



# The Controversy of Eid al-Adha Sacrificial Slaughter Amid the FMD Outbreak in Indonesia: A Sociology of Religion Perspective

The celebration of Eid al-Adha, traditionally a festive and communal expression of Islamic devotion, became a source of public controversy in Indonesia during the Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FMD) outbreak affecting livestock. At the core of this controversy lies an ethical and theological dilemma: whether sacrificial slaughter should proceed when animal health is compromised. This study explores three main aspects: first, the forms in which the controversy manifested; second, the factors that contributed to public and institutional disagreement; and third, the broader implications for Muslim social and spiritual life. Data were collected from selected online news articles and analyzed using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis model, including syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. The findings indicate three major forms of controversy: affirmation of slaughter validity, uncertainty due to health risks, and concerns about ritual permissibility. Contributing factors include widespread media coverage, government restrictions, and religious fatwas. The implications range from economic losses in the livestock trade and reduced enthusiasm for sacrifice to social tensions within communities. This study concludes that the FMD outbreak disrupted not only ritual practice but also the socioreligious harmony surrounding Eid al-Adha, revealing tensions between religious commitment, health concerns, and public discourse.

**Keywords:** Controversy, Sacrificial slaughter, Eid al-Adha, Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FMD), Sociology of religion.

Perayaan Iduladha, yang secara tradisional merupakan ekspresi kegembiraan dan kebersamaan dalam pengabdian umat Islam, berubah menjadi sumber kontroversi publik di Indonesia selama wabah Penyakit Mulut dan Kuku (PMK) yang menyerang hewan ternak. Inti dari kontroversi ini adalah dilema etis dan teologis: apakah penyembelihan hewan kurban sebaiknya tetap dilakukan ketika kesehatan hewan sedang terancam. Studi ini mengeksplorasi tiga aspek utama: pertama, bentuk-bentuk kontroversi yang muncul; kedua, faktor-faktor yang memicu ketidaksepakatan publik dan kelembagaan; dan ketiga, implikasi yang lebih luas bagi kehidupan sosial dan spiritual umat Muslim. Data dikumpulkan dari sejumlah artikel berita daring yang dipilih dan dianalisis menggunakan model analisis framing Pan dan Kosicki, yang mencakup struktur sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Temuan menunjukkan tiga bentuk utama kontroversi: penegasan keabsahan penyembelihan, ketidakpastian karena risiko kesehatan, dan kekhawatiran terkait keabsahan ritual. Faktor-faktor yang berkontribusi meliputi liputan media yang luas, pembatasan dari pemerintah, dan fatwa keagamaan. Implikasi dari kontroversi ini mencakup kerugian ekonomi dalam perdagangan ternak, menurunnya semangat berkorban, hingga ketegangan sosial di tengah masyarakat. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa wabah PMK tidak hanya mengganggu praktik ritual, tetapi juga keharmonisan sosial-keagamaan yang menyertai Iduladha, serta mengungkap ketegangan antara komitmen religius, perhatian terhadap kesehatan, dan wacana publik.

**Kata Kunci:** Kontroversi, Penyembelihan kurban, Iduladha, Penyakit Mulut dan Kuku (PMK), Sosiologi agama.

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**Dates:**

Received 10 Apr 2025  
 Revised 28 May 2025  
 Accepted 28 Jun 2025  
 Published 30 Jun 2025

**How to cite this article:**

Mubaraq, Zulfi, Irwan Abdullah, Abdul Wahab Fatoni, Sutawi, Lily Zalizar, and Frida Kusumastuti. "The Controversy of Eid Al-Adha Sacrificial Slaughter Amid the FMD Outbreak in Indonesia: A Sociology of Religion Perspective". *ESSENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 26 (1). <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v26i1.6482>

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## Introduction

Eid al-Adha is a significant religious festival and a form of practical theology that is always celebrated by Muslims every year with great enthusiasm. However, during the Covid-19 pandemic in early July 2020, especially in 2022, controversy arose over the celebration of Eid al-Adha, due to the transmission of Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) in Indonesia. After being declared free of FMD for the past 32 years, the outbreak again affected thousands of cattle, buffalo, goats, and sheep in Indonesia. The first FMD case was found in Gresik Regency on April 28, 2022, with 402 beef cattle infected with FMD. The second case was reported in Lamongan Regency and Sidoarjo Regency on May 1, 2022, with 102 beef cattle and 595 dairy cattle and buffalo infected, respectively. Data from Thursday (13/05/2022) recorded 3,481 cattle infected with FMD in Gresik, Sidoarjo, Lamongan and Mojokerto Regencies with 54 cattle deaths. FMD cases also occurred in Aceh Tamiang Regency, Aceh Province, totaling 2,558 with 13 deaths. The Ministry of Agriculture has designated East Java Province and Aceh Province as emergency areas for the FMD outbreak. On Wednesday (17/05/2022), the FMD outbreak was reported to have spread to Central Java, West Java, and Nusa Tenggara.<sup>1</sup>

