

The Dynamics of Tuan Guru's Leadership in Lombok in Responding to Health Protocols in Places of Worship

Fathorrahman

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email: fathorrahman@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract: *This research described the dynamics of leadership expressed by the three characters of Tuan Guru in Lombok. They are the Tuan Guru at Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), the Tuan Guru at Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and the Tuan Guru, who is not tied to any organization in responding to health protocols in places of worship. To explore in more detail the leadership dynamics of the three Tuan Guru characters, this research focused on several questions. First, how Tuan Guru expresses his type of leadership in responding to the spread of COVID-19 in places of worship. Second, how is the relationship of power and charisma that Tuan Guru has built in responding to health protocols in places of worship. These questions were analyzed with a sociological approach based on the theory of power relations and charisma. As for the technique of obtaining the data, this research used an empirical study by observing and meeting several key informants and important informants to be interviewed. From this research, the researcher found that each Tuan Guru used a different way of responding to health protocols. There was a passive type of leader like what Tuan Guru NW does, there was a type of proactive leader like that of Tuan Guru NU, and a reactive-rejective type of leader like what Tuan Guru does and was not tied to any organization. In this connection, what each Tuan Guru did, created a mutual response from his congregation so that his congregation did as Tuan Guru, who is his role model.*

Keywords: *Tuan Guru, health protocol, leadership, charisma*

Abstrak: *Tulisan ini menguraikan dinamika kepemimpinan yang diekspresikan oleh tiga karakter tuan guru di Lombok. Yaitu tuan guru di Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), tuan guru di Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), dan tuan guru yang tidak terikat dalam organisasi manapun dalam menyikapi protokol kesehatan di tempat ibadah. Untuk menelusuri lebih detail dinamika kepemimpinan tiga karakter tuan guru tersebut, penelitian ini fokus pada beberapa pertanyaan: pertama, bagaimana tuan guru mengekspresikan tipe kepemimpinannya dalam menyikapi sebaran COVID-19 di tempat ibadah. Kedua, bagaimana relasi kuasa dan kharisma yang dibangun tuan guru dalam menyikapi protokol kesehatan di tempat ibadah. Kedua pertanyaan ini dianalisis dengan pendekatan sosiologis yang berbasis pada teori relasi kuasa dan kharisma. Adapun tehnik memperoleh datanya, penelitian ini menggunakan studi empiris dengan cara mengobservasi dan menemui beberapa informan kunci dan informan penting untuk diwawancarai. Dari penelitian ini, penulis menemukan bahwa masing-masing*

tuan guru menggunakan cara berbeda dalam menyikapi protokol kesehatan. Ada tipe pemimpin pasif seperti yang dilakukan oleh tuan guru NW, ada tipe pemimpin proaktif seperti yang dilakukan oleh tuan guru NU, dan tipe pemimpin reaktif-rejektif seperti yang dilakukan oleh tuan guru biasa dan tidak terikat dalam organisasi manapun. Dalam kaitan ini, Apa yang dilakukan masing-masing tuan guru, menimbulkan mutual respons dari jamaahnya, sehingga jamaahnya melakukan seperti yang dilakukan oleh tuan guru yang menjadi panutannya.

Kata kunci: *tuan guru, protokol kesehatan, kepemimpinan, kharisma*

INTRODUCTION

Since COVID-19 appearance at the end of 2019 in Wuhan, China, COVID-19 has been increasingly massive and intensively spreading to various countries. Various handling actions have been taken by each of the stakeholders. The government also keeps on releasing various information on the development of the spread of COVID-19, which has exposed millions of people.¹ In addition, the government has also involved various of apparatus in taking action against people who do not comply with health protocols. In fact, based on the report on climate policy initiatives and Vivid economics, five countries in Asia including Indonesia have spent \$884 billion in response to COVID-19.

However, COVID-19 has continued to spread and metamorphose into various variants. Ironically, when COVID-19 case is getting bigger and has caused various very shock effects, there are still various groups of people who twist data and the fact that COVID-19 is just conspiracy, and deception. As if he did not want to be aware of the evidence of the deaths of thousands of people exposed to COVID-19, which is increasing every day, the voices still obscure the facts of COVID-19. Observing this condition, how a character and role model

¹ Protocol for the Acceleration of Handling the Covid-19 Pandemic (Corona Virus Disease 2019) Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling COVID-19

need to portray himself during a society that is covered by the spread of COVID-19. In a webinar dedicated to Kompas 2021 scholars' "contributions of religious leaders in handling the pandemic"(24/6/2021), some religious leaders who were speakers at the event agreed that religious leaders and role models are one of the epicenters of society whose advice can still be heard. Therefore, there are at least two things that should be done by these two figures to raise public awareness in responding to the spread of COVID-19.

