

ISLAMIC-BASED INSTITUTIONS DURING CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC:

A Comparative Case Study of Auckland, New Zealand and Jakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article discusses interventions by Islamic-based institutions during coronavirus pandemic in Auckland, New Zealand and Jakarta, Indonesia. The aim of this article is to compare the interventions implemented by various Islamic-based institutions both in Auckland and in Jakarta. The method consists of literature review, informal interviews, and participant observations. There are three types of Islamic-based institutions: the formal institutions with its hierarchy and leadership, the independent non-governmental communities, and the informal local communities. In Auckland, the interventions were mostly done by the independent non-governmental communities and informal local communities. Kiwi Muslims tended to seek spiritual and material help at the closest Islamic-based institutions. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the interventions were mostly implemented by formal institutions such as Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Council of Ulama) with different kinds of support from large Islamic civil society organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. MUI's interventions aimed for wide acceptance among all Indonesian Muslims, but fatalistic and deterministic perspectives among many Indonesian Muslims led to low effort in mitigating pandemic and less compliance with MUI and government's regulations.

Keywords: humanitarian interventions; Islamic-based institutions; coronavirus pandemic; Auckland; Jakarta

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas intervensi yang dilakukan oleh institusi berbasis Islam saat pandemi corona di Auckland, New Zealand dan Jakarta Indonesia. Tujuan penulisan artikel ini untuk membandingkan intervensi yang dilakukan oleh berbagai macam institusi berbasis Islam baik di Auckland dan di Jakarta. Metode yang digunakan terdiri dari tinjauan pustaka, wawancara, dan observasi partisipan. Ada tiga tipe institusi berbasis Islam, yaitu institusi formal dengan hierarki dan kepemimpinan, komunitas independen non-pemerintahan, dan komunitas lokal yang informal. Di Auckland, intervensi kebanyakan dilakukan oleh organisasi independen non-pemerintahan dan komunitas lokal yang informal. Muslim Kiwi cenderung mencari pertolongan spiritual dan materi ke institusi berbasis Islam terdekat. Sedangkan di Indonesia, intervensi dilakukan oleh institusi formal, yaitu Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) dengan dukungan dari organisasi masyarakat seperti Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah. Intervensi yang dilakukan MUI bertujuan untuk dapat diterima secara luas oleh Muslim Indonesia, namun perspektif fatalistik dan deterministik diantara Muslim Indonesia mengakibatkan usaha rendah dalam memitigasi pandemi dan tidak terlalu patuh terhadap peraturan MUI dan pemerintah

Kata Kunci: intervensi kemanusiaan; institusi berbasis Islam; pandemi corona; Auckland; Jakarta

INTRODUCTION

Towards the end of 2019, a small number of mysterious pneumonia-like cases were found in Wuhan, a Chinese city in the Hubei province. The disease was later identified as a coronavirus (COVID-19). During the next few weeks, the coronavirus spread quickly from China to the rest of the world. On March 11, WHO announced that COVID-19 would be characterized as a pandemic (WHO, 2020). Almost immediately, many countries all over the world began to close their borders to prevent the spread of the coronavirus. This pandemic has significantly changed the way people around the world live in only matters of months. Until a vaccine is administered on a worldwide scale, it is unlikely things will return to normal anytime soon.

The first confirmed cases between New Zealand and Indonesia were found just days apart. In New Zealand, Director General of Health Dr Ashley Bloomfield announced New Zealand's first case of coronavirus on February 28. This person had recently returned to New Zealand from Iran via Bali, Indonesia. By the end of March 2020, to prevent local coronavirus transmissions, New Zealand Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern introduced New Zealand's alert level system and began New Zealand's preliminary month-long lockdown on March 26. Kiwis started to continue their daily activities from home and only leave their 'bubbles' for essential travel. Businesses and public facilities were closed, leaving only the supermarket, pharmacies, and other essential public facilities open (Kronast & Sadler, 2020).