Foot and mouth disease (FMD) has become a global concern, due to its rapid spread. The United States has experienced nine outbreaks, with the largest occurring in 1914 infecting more than 170,000 sheep, pigs, and cattle. A major

outbreak of the disease also occurred in South Korea in 2010, resulting in the slaughter of 3 million pigs and 107,000 cattle.<sup>2</sup> The largest outbreak in the UK occurred in 2001, resulting in six million sheep and cattle having to be culled to stop the spread.<sup>3</sup> New FMD cases occurred in Indonesia in 2022. From May to September 2022, the disease spread rapidly to 24 provinces and 296 districts/cities, causing 543,171 livestock to become sick. Of these, 81.3% were beef cattle (441,520 head) and 13.4% were dairy cattle (72,842 head); the remainder were buffalo, goats, sheep, and pigs.<sup>4</sup>

Several countries are also experiencing similar challenges, such as in Pakistan. Eid al-Adha is an annual religious festival also celebrated by Muslims there, and in early August 2020, almost 8 million animals were sacrificed.<sup>5</sup> Celebrating the festival during the COVID-19 pandemic is quite challenging amidst the alarming rise in positive cases nationwide. In most Muslim countries, animal slaughter during the festival is controlled and restricted to certain places.<sup>6</sup> However, the pattern of animal slaughter has changed according to the various cultural and religious beliefs in Pakistan. These changes include factors such as transportation of animals for sale from rural to urban areas, little regulation of animal sales, more purchases of animals, freelance and non-professional slaughterers, slaughtering animals in public places, crowds of spectators around the slaughterhouse to watch the slaughter and mass gatherings at home.<sup>7</sup> The celebration of Eid cannot be canceled, because of

<sup>1</sup> Sutawi, "Bioterrorisme Penyakit Mulut dan Kuku," *Koran Bhirawa*, May 24, 2022, 4, <https://www.umm.ac.id/id/arsip-koran/bhirawa/opini-dosen-bioterrorisme-penyakit-mulut-dan-kuku.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Evan Ramstad and Jaeyeon Woo, "Foot-and-Mouth Disease Roils Korean Farms," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 11, 2022, 7, <https://www.wsj.com/%0Aarticles/SB10001424052748703791904576075341212752096>.

<sup>3</sup> T.J.D. Knight-Jones and J. Rushton, "The Economic Impacts of Foot and Mouth Disease – What Are They, How Big Are They and Where Do They Occur?," *Preventive Veterinary Medicine* 112, no. 3–4 (November 2013): 161–73, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.prevetmed.2013.07.013>.

<sup>4</sup> Kementrian Pertanian, "Informasi

Penanggulangan dan Tindakan Pencegahan Wabah PMK," 2022.

<sup>5</sup> T.H. Mallhi et al., "Celebrating Eid-UI-Adha in the Era of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Pakistan: Potential Threats and Precautionary Measures," *Clinical Microbiology and Infection* 26, no. 12 (December 2020): 1714–15, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cmi.2020.07.019>.

<sup>6</sup> Hakan Leblebicioglu et al., "Consensus Report: Preventive Measures for Crimean-Congo Hemorrhagic Fever during Eid-Al-Adha Festival," *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 38 (2015): 9–15, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijid.2015.06.029>.

<sup>7</sup> Tauqeer Hussain Mallhi et al., "Crimean-Congo Haemorrhagic Fever Virus and Eid-UI-Adha Festival in Pakistan," *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 16, no. 12 (December





religious obligations, and it therefore tends to have the potential to threaten a sharp spike in COVID-19 cases during the preparation of Eid al-Adha.<sup>8</sup>