First, religious leaders and role models who have religious literacy skills need to use their faith and reason as the basis for delivering data and facts about epidemic emergencies and disasters. Like other epidemics that have occurred in human life and claimed many lives, not least at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, who was exposed to the plague of *Tha'un* to abort many of the Prophet's companions, COVID-19 also has the same spreading power and lethal exposure.² Second, when the public begins to realize the truth about the existence of an epidemic, including COVID-19, religious leaders and role models need to provide an intensive explanation and understanding of how to prevent the harm of covid 19 slowly. Through religious texts that are controlled by religious leaders, the public needs to be invited to think objectively and empirically about how to understand the situation that has been surrounded by the spread of COVID-19.³

With this persuasive assistance, the society will be easily invited to work together and remind each other to make every precautionary recommendation to protect the safety of each other. In addition, religious leaders and role models need to understand the important points of health protocols recommended by the government and convey them to the public in polite and easy-to-understand religious language so that they can comply.⁴To see more empirically, how the role of religious leaders is, the researcher has conducted a more in-depth study of the

² Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula, "Peran Tokoh Agama Dalam Memutus Rantai Pandemi Covid-19 Di Media Online Indonesia," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 1 (2020): 125–48.

³ Muhammad Thohir et al., "Menyikapi Aktivitas Berjamaah di Masjid Selama Pandemi COVID-19: Analisis Respon Masyarakat Dalam Perspektif Teologis," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 19, no. 1 (2021): 1–20.

⁴ Komaruddin Hidayat, *Memahami Bahasa Agama* (Bandung : Mizan, 2011), 76

gait of religious leaders when dealing with the covid pandemic that has exposed millions of people. In this regard, the religious figure that the researcher examined is Tuan Guru, who is a local leader in Lombok.

Empirically, there are three patterns that Tuan Guru uses in expressing his leadership style. Namely, the passive leader type, the proactive leader type, and the reactive-rejective leader type. Each of these three types is carried out by Tuan Guru when responding to various COVID-19 handling policies and recommendations for tightening health protocols in places of worship. Of these three types, Tuan Guru performs a cultural mechanism in externalizing himself in people's lives, especially in the midst of the congregation. With a dyadic pattern of power relations, Tuan Guru becomes the patron figure, and the congregation becomes the client,⁵ Tuan Guru positions himself as a role model whose speech and actions will reflect the behavior of the Lombok people.

In this context, when Tuan Guru expresses the type of leadership that is passive, proactive, and reactive-rejective in responding to various policies, recommendations, and announcements from the government and other social organ stakeholders, it will have consequences for people's behavior in responding to covid and health protocols in place worship. Because, culturally, what people do, especially the common people, are derivatives and imitations of the people they follow.

Sociologically, this pattern is known as mimicry, which explains a phenomenon that an imitator will produce similarities with other parties who

⁵ Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra, *Minawang: Hubungan Patron-Klien di Sulawesi Selatan* (Gadjah Mada University Press, 1988).

become role models as well as become models of imitation.⁶ In this case, the mimicry phenomenon carried out by the people of Lombok has an impact on strengthening the charisma of a Tuan Guru. So, when the public follows the various speeches and actions of the Guru related to the attitude of covid and health protocols in places of worship, it is highly likely that the spread of COVID-19 can be controlled.

Observing the social portrait of the Lombok people who in their lives are influenced by Tuan Guru's perspective in responding to health protocols in places of worship raises the researcher's curiosity to find out various phenomenological foundations, why Tuan Guru is considered to have an important role in responding to health protocols in places of worship. To find out more about the dynamics of Tuan Guru's leadership in Lombok in responding to health protocols in places of worship, this research is especially important. To analyze the problem in this research, the researcher used the theory of charisma when Tuan Guru builds power relations in the life of the Lombok people.⁷ Sociologically, the theory of charisma has a very precise conceptual basis for describing the role of a character who is highly respected by society. Moreover, the figure of Tuan Guru has genealogical roots with the Lombok ancestors, who were highly respected in every era historically.

In this regard, charisma is based on an ethical system that is agreed upon by the community, both culturally and structurally. For example, community associations were raised by hereditary traditions and instilled respect for role models. The existence of Tuan Guru, who is still respected and glorified by the people in Lombok, cannot be separated from the genealogical aspect that requires obedience. Therefore, it is natural that Tuan Guru has an important position in the life of the people of Lombok, where every piece of advice is still heard. In fact,

⁶ Gina Novtarianggi, Bambang Sulanjari, dan Alfiah Alfiah, "Hibriditas, Mimikri, dan Ambivalensi dalam Novel 'Kirti Njunjung Drajat' Karya R. TG Jasawidagda Kajian Postkolonialisme," *JISABDA: Jurnal Ilmiah Sastra Dan Bahasa Daerah, Serta Pengajarannya* 2, no. 1 (2020): 27–34.