In Indonesia, President Joko Widodo along with Ministry of Health, Terawan Agus Putranto announced the first cases on March 2. Indonesia's first cases were contracted from their colleague, a Japanese national who had visited Jakarta (Wijaya, 2020). Indonesia's government had a different approach in responding to COVID-19 compared with New Zealand. Each province in Indonesia had different emergency levels, and each province's governor had to receive approval from the Ministry of Health in implementing large-scale social restrictions (Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar - PSBB). DKI Jakarta was considered the epi-

centre of Indonesia's coronavirus pandemic, therefore DKI Jakarta's Governor, Anies Baswedan has proposed to implement PSBB on April 2. On April 7, after receiving approval from the Ministry of Health, DKI Jakarta began its PSBB as the first province to implement it (Hakim, 2020). Before the PSBB implementation, DKI Jakarta has closed schools as of March 16 and worship places on March 19 (Pemprov DKI Jakarta, 2020).

The coronavirus pandemic has created unforeseen circumstances and dramatically changed people's daily lives. It has shifted how people interact and communicate with others concerning the implementation of physical restrictions. The prohibition of communal gathering and the closure of worship places has changed the ways of worship across all religions. Despite that fact, many believers still seek solace from religion as scientists, heads of state, and the secular world provide always insufficient answers regarding coronavirus. Uncertainty during the pandemic has driven many faithful believers around the world even closer to religion and ritual (Yee, 2020). Reviewing Riesebrodt's "The Promise of Salvation", Fountain and McLaughlin (2016) explain that all religions are a tool for "coping with contingency" in the face of disasters that exceed human control. Fountain and McLaughlin further argue that religions not only provide answers and assurances that exceed human logic and control but also give people "the primary technologies of response" to survive disaster events.

At a global level, the pandemic has slowed or even shut down transportation and shipping networks, greatly reducing humanitarian response capacities to the coronavirus crisis. At a local and household level, people are locked down at home, introducing new barriers to community-based charity and other pandemic response efforts. Into the breach, faith-based institutions with longstanding relationships in their communities are well-situated to promote resilience through practices of spiritual guidance and community support (Ager et al. 2015, Ngin et al. 2019). In the context of Indonesia, which has the largest Muslim population in the world, Islamic-based institutions may play a pivotal role in helping Indonesian

society cope with impacts of pandemic. Meanwhile, in the context of New Zealand, as the Muslims are the minority, the Islamic-based institutions also have an important role. The Islamic-based institutions may be the first institutions that would help or would be relied on by Muslim Kiwis.

In this essay, we explore and compare various Islamic-based institutions interventions in Auckland, New Zealand and Jakarta, Indonesia, during the coronavirus pandemic. I use my perspective as a Muslim who lived in Auckland, New Zealand during the first year of the pandemic, but have spent most of my life in Jakarta, Indonesia.¹ I have done a participant observation on how several Islamic-based institutions in Auckland operate during several of New Zealand's alert levels, including lengthy lockdown periods. This participant observation was also supported by reviewing local online newspapers. Meanwhile, our observations of several Islamic-based institutions in Jakarta are based mostly upon informal interviews and reviewing local newspapers online. During the pandemic, Muslims all over the world also celebrated Ramadan (across April and May 2020), the holy month when Muslims try to deepen their connection to God. It was inevitable that Ramadan rituals during the pandemic completely shifted from communal celebrations at the mosque to more individualized reflections in the safety of one's own home. Despite these constraints, the various Islamic-based institutions that we observed somehow still engaged with their communities' Ramadan rituals in innovative ways, as explained further below.

THE ROLE OF LOCAL FAITH-BASED INSTITUTIONS IN CRISIS SITUATION

In a hegemonic western frame, secularism tends to dominate the humanitarian industries, which typically demands a strict separation between development and religion. This separation leads to the marginalization of religion in development contexts. Contemporary development and humanitarian actors are increasingly arguing for localization. This typically means a focus on partnerships with local civil society groups, inclusion of gender

and ethnic minorities, and a recognition of alternative views on what constitutes better development for the beneficiaries of aid. Inevitably, faith-based practices and beliefs must be included in these discussions. Although religion has not received as much attention as much as race, nationality, and gender in constructing the place, space, and identity, this is beginning to change, including within development research agendas (McGregor, 2010). Fountain and McLaughlin (2016) also illustrate the interconnections between religion, disaster, and relief in contemporary Asia. These scholars' examinations of religious mobilisations in post-disaster contexts across Asia opens up new opportunities for theorizing the place of religion in disaster response in contemporary social sciences.