This study examines the controversy over the slaughter of qurban animals for Eid al-Adha during the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in 2022. Thus far, studies on religious celebrations associated with diseases that infect humans and livestock have shown three tendencies. First, ideologically, the celebration of the Eid al-Adha cannot leave the religious tradition of animal sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> Second, politically, the government issues regulations to protect the health and safety of animals and the public.<sup>10</sup> Third, historically, these animal diseases have spread and resulted in death.<sup>11</sup> According to Sutawi, the history of FMD in Indonesia was first reported to have occurred in Malang in 1887, then spread throughout the archipelago. Through a series of massive and ongoing policies and actions for a century, Indonesia succeeded in declaring FMD-free status in 1986 through the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture No. 260/1986 and received world recognition of this in the Resolution of the World Animal Health Organization (Office International des Epizooties, OIE) No. XI of 1990. The Directorate General of Animal Husbandry (2002) noted that Indonesia's economic losses from dealing with FMD for 100 years (1887-1986) reached USD 1.66 billion (IDR 29 trillion). In 2013, Indonesia designated FMD as a strategic infectious animal disease (PHMS) that must be monitored and prevented. Indonesia was declared FMD-free without a vaccination program with OIE Resolution No. XV of 2019.<sup>12</sup>

This paper seeks to address the shortcomings of the study by answering three basic questions: First, what are the forms of controversy surrounding the celebration of Eid al-Adha in the era of foot and mouth disease transmission in animals in 2022 in Indonesia? These forms of controversy relate to various pro, contra and moderate attitudes and their underlying reasons; Second, what are the factors causing the controversy? These factors concern both internal and external debates regarding the slaughter of sacrificial animals. Third, what are the implications of the controversy for the situation and conditions of Muslims and the Indonesian nation? The implications concern the consequences of the debate for broader society. These questions are important to answer because they concern health and safety, both for sacrificial animals and for Muslims celebrating Eid al-Adha.

The argument in this article is that the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the spread of foot and mouth disease in animals is an important phenomenon for three reasons. First, it is a very controversial event involving many parties, both those who agree and those who disagree with the slaughter of animals during the outbreak of the foot and mouth virus, making it necessary to explore their perspectives. Second, the issue gained widespread attention starting a month before the celebration of Eid al-Adha, the feast of sacrifice for Indonesia's Muslim majority. Third, it represents a critical emergency concerning the health of livestock in large numbers and the safety of people consuming the meat of slaughtered animals during the 2022 celebration. This situation requires preventive

2016): 1332–33, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099\(16\)30453-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099(16)30453-4).

<sup>8</sup> Asad Mustafa Karim et al., "Surveillance of Haemorrhagic Fever in HPV Screening in Islamic Countries Until Eradication, Awareness," *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 17, no. 4 (2017): 367–68, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099\(17\)30119-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099(17)30119-6).

<sup>9</sup> Mallhi et al., "Celebrating Eid-UI-Adha in the Era of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Pakistan: Potential Threats and Precautionary Measures."

<sup>10</sup> MUI Jatim, "Fatwa MUI No. 32 Tahun 2022 Tentang Hukum dan Panduan Pelaksanaan Ibadah Qurban

Saat Wabah PMK-1," MUI Jatim, 2022, <https://muijatim.or.id/2022/06/08/fatwa-mui-no-32-tahun-2022-tentang-hukum-dan-panduan-pelaksanaan-ibadah-qurban-saat-wabah-pmk-1>.

<sup>11</sup> Ali Ahmad Noor Hidayat, "Kementan Perkirakan Kerugian Ekonomi Akibat PMK Rp 9,9 T Per Tahun," *Tempo*, 2022, <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/kementan-perkirakan-kerugian-ekonomi-akibat-pmk-rp-9-9-t-per-tahun-332905>.

<sup>12</sup> Sutawi, "Bioterrorisme Penyakit Mulut dan Kuku," 4.





measures that can be anticipated if similar events occur in the future so that they do not continue to cause widespread concern and unrest among Muslims in particular, as well as among the Indonesian public more generally..

This paper applies the content analysis method to examine the content containing news, both online (electronic) and offline (print) regarding the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD outbreak. The information sources are extracted from mainstream mass media platforms such as Kompas, Detik, Tempo and others. The primary data consist of news reports about the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the foot-and-mouth disease outbreak in Indonesia, published a few days before and after Eid al-Adha 1444 H/2022.

The technique used to collect data involves categorizing the news into groups reflecting controversies about the slaughter of sacrificial animals, including those who agree, those who disagree, and the MUI fatwas offering solutions in response to the increasingly concerning FMD situation and its impact on the health and safety of Muslims. After categorization, each article is then classified according to the arguments presented, based on predetermined coding columns. Next, each quoted news item is coded. Data were collected to capture information about the forms of controversy, the factors influencing them, and their implications for Muslim communities, using reports from various relevant media. Meanwhile, data on foot-and-mouth disease were taken from three online media platforms between May 1 and July 30, 2022 (three months), resulting in 15 relevant articles on Kompas.com, 11 articles on Detik.com, and 11 articles on Republika.co.id.