⁷ Ignas Kleden, "Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Teologi Kontekstual| Social Sciences and Contextual Theology," *Jurnal Ledalero* 17, no. 2 (2018): 177–202.

referring to Max Weber's view that someone who has very calculated charisma will be able to explain the shape of the influence of perception to the community at the bottom that a person's capacity will be able to increase if he can be blessed by someone who is charismatic.

METHOD

This research was qualitative research with used field research. That research aimed to observe, study, and see firsthand the dynamics of Tuan Guru's leadership in responding to health protocols in places of worship during the pandemic. To analyze the problems in this research, the researcher used a sociological approach with the theoretical framework of charisma and religious authority. In addition, to obtain the required data, this research used in-depth interviews with three Tuan Guru characters affiliated with Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Tuan Guru, who is not tied to any organization. The data analysis method that be used was the data analysis stage recommended by Huberman and Miles, namely data reduction, data presentation, and data verification to draw the conclusions.⁸

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Type of Leadership of Tuan Guru

Some figures are believed to be role models for carrying out various activities within the scope of society, religion, and nation. This trustworthy figure can represent the community's desire to find a solution to every problem. In other words, if the figure conveys a solution that is considered appropriate for facilitating social and religious activities, the community will follow it. However,

⁸ Egon G Guba dan Yvonna S Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Pub, 1994). 240

in consideration of the figure, the activities that the community will carry out will cause harm, then the community will also cancel what was planned.

The community's obedience to this trustworthy figure has become its own social modality which has been the guideline for people's lives. Moreover, the Lombok people have historically been accompanied and protected by trustworthy figures such as Tuan Guru. For the people of Lombok, Tuan Guru is a central figure for social change in their lives. In fact, the presence of Tuan Guru has been active for several centuries ago historically.⁹

The important position of Tuan Guru as an exemplary figure is very much needed for the creation of better social change. Therefore, when Indonesia was hit by a pandemic disaster and hit various parts of the country, including Lombok, the presence of Tuan Guru as a figure was indispensable. The pandemic has forced many people to keep their distance and limit various public activities. There is no exception for worship activities in mosques and other places of worship.

Moreover, when the government calls to limit worship activities in congregations in mosques to reduce exposure to the covid virus, of course, it requires an exemplary figure who can calm the public and comply with various policies issued by the government. In this case, the existence of Tuan Guru, who has long been regarded as a role model, also needs to transform the right sidewhich was initially only based on the normative strengthening of the religious ecosystem into an empirical religious method. In other words, if all this time Tuan Guru's call and advice were to enliven the mosque with various worship activities, but when Covid hit Lombok, how did Tuan Guru respond to COVID-19 in the form of recommendations for limiting worship activities in mosques. To see the pattern of the Tuan Guru's response responding to health protocols, each Tuan Guru has a different style. At least, this categorization refers to the results of research that the researcher has done for some time and the data that the researcher obtained through interviews with various Tuan Guru in East Lombok.

⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Sejarah Sosial Islam di Lombok Tahun 1740-1935 (studi) Kasus terhadap Tuan Guru* (Sekolah Pasca Sarjana, n.d.). 143

In the researcher's opinion, the way Tuan Guru responds to various health protocol rules in places of worship can be classified into three types of leadership. First the passive type of leadership. Second, the type of leadership that is proactive. The third is the reactive type of leadership.

Passive leadership style

Psychologically, Tuan Guru¹⁰ who puts forward the passive type using his superego in dealing with various problems in his life. Through this aspect of the superego, he explores the traditional values that develop in society as a way of dealing with problems.¹¹ With a model like this, it is natural for a passive type of Tuan Guru often prioritizes the nobility of reason over enforcing the affirmed rules. Including when Tuan Guru is facing pandemic times.

In a state of complete dilemma, the passive type Tuan Guru still tries to adapt to the two-way model. Namely, on the one hand, he agrees with the various policies of limiting social distance in places of worship while at the same time changing his pattern of worship, which has been mingling in public spaces and switching to worshipping in special places of worship. On the other hand, slowly following the rhythm of the people who, during the pandemic, persisted in carrying out congregational worship at the mosque.

This two-way adjustment pattern in social psychology¹² Commonly done by many people because they want to understand the social conditions of a group of people who still want to do something they want. On the other hand, it is considered to be in conflict with the rules. At least, by making adjustments like

¹⁰ Tuan Guru, a passive type, is affiliated with the moderate Nahdlatul Wathan organization,

¹¹ George Boeree dan Personality Teories, *Melacak Kepribadian Anda Bersama Psikologi Dunia*, Jogjakarta: PrismaSopfi, 2010, 39.