There are debates among social sciences scholars about how to define religion itself. Critics point to the historic social construction of religion as a universal and self-evidently natural category, uniquely separate from other domains of social life, a belief that has led to the traditional separation of church and state in western governance contexts, and in development and humanitarian affairs. Yet in fact, the seemingly secular values that guide the western development and humanitarian industries actually have their basis in Christian theology (Fountain & McLaughlin, 2016). Recognition of these ironies and the increasing imperative for inclusive practice has led to innovative, if halting, changes in the industry.

Samuels et al. (2010) cited UNAIDS in defining three different criteria by which local faith-based institutions could be assessed. 1) formal religious institutions with its hierarchy and leadership such as The Federation of Islamic Associations New Zealand (FIANZ), Majelis Ulama Indonesia - Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), and many more. 2) independent faith-based non-governmental communities such as Islamic Relief, and Tearfund as well as networks such as Caritas International or Indonesian-based such as Aksi Cepat Tanggap (ACT) and Wahana Visi. And 3) informal local faith communities such as women or youth groups in local neighbourhoods. Based on that criteria, local faith-based institutions are those institutions and their members who live

¹ The "I" and "my" pronouns in this essay refer to the first author.

in relatively close proximity; therefore, they have regular interaction for religious purposes in a dedicated physical venue. Furthermore, each type of faith-based institution may have certain characteristics compared to other local organisations and may bring distinguished capacities in processing crisis events (Ager et al., 2015).

Local faith-based institutions are usually among the first responders to disaster events in their local communities because of their immediate availability and strong local networking. Despite the closeness to local communities, these local faith-based institutions are not utilized to their full potential in preparing for disaster prevention and enhance the community's potential in saving lives along with reducing vulnerability, and economic losses (Cheema et al., 2014). Ngin et al. (2019) also found the importance of local faith-based institutions in disaster management among migrant populations in urban areas. Local faith-based institutions encourage community cohesion, mutuality and sacrifice in times of misery and suffering. In developing countries, local faith-based institutions along with external aid agencies, provide relief to affected communities, become places for sharing information, provide material and mental support to victims, and make efforts in disaster recovery. In these emergency situations, many faith-based institutions set aside their religious identity and help different religious communities.

Ngin et al. (2019) explain three different approaches to the role of religion and faith-based institutions in a disaster event. The first is that religion may lead to fatalistic attitudes among the victims who accept that disasters are "acts of God", therefore nothing can be done to prevent or mitigate harm from them. The second one contrasts with the first one, rejecting religious explanations and instead examining disasters through ecological, geological, and social causes. This perspective usually applies in secular society. The third approach applies a hybrid perspective of divine agency in disasters. This perspective believes that the supernatural causes of disasters enhance a sense of collective responsibility and moral obligations in helping each other based

on theological teachings. This perspective is the one that many local faith-based institutions apply in their approach to helping their communities during a crisis.

According to Cheema et al. (2014), mosques as local faith-based institutions in Pakistan served as a bridge between actors across cultural differences. It facilitated access to communities for government, local, national, and international NGOs, and private organisations which were involved in the 2005 Pakistan earthquake response and relief. The mosque played a pivotal role in disaster events because it functioned effectively well beyond the limits of its members and buildings. The mosque is seen as the collection point for the community even in the hardest of times. The heterogeneous characteristics of each mosque are heavily defined by its communities' characters and the influential actors (such as imams). The similarities and differences in the roles of mosques and imams are based on five role dimensions, which are cultural, psychosocial, economic, social and political. Through these five role dimensions, the mosques and Imams not only influence spiritually but also influence the non-spiritual aspects of a community's social life (Cheema et al., 2014).

