEHjKk	Done by the young man of Mangaran District
2	Forcibly take Covid-19 remains	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWar5k3auqw	In Karang Malang, Panji Kidul Village, Panji District, Situbondo Regency

Source: data is processed by researcher, 2021

Like what did happen in Santri Town, Situbondo, community rejected government rules to close mosque. It clearly shows on the video which is made by people named themselves as mosque youth with total, they claimed that mosque do not contribute to the increasing of covid patient number, so that they reject if the mosque is closed. It clearly stated on video.

....."We are Muslim of Mangaran District Situbondo Regency declare that we reject and against

the letter of regional secretary Situbondo regency on July 2nd 2021, especially point 4 stated the closing of mosque. If regional secretary Situbondo regency still closes the mosque, we are ready for war..."

In that action, it clearly shows public resistance during Covid-19 pandemic, refusal to close mosque and the effort to forcibly take Covid-19 remains. The public counter actions are backgrounded by government policy, so that it makes society thinking paradigm split. There is accommodative community, which able to think logic and realistic according to present condition, but there are orthodox people who think traditional which tend to be rigid and less flexible, in general community persistent to keep the tradition, it is called anachronism group. The best solution is the involvement of religion figure in overcoming Covid-19 pandemic by government, such as community organization like Association of Muslim Scholars, Muhammadiyah, Council of Religious Scholars, Indonesia Mosque Council, etc. As result, it is able to calm public resistance and able to make peaceful atmosphere in society.

Table 2. The Factor Causing the Increasing of Covid-19 Spread

No	Structural	Cultural
1	Government is not ready to respond the spread of Covid-19	Low community compliance in practising health protocol.
2	Government inconsistency in rules enforcement	Pattern and behaviour of community religious group
3	Muslim prohibition to pray in mosque, but open mall and supermarket.	Problem of "Anachronism" that is religion and culture thinking paradigm which is not suitable with reality because ignoring rationality and empirical proven.

4	Prohibition to back to the hometown, gather, and prohibition to held wedding reception, but there is no restriction for foreigner who come to Indonesia like Chinese, India etc.	Public anachronism from sociological perspective is consequences dynamic of religion ritual keeping tradition considered the most correct (orthodox)
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sources: data is processed by researcher, August 2021

The Role of Religion Elite in Islamic Boarding School during Pandemic

The role of religion elite and fatwa is succussed to be applied in Islamic Boarding School area and community who has patron client relationship. The spreading of information is rapid and effective through social media. The crucial role of *kyai* (the honorary degree given to the Islamic expert who teach at Islamic boarding school) as religion elite in Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo is also done mitigation to spread of Covid-19 by instruct all of *santri* (the students of Islamic boarding school) the administrator of Islamic Boarding School, the family of Islamic Boarding School and community to come closer to Allah SWT and command them to recite prayer to reject misfortune. Additionally, Islamic Boarding School limits meeting with the students' parents. In order to participate in preventing the spread of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19), after analysing various aspects, the following is the policy of *Pesantren* Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo. To affirm the instruction, it stated in following notice letter:

1. Restrict permission of parent visit to Islamic boarding school with various necessities since March 18th -31st 2020 (14 days),
2. Limit students' activities outside of boarding school and boarding school activities that will invite speaker from the outside for temporary,

3. Education and teaching activity involving educator from outside of Sukorejo in form of face-to-face meeting will be changed into assignment etc,
4. Require students and the family of Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo to do *bâthiniyah* especially since March 18th – 30th 2020 both through education institution, and dorm or etc,
5. Recite al-Qur'an or book titled *Riyâdhus Shâlihîn* using *hataman* system,
6. Recite *Rawâtib al-Haddâd*, recite prayer as attached on attachment,
7. Students who have finished the task outside boarding school or who will come to boarding school must do check-up in Clinic Idaman As'adiyah Pondok Pesantren,
8. Students and family of Islamic boarding school must keep health life culture, exercise, and follow the instruction regulated by health council,
9. Education and teaching activity in Islamic boarding school follow the instruction as regulated in standard operating procedures and protocol in each field,
10. Things related to development and mitigation the spread of Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) in boarding school will be updated,
11. If there is something unclear, contact public relation on behalf of Mr. Samsul A. Hasan 081336262720. (Sources: Public Relation of Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo, September 2021).