¹² W A Gerungan, *Psikologi Sosial* (Bandung: Rafika Aditama, 2004), 74.

this, Tuan Guru, who is passive, still wants to show his identity as an inseparable part of his great desire to build consistency in the implementation of worship in places of worship, even though he himself creates a personal rule not to participate in various crowds.¹³

Sociologically, the limited interaction pattern carried out by the passive-type Tuan Guru wants to build a dialectical pattern of self-externalization, where subjective reality and objective reality need to intersect. In this process of social construction.¹⁴ Tuan Guru did the actualization of his self-concept as an intermediary in responding to the potential for the spread of the covid virus in a dilemmatic place of worship. This smooth method is carried out so that there is a balance of attitude in responding to any information that at any time explains the spread and exposure of COVID-19. At least, in a balanced way, one side of the community is not always too panicked when getting various information on the spread of covid, but Tuan Guru does not want to be negligent in dealing with the spread of covid 19. Therefore, one of the anticipatory tools that need to be maximized is how to strengthen health protocols in the form of using masks, social distancing, and washing hands.¹⁵

The three aspects of this health protocol are communication modalities for Tuan Guru to residents who insist on worshipping in congregation at the mosque. In this communication, of course, Tuan Guru pays attention to cognitive bias¹⁶ so as not to cause misunderstandings among the citizens. This is because the passive attitude of Tuan Guru, who tends to be indecisive in carrying out government policies in limiting worship activities in places of worship, will lead to various interpretations from various groups.

¹³ Interview with Master NW East Lombok, October 25, 2021

¹⁴ Peter L Berger, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan: Risalah tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (LP3ES, 1990), 167–89.

¹⁵ Interview with Master NW East Lombok, October 25, 2021

¹⁶ D R Buana, "Analisis Perilaku Masyarakat Indonesia dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Virus Corona (Covid-19) dan Kiat Menjaga Kesejahteraan Jiwa. Salam: Jurnal ..., " *Jurnal Golden Age. Universitas Hamzanwadi*, 2020, 220.

Therefore, when Tuan Guru wants to convey the importance of using a health protocol that includes these three items, it must be ensured that these facilities can be used in a disciplined manner. At least, with the clarity of the information communicated by Tuan Guru regarding compliance with health protocols and urging him not to be too active in carrying out worship activities in congregation at the mosque, Tuan Guru can reduce the risk of people in ignoring the impact of covid and always directing residents to maintain discipline in carrying out their duties. Health protocols in places of worship are the same as protecting religious comfort (hifz ad din).¹⁷

Tuan Guru's appeal to residents to exercise self-discipline in implementing health protocols in places of worship may become a life cycle for the Lombok people, who will begin to adjust to the implementation of new habits. In fact, the implementation of this new habit has become a phenomenon in various regions, where the ulama and the local government have begun to encourage the implementation of new habits in various places of worshi.¹⁸

The involvement of Tuan Guru who is passive in tactical and strategic ways, such as disciplining health protocols and implementing new habits in places of worship to society who have been adamant about wanting to worship at the mosque, can minimize cognitive biases that can cause misunderstandings. Based on research studies on the passive type of leadership style shown by a figure, it must be accompanied by a smooth way but the goals to be achieved must be

¹⁷Interview with Master NW East Lombok, October 25, 2021. As a comparison, read Hudzaifah Achmad Qatadah, "Covid-19: Tinjauan Maqasid al-Shariah Terhadap Penanguhan Pelaksanaan Ibadah Salat Di Tempat Ibadah (Hifdz al-Nafs Lebih Utama Dari Hifdz al-Din?)," *Salam Jurnal Sosial Budaya Syar'i* 7, no. 7 (2020): 659–72.

¹⁸ Tri Bunga Firma, "Normal Baru Dalam Praktik Keagamaan Islam Pada Masa Pandemi Di Kota Padang," *Al-Adyan* 1, no. 2 (2020): 144–62.

directed. So, with tactical steps like this, every direction and appeal that is conveyed can be understood clearly and in accordance with the intended purpose.

Sociologically, the application of this passive type of leadership is actually related to his style and power in showing his authority as an exemplary figure. Especially a Tuan Guru who culturally has their own magnitude, which is trusted and respected by the community. Traditional authorities continue to recognize that the society has social resilience in responding to covid in places of worship, but on the other hand, still direct them to maintain medical resilience so as not to interfere with their health and strength, between the passive type of Tuan Guru will create a system of relations (personal attachment) which are mutual.¹⁹

Proactive leader style

In contrast to the passive type of leadership as shown by Tuan Guru who is affiliated with Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) in East Lombok, the type of proactive leader shown by Tuan Guru in the Nahdlatu Ulama (PCNU) East Lombok displays a more assertive and clear approach in responding to COVID-19 and advocating for the community in implementing various government policies regarding restrictions on congregational activities in various public spaces, including places of worship.