Nonetheless, involving the mosques in disaster management also has its own limitations. The mosques' limitations in disaster management have two key factors; gender and western perceptions of the mosque. In gender factors, women have movement and participant limitations at the mosque. It becomes harder for women taking part in decision making and other consultation meetings about disaster risk management if the meetings are held inside the mosque. The possibility to stay informed and involved for women in disaster risk management is getting the information and voicing their concerns or idea through their male family members (husband, fathers, or male siblings) who could participate at the mosque. Three different factors which influence the limitations women face in participating the disaster risk management at the mosque in Cheema et al. (2014) research in the Pakistan context are cultural reasons (strong purdah custom), religious reasons (limitations of physical purity preventing

entry to the mosque), and resources reasons (lack of funds to build separate provision for women). On the other hand, when it comes to western perception of mosques, Cheema et al. (2014) acknowledges at least political controversy, if not risk, by involving the mosque in disaster management. After 9/11 attacks in the USA, mosques in Muslim-majority countries were assumed to have been used effectively by radical Muslim organisations such as ISIS in Syria, Hamas in Palestine, Hizbullah in Lebanon, and several others (Gupta and Mundra, 2005). Meanwhile, mosques in Muslim-minority countries, such as Europe, have been accused of serving as recruiting for potential terrorists that led to Islamic terrorist bombing such as in Madrid (2004) and London (2005) (Haddad and Balz, 2008).

ISLAMIC-BASED INSTITUTIONS INTERVENTION DURING CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

On 26 March 2020, when New Zealand began its first month-long lockdown, 60 mosques across New Zealand (Earley, 2020) were closed and cancelled the mass congregation of five-times-daily prayers and weekly Friday congregation to abide New Zealand's Alert Level 4 rules during the coronavirus pandemic. The Federation of Islamic Associations New Zealand (FIANZ) President Mustafa Farouk said that for weeks before New Zealand moved to Alert Level 4, fewer and fewer people were coming to his mosque in Claudelands, Hamilton. A few days before the Prime Minister's Level 4 announcement, the mosque asked its members to stay and pray at home. He felt uneasy doing the five daily prayers at home as he was used to congregating at the mosques, especially because the mosque is located near his home. He was deeply upset knowing that their mosque was empty. Nevertheless, as FIANZ President and Imam of the Jamia Mosque in Hamilton, Mustafa Farouk kept reminding other fellow Kiwi Muslims to practice good hygiene because cleanliness is an important part of Islam. He further explained that is why Muslims wash their hands (ablution) before praying (Towle, 2020).

Other than the mosque closures, the halal butchery closures were also a crucial problem for Kiwi Muslims during New Zealand's Alert Level 4. Before the Alert Level 4 was implemented, the New Zealand government was assessing whether the halal butchery could stay open or not. However, when the Alert Level 4 was implemented, the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) stated that butcheries, including the halal butcheries, were not an essential business that needed to remain open. Despite this rule, during the Alert Level 4 one of Auckland's halal butchers, Shafeel Khan, kept his halal butchery open as he believed that his business was an essential service for the Muslim community. After a visit from the police, he learned that a halal butchery was not an essential business and had to close his butchery (Hall, 2020). New Zealand supermarkets either do not sell halal-certified meat or the availability is very limited. Even when halal-certified meats were provided at New Zealand's supermarkets, many Muslims felt uneasy to buy it because there is no guarantee that supermarket halal meat is 100 per cent halal. Many Muslims worried about the way the products are stored and transported alongside non-halal products.

A Christchurch Muslim with a medical background, Usman Afzali, did not mind the halal butchery closure and supported the government's decision in closing as many stores as possible. He argued that he did not want the Muslim community to look insensitive and inconsiderate over coronavirus just because Kiwi Muslims were worried about the meat situation. He also believed that many brands that comply with halal practices were available at some supermarket as an alternative during this emergency state. He added that many Kiwis from different backgrounds would probably be missing their specialty food as well, not only Kiwi Muslims who were missing out on their halal-meat (Keogh, 2020). Shaimud Khan, an owner of halal-butchery in Wellington, kept his shop open during the Alert Level 4. He had tried applying for consideration as an essential business but would close if the police visited his halal butchery. He demanded his customers to order via phone before coming to his shop; therefore, the customers only

came to his shop to collect the halal meat and leave. A few days before Ramadan, he received many phone orders as Kiwi Muslims prepared for the festivities (Hall, 2020).