Since notice letter is applied, the administrator of Islamic boarding school apologized for the inconvenience because it must be adapted with present condition, as effort of Islamic boarding school family to prevent from covid-19 virus. It is suitable with what has been

stated by Samsul Hasan as public relation of Islamic boarding school:

..... yeah, it is true that boarding school has instruction to apply strict rule in Islamic boarding school because all of this for health and our safety. Remaining, the number of our students is very large. Alhamdulillah until this moment, all of students, both boy and girl, are health and safe. Even though the access from the outside is closed, all of students need is fulfilled.

The Strategic Function of Religious Elite Fatwa in Islamic Boarding School

In context of Fatwa or information delivered by religion elite or kyai, the educator of Islamic boarding school, becomes a fundamental recommendation for all of students, administrator of Islamic boarding school, the educator (ustadz, teacher and lecturer) and the community of Islamic boarding school in general. Like fatwa delivered by Kyai Azaim as the educator of boarding school which is widely shared through various social media like YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, even shared through live streaming in tv station owned by boarding school Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Televisi (S3TV).

The function of the fatwa Kyai Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo to mitigate Covid-19 is a fundamental recommendation for all students, umana, and communities in the pesantren environment. Tightening is carried out in and out routes for all students. There are terms of steel jamaat and worship jamaat. It is temporarily suspending the implementation of community social, religious rituals such as virtual tahlilan, gulping the sick, and takziah for people who died due to covid—prohibition of exiting the 5 km radius zone for all umana', pesantren administrators. Santri is a student in a pesantren location with strict and sterile guards from the surrounding community environment. For officers on duty in and out of pesantren, it is mandatory to do an antigen swab and show a

vaccination letter. During the implementation of lockdown, routine study activities are carried out directly by pesantren caregivers for students who live. At the same time, the general education learning process is carried out online. Social Restriction in Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah Syafi'iyah consist of :

1. Restriction is done in entrance and exit path for all of students there is term BAJA (*Balik Berjamaah*) and PUJA (*Pulang Berjamaah*),
2. The implementation of community religious social ritual like *tahlilan* virtual, visiting patient, *takziah* for people who died cause of covid is temporary closed,
3. Prohibition to go out radius zone 5 km for all of *umana'*, the administrator of Islamic boarding school,
4. Students is stayed in boarding school area with strict and sterile supervision from around community environment,
5. For officer who is required to be in and out boarding school, they must do swab antigen and evidence vaccination letter,
6. During lockdown is applied, students who stayed in boarding school will have routine Islamic teaching which is directly led by educator of Islamic boarding school. (Source: public relation of Islamic boarding school Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo, 2021).

Effectiveness of Religious Elite *Da'wah*

The definition of fatwa is law opinion stated by the expert of Islamic law about certain issue. Fatwa has strong contribution to Islamic law and big role in Muslim daily life (Alexandre Caero 2011; Caeiro 2010). Research about fatwa in Australia is also done by Ann Black & Nadirsyah Hosen (Black and Hosen 2009), there is confusion and misunderstanding related to 'fatwa'. It is related to the meaning and roles fulfilled fatwa for Muslim,

both in Australia and in other part of the world. It is found in his research that, first by revealing fatwa through exploration of place owned by Islamic law, and second by identifying methodology used by the law expert in ifta (giving fatwa), which is possible for Islamic law to be responsive to new development and contemporary challenges. Remaining the development of technology, economy, medical and Muslim migration pattern to secular community, this paper thinks the need of fatwa is actually increased because Muslim try to accommodate Islam requirement in new environment. This paper survey the sources of Islam authority in Australia, it concluded that the process of collective *ijtihad* (independent law reasoning) is the most suitable with diversity which is specific characteristic of Islam in Australia. However, it is emphasized that it will not decrease the priority of Australia law because fatwa give guideline to Australian Muslim in private life, individual and personal

Regarding to Indonesia, government rules about restriction of community activities and socialization through fatwa, *tausiyah* of religious elite during Covid-19 pandemic like the following thing.