In implementing government policies, Tuan Guru NU coordinates with NU administrators at various levels in Lombok as well as carries out instructions to institutions under his authority in handling COVID-19 in various public spaces. Mainly maximizing the participation of the scholars below to convey the importance of preventive measures in dealing with covid in places of worship.²⁰

Organizationally, several institutions that become Tuan Guru's organizational authority are the NU Da'wah Institute, the Ta'lif wan Nasr Institute, the Masjid Takmir. These three institutions were given the authority by Tuan

¹⁹ Zulkifli Abdillah, "Ulama antara Otoritas Kharismatik dan Otoritas Legal-Rasional: Studi Kasus Ustaz Haji Muhammad Zaini Djalaluddin," *Al-Hikmah* 8, no. 1 (2015): 1–20.

²⁰ Interview with Master PCNU East Lombok, October 25, 2021

Guru to derive any government policies and PBNU edicts that had been committed to overcoming the spread of COVID-19. The roles of the three institutions are regulated based on the job desk that has been set by the NU management.

First, the NU Da'wah Institution whose work scheme is engaged in the field of da'wah through recitation forums and khotbah. The Da'wah Institute is given the task of conveying policies for handling covid in a persuasive form so that NU congregations and the community realize the importance of prioritizing emergency literacy in carrying out various religious activities.²¹ In addition, through the circulars that have been delivered by PBNU and PWNU Lombok, the Da'wah Institute has disseminated to NU congregations and residents to read more about Qunut Nazilah systematically, prevention in worship institutions, closing activities in educational institutions (NU schools and Islamic boarding schools), appeals not to holding religious activities offline and massive in nature such as recitation, tahlilan, mujahadah.²²

Second, in addition to enabling the delivery of government policies and NU which are carried out directly through recitation forums both offline and online, Tuan Guru in the NU management also empowers the Ta'lif Wan Nasr Institute as an institutional entity engaged in the media and information sector. This institution proactively utilizes various digital platforms to disseminate various government policies and NU edicts through writings and news releases that are easily accessible to the public. In fact, this institution makes weekly bulletins containing various NU announcements regarding the importance of

²¹ Interview with the administrators of the East Lombok PCNU Da'wah Institute, 26 October 2021

²² Dadan Suherdiana et al., "Pesan Dakwah Ormas Islam Indonesia dalam Menghadapi Krisis Keagamaan Masa Pandemi Covid-19," 2020.

obeying the policy of limiting interaction in various public spaces to be distributed to various levels of society. This effort is made so that the society does not only obtain information orally that is conveyed through the recitation forum, but the information submitted in writing becomes a guideline for the society so that it can be read at any time. At least, through this institution, the public is invited to get used to reading from NU sources which can be disseminated through social media channels.

Third, the various information about controlling the spread of Covid in various public spaces conveyed by the Da'wah Institute and the Ta'lif Wan Nasr Institute, of course, also synergize with the Takmir and the Mosque, which are very authoritative in regulating the manifestation of government policies and announcements. As the spearhead of controlling covid in places of worship, this institution is in direct contact with the dynamics of places of worship. Because many people still ignore government policies so as an important part of NU's organizational entity in East Lombok, this institution was advocated by Tuan Guru to truly be able to become an extension of NU in regulating the implementation of strict health protocols. In fact, under certain conditions, if the spread of covid becomes more dangerous and causes many victims.

In this context, this institution certainly does not work alone. However, various information obtained by the Ta'lif Wan Nasr Institute and the Da'wah Institute that have been packaged in the form of a systematic news release is submitted to the Takmir Institute so that it is easy to formulate various preventive measures and arrangements for the implementation of prayers in mosques. In fact, to strengthen Tuan Guru NU's policy, the Da'wah Institute, together with the two institutions, acted proactively as did Tuan Guru NU.²³ With this kind of systemic work, it increasingly shows organizational leadership that both prioritizes the type

²³ Interview with NU activists in East Lombok, 27 October 2021

of proactive action.²⁴ With this kind of systemic work, it increasingly shows organizational leadership that both prioritizes the type of proactive action.