FIANZ, one of the most prominent Islamic-based institutions in New Zealand, had raised Kiwi Muslims concerns about the lack of halal meat during the Alert Level 4 and was awaiting a response. This issue was raised in FIANZ's Facebook post that would be later deleted because of many heated discussions among Kiwi Muslims about whether halal butcheries across New Zealand should be opened soon or not (Keogh, 2020). Meanwhile, Countdown, one of the major supermarket chains in New Zealand, was in discussions with the Ministry of Primary Industries to provide halal-certified meat during the Alert Level 4. Countdown tried to ensure the integrity of halal products were maintained throughout the supply chain and in stores. As New Zealand moved towards the Alert Level 3, the government allowed the halal butcheries across New Zealand to reopen (Hall, 2020).

As New Zealand Ramadan began on April 25, the Alert Level system was also moved towards Alert Level 3 on April 27. However, this did not make any difference for the closure of the mosques across New Zealand. Muhammad Shakir Ismail, imam of Avondale Islamic Centre, thought of one option to hold physically distant prayer session outdoors. This idea could only happen if the authorities (New Zealand government and the Ulama Council of New Zealand) allowed them to do so. While physically distant prayer sessions outdoors were permissible based on Islamic teaching, the New Zealand government and the Ulama Council of New Zealand never authorized this alternative mode of prayer. On the other hand, The Ulama Council of New Zealand released a public statement that recording and airing live stream prayers were permissible and watching or listening to them was also permissible. However, an imam leading the Friday prayer online was not allowed. The Ulama Council of New Zealand stated that anyone who performs any prayers by following online streams, their prayers will not be valid because the imam and his followers must be in the same mosque or area together. The

option that was viable for an imam to keep the connection with his community was holding live stream sermons through social media or distributing video series of Muslim lessons to video platform websites (Harris, 2020).

Reflecting upon my personal experiences, the AUT (Auckland University of Technology) mosque, Al-Hikmah Trust, which was the closest mosque to where I live, was also closed during Alert Level 4. The AUT mosque cancelled its weekly Friday prayers and did not organize any Ramadan rituals at the mosque during the Alert Levels 4 and 3. As the AUT mosque was closed, the imam still actively held Friday sermons through the mosque's Facebook page to replace the Friday prayers. When Ramadan came, the imam also held online sermons during the night to replace Tarawih (Ramadan night prayers). Other than that, the AUT mosque also provided counselling sessions for its followers, to maintain the spiritual and mental well-being of its followers during the period when the mosque was closed.

Providing free iftar meals for international Muslim students is one of the Ramadan charity activities that is held annually by the AUT mosque. A few days after the Alert Level 3 was implemented, the AUT mosque announced on its WhatsApp group chat that they were still providing free iftar meals for Muslim students who live around Auckland CBD. However, there are some differences in the methods of providing free iftar meals as the AUT mosque had to continue to comply with the government's rules during the alert level 3. To participate in providing free iftar meals, make a donation to the mosque bank account, and the mosque will arrange the rest. To receive a free iftar meal, the receivers have to register online and collect the free iftar meal from the restaurant which the mosque will select.

I also conducted informal interviews with HUMIA (Himpunan Umat Muslim Indonesia di Auckland - Indonesian Muslim Association in Auckland) regarding their response to the coronavirus pandemic. One of the board members that I interviewed said that HUMIA has offered help to any Indonesian Muslims, but at the time of the interview, he said that

no one had asked for the help, either spiritually or physically. In Ramadan, HUMIA usually collaborates with Dompot Dhuafa (one of the biggest Indonesian Muslim charity organizations) to invite an ustadh (male Muslim lecturer) and hold the iftar and tarawih event on the weekend, but because of the coronavirus pandemic they organised for the event to be streamed live. HUMIA also did not find any problem in zakat (charity obligation by the end of Ramadan) provision because each year HUMIA collected the money through bank transfer and then sent the collected money to Dompot Dhuafa who would distribute to less fortunate Muslims in Indonesia.

Another female member of HUMIA that I interviewed said that she and several of her friends collected some money to buy some daily necessities for seasonal Muslim workers who could not go back to their origin countries because of the lockdown. She said that she did not arrange the charity activities with HUMIA because it would take a long time because she needed approval from HUMIA's board members.