Table. 3 Various *Fatwas* Related to The Covid-19 Pandemic

Fatwas	Concern
MUI Fatwas No. 14 of 2020	Organizing Worship in the Situation of the Covid-19 Outbreak
Tausiyah MUI July 2, 2021	Related to the implementation of worship and Eid al-Adha during the Emergency PPKM period
Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. SE 16 of 2021	Technical Instructions for The Implementation of <i>Takbiran</i> Night, Eid Al-Adha Prayer, and Implementation of The Sacrifice in 1442 H / 2021 M Outside the Area of The Implementation of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM).

Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs No. SE 17 of 2021	Temporary Elimination of Worship in Places of Worship, <i>Takbiran</i> Night, Eid Al-Adha Prayer Implementation of The Sacrifice in 1442 H / 2021 M Outside the Area of The Implementation of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM).
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Source: various sources, data processed by researchers, 2021.

The table above revealed *fatwa* which has been stated by religious elite, councils of religious scholars, and Religion ministry Republic of Indonesia is perceived less effective to prevent public resistance. As result, it needs relation between religion and country. Islamic scholar as religious elite, meanwhile umara is the ruler. Religious elite and ruler are power dualism in community. Government becomes modern rational field which must fulfil worlds need, meanwhile religion included religiosity and belief. Religious elite is frequently needed by government to meet the power holder and community, Usually, the religious elite which is closer to the ruler tends to be avoided by people, meanwhile religious elite which is closer to the community tends to be avoided by the ruler.

Anachronism Subjectivity Paradigm in Traditional Thought

Anachronism is the placement of a phenomenon, setting, figure, or dialogue that is not suitable for the place and time (Ramizi 2020). Anachronism phenomenon occurred in society is religious and culture thinking paradigm which is not suitable with reality because it is ignoring rationality and empirical proven (García 2021). Community anachronism from sociology perspective is consequence dynamic of religious ritual which keep the tradition considered the most correct (orthodox). Joyce Dalsheim writes an articles related to anachronism in Israel and Palestine (Dalsheim 2013). Dalsheim stated that anachronism is able to disrupt the thought about

social justice, peace, and human freedom. In the case of Israel and Palestine, the thought of anachronism is collected on liberals, progressive, radical theorist and activist who is seeking for peace and social justice expressing hostility to the settlement motivated by religion and their settlement project. One of the ways to differentiate them with the settlers is suggesting that this settlement act is owned in the past. Palestine is understood as the party who is trapped in oppressive system of colonialism, which is owned in the past, prevent them to move forward. Both of this anachronism perception restricts our way to think about human freedom and peace This article highlighted the puzzles about who and what which is owned in the past, and how are thinking about that term is able to contribute to the collective production of certain moral and hostility production (García 2021; Zienkowski 2017).

Huebner, Daniel R was also studied about Anachronism in sociologist perspective. (Huebner 2021). This paper gives new perspective about the questions of "anachronism" with assistance of historiography and pragmatism. Historio creates new cases about how present time is experienced as several temporalities, how definition of anachronism is depended on dynamic of body identification with other historical, and how this definition can be a provocative hermeneutic strategy than prevented topic. (Huebner 2021; Zienkowski and De Cleen 2021). Pragmatists demonstrated how anachronism emerge as surprise placed socially and manifested in encountering certain thing from the past and present time, and how this surprise can encourage analysis to the past utilizing commitment of researcher value as sources in sociological investigation. This paper is attempt to construct contextual tool to pragmatic hermeneutics which can strengthen research accuracy to certain historical event and ethical and political project

which is inclusive democrats to construct history which can be used (Nancy Armstrong 2020; Ramizi 2020).

Religion and Its Challenges: Mitigation of Covid-19

Among *pesantren* taught diplomas (reading special prayers) offered in the current conditions, students, and the community practice this reading to pray for the nation's safety. Even the government also broadcasts a joint prayer event and a call to strengthen each other for all people from various religious figures. This shows that there are still very many religious figures who are very concerned about the problem of the spread of this virus and always put forward the facts of science. The government also asked some scholars to convince the public to keep carrying out the call and rules of psychical distance. This collaboration produces a synergy in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic sweeping the country.