In line with the type of proactive leadership expressed by Tuan Guru and followed by his agents in the three institutions.²⁵ Therefore, various efforts to control covid in places of worship have resulted in minimal exposure to covid victims and minimal spread of covid in places of worship and the surrounding environment.²⁶

However, the success of the three institutions within the NU organization is also in line with other policies carried out by Tuan Guru, who implemented PBNU policies and edicts in carrying out the instructions for managing the NU Cares COVID-19 post. This policy was carried out massively and in coordination with various NU Institutions in the NU Branch Representative Council (MWC) management and NU branch managers so that in each hamlet to create a COVID-19 complaint and control post. In fact, to intensify the work of controlling covid, the NU post was transformed into a NU task force caring for COVID which carries out the task of controlling intensively, structured, and more massively.²⁷

²⁴ Interview with NU activists in East Lombok, 27 October 2021

²⁵ The mention of these three institutions, which provide the main task in advocating public awareness in implementing health protocols in places of worship, does not mean denying the existence of other institutions in NU Lombok Timur. As a unitary NU organization, of course, the proactive work shown by the three institutions is supported and supported by various other institutions under the authority of Tuan Guru. This was conveyed by Tuan Guru Marwan in an interview at his residence on October 2, 2021.

²⁶ Related to this data, it can be checked periodically at the link <https://corona.ntbprov.go.id/>

²⁷ Interview with NU management in East Lombok, 27 October 2021. In this regard, the direction was given by Tuan Guru to continue the pbnu announcement, read the rest of the information in the portal: <https://national.sindonews.com/read/28345/15/satgas-nu-peduli-covid-19-tersebar-di-32-provinsi-1589436310>

In this regard, optimizing the structural roles (NU administrators) at various levels to be involved as a task force and proactive in carrying out interventional and participatory actions, showing a rational risk management attitude and referring to the process of thinking, deliberation, and *ijtihad* in making the right decision to overcome the spread of COVID-19. Sociologically, the efforts made by PBNU and followed up by NU administrators at various levels, including NU in Lombok became an important stage in formulating policies based on rational choices.²⁸

Organizationally, the rational choice taken by Tuan Guru NU in Lombok to follow up on various government policies and PBNU edicts does not mean denying other metaphysical aspects of prevention. As is common in the NU tradition which uses spiritual practices such as *mujahadah* and *munajat* prayer in dealing with various problems and calamities that occur, of course the *amaliah*, which is the legacy of the NU scholars and founders, is also urged by Tuan Guru NU to be carried out by the people of Lombok at all times. At least, with the synergy of rational work that puts forward a proactive way of working in mitigating any risk of the spread of COVID-19 in places of worship and physical activity, it will be a connecting point for efforts that can be granted by God.

In addition, the continuation of this endeavor, which is based on rational work and metaphysical behavior, is a joint effort to maintain the local wisdom of the Lombok people who have always continued the mandate of Tuan Guru, who sharpened their inner eyes by optimizing prayer and *mujahadah*. Moreover, genealogically, Tuan Guru is a representative role model for the community who makes spiritual behavior a theological work to overcome various problems that occur in people's lives.²⁹

²⁸ James S. Coleman, *Foundation of Social Theory* terj. (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2011), 210-213

²⁹ Mohamad Iwan Fitriani, "Kepemimpinan Kharismatis-Transformatif Tuan Guru Dalam Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Sasak-Lombok Melalui Pendidikan," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 16, no. 1 (2016): 175-95.

Observing the tactical role shown by Tuan Guru, on the one hand, as a spiritual leader who functions himself as a *mutafaqqih fid din* figure and, on the other hand, as an organizational leader whose actions must be based on measured and rational policies, then it becomes natural when addressing the issue of covid. , the method and approach taken is the proactive type. Because sociologically, Tuan Guru is an intermediary figure³⁰ that bridges various problems that occur in a way that is conveyed by a group of experts³¹ as well as local wisdom that has been growing and inherent in the life traditions of the Lombok people.³²

However, the portrait of local wisdom that has been embedded in the life of the Lombok people and the presence of Tuan Guru who has been carrying out religious patterns that are in harmony with the construction of traditions that exist in it, does not mean that the entire Tuan Guru runs a dialectical and dynamic cultural foundation. Apart from that, there are also Tuan Gurus who, because they obtain religious knowledge from different knowledge transmission processes, and tend to prioritize a literalistic-textualist perspective, in responding to the Covid issue, which greatly affects the implementation of worship, actually denies any efforts made by the government.

Reactive-rejective leadership style

Empirically, based on the researcher's findings, there is a group of Tuan Guru who are not affiliated to the NW and NU organizations, who choose the reactive-rejective type of leader towards the policy of limiting religious activities

³⁰ Muhammad Udin, *Multifungsi Peran Tuan Guru dalam Masyarakat Lombok* (Mataram: Sanabil, 2018).