Based on the stories above, many Islamic-based institutions in New Zealand focused more on their small community or the closest proximity community that they could reach. Most of the interventions that they did for their communities were shifting the rituals that were usually practiced communally at the mosque to an online platform that could be done safely from home or to activities that would still abide by the government rule during the coronavirus pandemic. FIANZ as one of the most prominent Islamic-based institutions in New Zealand, helping Muslim Kiwis by interpreting the government regulation in mitigating the coronavirus pandemic. FIANZ's interpretation generated advice and information on the best way of doing Ramadan rituals under New Zealand Government response and regulation of coronavirus pandemic (FIANZ, 2020). Afterward, FIANZ distributed the information widely through many imams and also FIANZ's social media across New Zealand. Therefore, most Kiwi Muslims tend to seek spiritual or material help to the nearest local mosque.

ISLAMIC-BASED INSTITUTIONS INTERVENTION DURING CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA

Approximately 80% of Indonesians are Muslims with around 207 million Muslims living in Indonesia (BPS, 2010). When coronavirus began to affect Indonesia, and the mosques closed to prevent the coronavirus spreading, there are many contestations among governments, Islamic-based institutions, prominent Muslim figures, and the Indonesian Muslim population itself. MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia – Indonesian Ulama Council) as Indonesia's top Muslim clerical body had a huge role in issuing fatwa (legal opinion law) on guiding Islamic life for the Indonesian Muslim population.

MUI issued Fatwas no.14 Year 2020 regarding the closure of mosques and made guidance on how to do Ramadan rituals during the coronavirus pandemic (MUI, 2020). On March 16, MUI urged the government to release the map of coronavirus disease-prone areas to avoid mass congregation prayers in those areas. In these areas, the mosques were expected to be closed. In the area where coronavirus was not spread uncontrollably, the mosques were still allowed to hold the mass congregation prayers with the health protocols that the local government had implemented, which are each Muslim has performed ablution before coming to the mosque, bring their own prayer mat, and minimise physical contact (the Jakarta Post, 2020, March 17). On March 19, DKI Jakarta provincial government had released an appeal for the mosque to be closed (Pemprov DKI Jakarta, 2020). Despite fatwa from MUI and an appeal from DKI Jakarta provincial government, several mosques still held the Friday prayer. Dozens of residents came to Jami' Ar Rahmah mosque in Tebet, South Jakarta without adhering to physical distancing during Friday prayer. The mosque's caretaker said that MUI and the subdistrict office had approved the mosque to hold the congregation Friday prayer if the mosque had been cleaned and sprayed with disinfectant beforehand. Al Azhar Mosque, one of the largest mosques in South Jakarta, also still held the Friday prayer

on that day. Meanwhile, some mosques in Central Jakarta, such as Istiqlal mosque and Sunda Kelapa mosque preferred to comply with MUI and DKI Jakarta's provincial government rules by not holding the Friday prayer (the Jakarta Post, 2020, March 21).

MUI is not the only Islamic-based institution responding to the coronavirus pandemic in Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, are two of the largest and most influential Islamic based institutions in Indonesia, have their own interventions in responding to coronavirus pandemic. At the beginning of the pandemic, NU mandated its 454 local branches in every city and regency in Indonesia, affiliated mosques, and NU's educational institutions as a local post in responding and mitigating coronavirus pandemic. Many NU's local branches helped its local community by educating the communities about coronavirus, spraying disinfectant to houses and public spaces, and opening donation and distributing on thermal scanners, hand soaps, hand sanitizers, and face masks. NU also closed its pesantrens (Islamic boarding school) and sent the students back home (Nuary, 2020; Prihantoro, 2020). By the end of March, NU had started to urge its followers to cancel mudik (migrants return to their hometown) on 2020 Eid-al Fitr. NU advised to celebrate Eid-al Fitr through online media (Nurita, 2020).

On the other hand, at the beginning of pandemic, Muhammadiyah prepared its 15 affiliated hospitals across Indonesia to receive coronavirus patients (Natalia, 2020). On March 5, Muhammadiyah established Muhammadiyah COVID-19 Command Centre (MCCC). It coordinated Muhammadiyah's hospitals, schools, universities, and local branches in responding and mitigating coronavirus (Ari-gi, 2020). By the end of March, MCCC had prepared hospitals and helped the hospitals in producing PPE, socialized and educated the society about coronavirus through social media, sprayed disinfectant on mosques and Muhammadiyah facilities, along with opened and distributed donation. Later, MCCC grew into a large response team that distributed across 31 of 34 province in Indonesia and had partnership with any other humanitarian and

United Nations organisation (Muhammadiyah COVID-19 Command Centre, 2020).