The role of religious figures can be communes for the community, and they can provide accurate information through institutions or organizations led. The presence of fatwas and information from religious figures or religious organizations can be part of efforts to provide certainty of information related to religious activities during the Covid-19 pandemic. These fatwas have become one of the suitable media for answering people's questions related to religious issues. The credibility of information and the power of fatwas can be accounted for because they are compiled through discussions by alim-ulama so that legal legitimacy is classified as credible. Religious figures became the father of his people. No exaggeration, if religious figures have a very vital role in becoming a mouthpiece of the government and health workers. Therefore, education and endorsements to religious leaders are very worthy of giving.

Although the average person underlined

is a mature age. All religious leaders ask the community to unite in prayers and hope that these trials will soon pass. They also ask their people to keep refraining from worshiping from home and not go to places of worship or perform religious rituals outside the home. Although this is very typical of religious figures, they can use religious arguments and texts to encourage people to take care of themselves and take various preventive measures against the spread of the virus. What needs to be emphasized by every community is that each has a role and responsibility in stopping the spread of Covid-19. Not only to highlight the role of one particular layer of society but as an effort to encourage maximizing the role and shoulder to shoulder in overcoming and fighting this pandemic.

The Role of Religious Elite to Overcome Covid-19

Religious elite is religious leader profile who has expertise on religion knowledge and able to find the best solution for problem existed in community (Kosim 2012), able to solve community social conflict, so that religious figure is respected and obeyed all of his opinion and advice by all of community level (Azizah, Okwesili Nkwede, and Armoyu 2021). Student of Islamic boarding school and community existed on Islamic boarding school area, religious elite is Kyai (Chalik 2016). Command or advice is written in an announcement called "notice". Usually, this notice is widely shared in students' circle and community rapidly through patron client relation (Berenschot 2018; Roniger 2015; Sekeris 2011). Various ex-students *pesantren* of Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, Situbondo East Java Indonesia, and via various social media. This pandemic issue has become the moral responsibility of the religious elite to mitigate the spread of Covid-19. We can see that some religious elite tend to take opinions that are by his

beliefs, even though his opinions are outside his organization.

This is one of the tendencies we can observe, especially in the post-truth era. For example, a small number of Muslims continue to pray in the congregation even though they know that they have tested positive for covid-19. They do not realize that covid-19 is an infectious disease. Performing prayers in congregations in conditions infected with covid-19 are very risky for other pilgrims. This is shown, among others, in the case of someone who tested positive for covid-19 but still followed the congregational prayers at the mosque (Akram, Nasar, and Rehman 2021; Barmania and Reiss 2021). Another argument put forward by conservative Muslims is that God protects places of worship, so gathering in places of worship is different from gathering in other places, let alone places like discotheques and pubs.

In this context, the position of religious elite in overcoming the spread of covid like two blades. In one side, dogma has absolute truth in religious, in other side that such off though can cause community to become careless so that it makes alertness low, then it causes Covid-19 is widely spread. Strong influence owned by religious elite in utilizing technology advancement, so that information delivered is widely shared through social media which make it rapidly accessed by communities. Consequently, community respond is also various, there is accommodative and other contradictive. People who is accommodative tend to follow the policy and regulation determined by government, meanwhile contra productive people will cause public resistance.

CONCLUSION

In general, there are two types of respond and strategic role of the religious elite; accommodative-responsive meanwhile the

second side is apathies-contradictive community considering Covid-19 pandemic as the form of human fear to the decease, meanwhile accommodative-participative group which is consisted of several religious elite which is rationally give notice to mitigate Covid-19 like obeying health protocol, wearing mask, preparing hand washing facilities, spraying disinfectant routinely in all of Islamic boarding school area. The influence of religious elite becomes main magnet for student and community in general to assist government in preventing the spread and effort to cut off Covid-19 virus is also various, all of them is based on Islamic thinking paradigm believed by each of boarding school, so that there is accommodative-conservative and there is also resistant contradiction.

Effectiveness of religion fatwa for students in boarding school or strong relation patron client, meanwhile for civil community fatwa is not effective because less socialization of government rule about community activities restriction. For half of Muslim the policy to close mosque is considered as the form of religion discrimination, so that it causes public resistance. As result, government effort to involve religious elites to give socialization about government rule, community social restriction, is necessary. Consequently, it is able to prevent the spread of Covid-19 and calm public resistance.

Based on the above finding, it is suggested to have synergy between religious elite and government. So that increasing community rationality to religious and cultural understanding is possible and it will be not stuck in the orthodox thinking during Covid-19 pandemic.

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