³¹ Like the government and WHO, which have had the authority to issue various policies and appeals for controlling the Covid-19 virus

³² Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Parokialitas Adat Wetu Telu di Bayan [Wajah Akulturasi Agama Lokal di Lombok]," *Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam IAIN Mataram* 13, no. 1 (2014): 41794.

in places of worship. In fact, with various efforts, Tuan Guru always makes a different narrative that prioritizing the implementation of worship in the mosque is more important than being afraid of COVID-19. In addition, Tuan Guru often allows his congregation to carry out mass worship activities in places of worship. This omission was carried out by Tuan Guru for various reasons, both theological and sociological.³³

One of the theological reasons given by Tuan Guru who is reactive-rejective type is that the framing of the narrative "puts forward God's commandments in maintaining the faithfulness of worshiping in mosques, more important than following the government's advice in limiting mass worship activities in places of worship". Although the area has been identified as a yellow and red zone, the government's appeal ignored.

In fact, in the context of theological reasons, the MUI and various religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah have presented various emergency arguments that can allow for restrictions on religious activities in places of worship, but the *naqli* argument presented by MUI is only considered as part of a different perspective. (*ikhtilaf*) which is in understanding the commandments of Allah.

In addition to the theological reasons made by some of the reactive-rejective types of Tuan Guru to ignore orders and recommendations for the application of health protocols, they also use sociological reasons to ignore the application of health protocols. Among what was conveyed was the start of high citizen participation in vaccinating, the start of increasing citizen immunity in the face of climate change, and the decline in various cases of exposure to COVID-19 that occurred in Lombok.

Some of the sociological factors are sometimes taken into consideration that health protocols in places of worship, such as maintaining a minimum distance of 2.5 meters, wearing masks, and not greeting, do not need to be

³³ Interview with Welly Dozan, 28 October 2021

implemented anymore. In fact, mass worship activities such as Friday prayers, recitations, and other religious activities have begun to be recommended. Although empirically, cases of the spread of covid and exposure to covid victims are fluctuating and difficult to predict every day. However, this reactive-rejective type of Tuan Guru still adheres to a track record of information when the case declines and the citizens' immunity begins to stabilize.

Observing the neglect of some Tuan Gurus who are reactive-rejective to health protocols that are always emphasized by the government to be applied at any time and in any public space, it is not surprising that when the researcher went into the field and observes worship practices in the daily lives of society, many people who still flock to places of worship every time it is time for the obligatory prayers.³⁴

As if, in a place of worship, which is one of the reactive-rejective type of Tuan Guru's power relationship, there is no longer any recognition of the COVID-19 virus, which in the past two years has greatly haunted the civilization of human life in various parts of the world. It is also as if covid for worshipers who are obedient to Tuan Guru is the spread of a virus that only stops for a while, which in time will return to its habitat.

However, compared to the theological reasons used by Tuan Guru for ignoring health protocols and accompanied by various naqli arguments, this sociological reason is still quite acceptable, and its epistemological impact is understandable. This is because the sociological reasons presented are related to

³⁴ The author's field observations were carried out on October 28, 2021. So, to obtain data in the field, in addition to interviewing several key figures such as Tuan Guru and several religious activists, the author also participated in praying at the mosque.

the social reality of the community, some of which apply fluctuating health protocols.

In other words, it is often done by various groups regarding the neglect of health protocols in various public spaces related to the conditions that occur, Tuan Guru of this type conveys the same conditions. Namely, the high number of vaccinations, the decrease in cases of the spread of covid, and the increased immunity of the citizens create confidence in the masses as an excuse for ignoring health protocols in places of worship.

In this regard, the comparative way of thinking between theological reasons and sociological reasons that the researcher done, where sociological reasons can still be tolerated as a way to divert compliance in implementing health protocols, does not mean it can be justified. In the context of shared safety and security, if the COVID-19 pandemic is still missing on the face of the earth, and WHO has not revoked the status of the COVID-19 virus pandemic, the health protocol, which is a safety card in controlling the spread of covid, must still be carried out by anyone and anywhere. Because during the pandemic, apart from carrying out vaccinations, one of the ways the government considers effective is to suppress the spread of covid by disciplining health protocols.³⁵ At least, by always tightening the application of health protocols, society can learn to anticipate the mutation of new variants of COVID-19, which since the beginning of its appearance, have developed into several variants.

Therefore, as an anticipatory measure against the practice of ignoring health protocols in public, the government has designed a policy of limiting movement, such as the Enforcement of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM), which are implemented based on levels 1 to 4. The PPKM policy can have an impact on effectively suppressing the spread of COVID-19 in various

³⁵ Mohammad Mulyadi, "Studi Pembelajaran Penanganan COVID-19 Indonesia," 2021, 197–216, [https://covid19.go.id/storage/app/media/Hasil_Kajian/2021/Februari/Buku Studi Pembelajaran Penanganan COVID-19_BAPPENAS.pdf](https://covid19.go.id/storage/app/media/Hasil_Kajian/2021/Februari/Buku_Studi_Pembelajaran_Penanganan_COVID-19_BAPPENAS.pdf).

regions. This policy can have a negative impact on the economic space that supports people's lives.