On March 20, NU, Muhammadiyah, and many Islamic civil society organisations supported MUI and government on urging of mosques closure and Friday prayer cancellation in the pandemic's red zone (Sani, 2020). On April 1, the collaboration of Islamic civil society organisations also encouraged for Muslim Indonesian to cancel mudik and celebrate Eid-al Fitr through online media as a support to Indonesia government's effort in minimalizing the coronavirus spreading (Mujayatno, 2020).

In April, PSBB was implemented by DKI Jakarta's provincial government as the number of coronavirus cases had increased significantly in Jakarta and Ramadan had started, at least 40 mosques in Jakarta still opened to hold the mass congregation prayers, either for the five-time-daily prayers, tarawih, or the weekly Friday prayer (Rosyid, 2020). Based upon the informal interviews that I conducted, the musalla (a smaller version of mosque) across my home in Jakarta still conducted the usual daily prayers and tarawih. The measures that the musalla had undertaken to keep the congregation prayers allowed to be conducted were install soap dispensers in ablution space, have worshippers bring their own prayer mats, ensure physical distancing and no social interactions, not allowed sermons after praying, not allowed those to come if sick, and not accepting outsiders to pray on the musalla. The local imam who lives across from the musalla felt deeply sad to see the musalla empty. He believed that the measures that he had implemented were enough to keep him and his followers from contracting disease and the rest let God decide.

My neighborhood imam's fatalistic view is not a unique perspective regarding the coronavirus pandemic among Indonesian Muslims. Muhtada (2020) argued that many religious Indonesians had fatalist and deterministic religious understanding. He further explained that many of these religious people are still fuelled by political sentiments from the 2019 election. Many are still unable to accept the 2019 election results, therefore, they felt they

could reject the government's pandemic control guidelines. In order to make the coronavirus pandemic mitigation strategy more successful, Muhtada (2020) suggested that the government collaborate with the two largest aforementioned Islamic mass organisations in Indonesia, which are Nahadlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Both mass organisations have multilevel structures from the national level to grassroots levels across Indonesia. By using religious terms, clerics could explain to the religious people the importance of doing religious rituals at home and slowly fix the fatalism and deterministic views among Indonesian religious people.

CONCLUSION

Samuel et al.'s (2010) describe three typologies of faith-based organizations, which are formal religious institutions with its hierarchy and leadership, independent faith-based NGOs, and informal local faith communities. Many Auckland's Islamic-based institutions that implemented interventions were independent NGOs or informal local Islamic communities, such as the local halal butchery in Wellington or the AUT mosque. The interventions in Auckland use Ngin et al.'s (2019) third approach, where the Muslim Kiwis believe in divine causes of the pandemic and led to the interventions that are based on Islamic teachings while still compliant with New Zealand government's pandemic responses. Their interventions were intended for their relatively small and geographically close communities. All of Auckland's Islamic-based institutions' interventions were implemented while continuing to comply with the New Zealand government's coronavirus pandemic regulations.

On the other hand, Indonesia has MUI, one of the most prominent Islamic-based organizations, a formal, authoritative, and hierarchical religious institution as described by Samuel et al.'s (2010) typology of faith-based organizations. The interventions that MUI along with the Indonesian government implemented during the coronavirus pandemic tried Ngin et al.'s (2019) third, hybrid approach. It also received support from NU, Muham-

madiyah, and other Islamic civil society organizations by educating and socializing about coronavirus pandemic but there were still many Muslim Indonesians who follow Ngin et al.'s (2019) first approach in viewing pandemic, as an act of God and letting God decide after making a low effort in mitigating the pandemic. Furthermore, Muhtada (2020) explains many Indonesian Muslims have fatalistic and deterministic religious understandings; as a result, these Indonesian Muslims were less compliant with MUI's regulations regarding Muslim practice during the coronavirus pandemic.

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