However, this PPKM policy is not fully generalized to all regions on the same scale. In practice, the implementation of PPKM that uses this leveling flow, of course, pays attention to the escalation of COVID-19 cases that occur in each region. When an area can pay attention to the significance of the implementation of a policy of tightening health protocols in various public spaces, it is possible that the spread of covid in that area will be sloping and can be categorized as a green zone or level 1. 53 in 2021 there are 5 regions in East Java that are included in PPKM level 1.³⁶

In this regard, the success of an area in making the ecosystem of people's lives during a pandemic in scope with minimal cases of the spread of COVID-19 certainly cannot be separated from the participation of various parties. Especially the public figures in each region. Thus, the presence of a small number of Tuan Guru who does not maximize their role model in advocating for the community in implementing health protocols in places of worship becomes a social parasite that can disrupt the ecosystem of life that requires community comfort and resilience.

Observing the condition of the imbalance in the role of Tuan Guru in Lombok, most of whom comply with various government policies and apply health protocols in places of worship in different ways and scales of preparation,³⁷ and there are a small number of Tuan Guru, who use theological reasons as well

³⁶<http://kominfo.jatimprov.go.id/read/umum/mantap-jatim-provinsi-terbanyak-ppkm-level-1-jawa-bali-gubernur-khofifah-apresiasi-gerak-cepat-dan-sinergi-dunia-element-society>

³⁷ there is a group of Tuan Guru who are responding to the policy of controlling covid and applying the safety protocol with a passive type of leadership, as shown by Tuan Guru from the Nahdlatul Wathan element in East Lombok and the type of proactive leadership carried out by Tuan Guru from the NU element in advocating the community

as sociological reasons in ignoring health protocols. Of course, it is necessary to consolidate the example of local figures mediated by the government.

As the most authoritative party in regulating the life rhythm of the Lombok people, the government needs to invite various levels of Tuan Guru, both those affiliated with religious organizations and those who only devote themselves to Islamic boarding schools, recitation forums, and other professions that are recognized as slices of social status labeled Tuan Guru. At least, with this consolidation activity, there is a common concern among all teachers so that they are together in one rhythm in responding to the spread of COVID-19. In addition, with the meeting of the Tuan Guru, a cultural friendship will be established that can link the "*balung pisah*" of the example possessed by each Tuan Guru. Because whether we realize it or not, no matter how small the scale of example that Tuan Guru is, geographically, he has his own charisma relationship which is obeyed by each of his followers. No exception, a small number of Tuan Guru, who has been using the reactive-rejective type of leadership in responding to COVID-19, also has a big charisma in their followers.

CONCLUSION

After describing the research results in several chapters in this research, there are two conclusions to confirm the researcher's findings about "the role of Tuan Guru in Lombok in advocating the community in implementing health protocols in places of worship at the same time answering the basic questions outlined in the statement of the problems.

First, in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic and health protocols in places of worship, there are three patterns of leadership expressed by Tuan Guru. That is the passive leader type used by Tuan Guru NW in East Lombok. Tuan Guru NW controls and restricts his movement in public places of worship. Personally, Tuan Guru NW understands and complies with various government policies regarding restrictions on collective worship activities in places of worship. However, on a collective-emotional basis, Tuan Guru NW understands

the social psychology of the people who insist on doing collective worship activities in places of worship. Therefore, Tuan Guru NW sometimes takes compromising actions on what the congregation wants to do. The type of proactive leader as shown by Tuan Guru from NU takes a different approach. By leveraging its organizational network, Tuan Guru NU took action to limit collective worship activities and tighten health protocols in places of worship. Through the three institutions under his authority, such as the NU Da'wah Institute, the Ta'lif wa Nasr Institute, and the Masjid Takmir, Tuan Guru appealed to the three institutions to socialize in a structured, massive, and systemic manner to various levels of society below him. Meanwhile, Tuan Guru is a reactive-rejective type, which in this case, is not affiliated with any organization, and tends to ignore the policy of limiting religious activities and health protocols in places of worship. In this case, Tuan Guru uses theological reasons and sociological reasons in allowing his congregation to carry out worship activities in places of worship.

Second, the relationship of power and charisma that Tuan Guru has built-in preventing the spread COVID-19 intersects with the type of leadership expressed. What Tuan Guru did, who personally has advantages and is even assumed to have *karomah*, then what is the speech and actions of Tuan Guru will be imitated by his congregations. Because, sociologically, people's perspective in living their social life is influenced by the concept of mimicry which is marked by the phenomenon of an imitator, it will produce similarities with other parties who are role models as well as become a model of imitation. Thus, when the public imitates the attitude in places of worship, such as the passive type, or the proactive type, or the reactive-rejective type, the community's mutual response will be like that expressed by their leader.

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