The technique used to analyze the data is content analysis. Qualitative research techniques emphasize the consistency of communication

content, the meaning conveyed, the interpretation of symbols, and the significance of symbolic interactions that occur in communication.<sup>13</sup> Content analysis is defined as a scientific research technique aimed at understanding the characteristics of content and drawing inferences from it. The pioneer of content analysis, Harold D. Lasswell, developed the symbol coding technique, which involves systematically recording symbols or messages and then interpreting them.<sup>14</sup> In addition, this media framing research uses the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing model analysis.<sup>15</sup> Through four stages of framing, Syntactic Structure, Script Structure, Thematic Structure, and Rhetorical Structure, it demonstrates that the three media platforms studied share similar framing regarding the handling of FMD, but differ in their reporting on the impact of FMD on society.

### Conception of Controversy

Etymologically, controversy means turning in the opposite direction. In terminology, controversy refers to a state of conflict, dispute, disagreement, or prolonged debate regarding a problem, opinion, or two conflicting points of view.<sup>16</sup> Controversy is also a process of competition and conflict arising from uncertainty about a person's position or feelings of hidden dislike toward others. A view or opinion is an idea or thought that explains a trend, preference, or inclination toward a certain ideology or perspective, which often lacks objectivity. An opinion is a response to stimuli, structured through personal interpretation. Views or judgments expressed as opinions are frequently not supported by factual evidence or verified knowledge, so they are unconvincing and often used in subjective contexts that cannot be proven true. This occurs because opinions are influenced

<sup>13</sup> Burhan Bungin, *Qualitative Research* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2011), 83.

<sup>14</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, ed. Leo Rosten (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), 78.

<sup>15</sup> Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki,

"Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse," *Political Communication* volume 10 (1993): 55-75 1058-4609/93.

<sup>16</sup> Brian Martin, *Controversy Manual*, 2014, 21, <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/14cm/14cm.pdf>.





by thoughts, perspectives, feelings, attitudes, experiences, desires, beliefs, values, and personal understanding without concrete evidence.<sup>17</sup>

The causes of controversy or conflict include several interrelated factors: (1) the overlapping interests of two or more groups in obtaining the same resource, which triggers competition; (2) the presence of stereotypes or personal traits, negative prejudices, and discriminatory attitudes within or between groups; (3) the scarcity of essential resources, which creates intense competition among groups seeking to benefit from them; (4) distinct social identities or categories that differentiate members of one group from another; (5) perceived or actual injustices between groups, which tend to privilege one's own group; and (6) aggressive behaviors carried out by one group against another, including acts of dominance and suppression.<sup>18</sup>

Symptoms of controversy in society include several observable conditions: (1) a lack of shared perspectives between groups, such as differences in goals and methods; (2) the failure of social norms to function effectively as mechanisms for achieving collective objectives; (3) conflicts between norms that create confusion within the community; (4) weak or inconsistent sanctions against violations of those norms; (5) actions by community members that no longer align with applicable standards; and (6) the emergence of dissociative processes, including unhealthy competition, controversial behaviors, and conflict.<sup>19</sup>

## Slaughter of Qurban Animals in Eid al-Adha

Etymologically, the words "slaughter" and "qurban" come from the Arabic *qaruba*, *yaqrabu*, *qurbānan*, which means "to come close" or "to bring near." *Udhiyah* or *dahiyyah* literally means "slaughtered animal."<sup>20</sup> In terminology, sacrificial worship is a form of religious devotion practiced by adherents of Islam, involving the slaughter of livestock offered to Allah. The ritual is performed during the month of Zulhijjah in the Islamic calendar, specifically on the 10th (Eid al-Adha) and the 11th, 12th, and 13th (the days of Tashriq) (Surah Al-Saffat verses 102–107; Surah Al-Kausar verse 2). The time for slaughtering sacrificial animals spans four days, ending at sunset on the 13th of Zulhijjah. Ibn al-Qayyim's argument is that these are the days of Mina, the days of Tashriq, the days of throwing stones, and days on which fasting is forbidden (Ibn al-Qayyim<sup>21</sup>, Ibn Taymiyyah<sup>22</sup>, Ibn 'Uthaymīn<sup>23</sup>, Al-Baihaqi<sup>24</sup>, Ibn Qudamah<sup>25</sup>).

The terms and conditions for the distribution of sacrificial meat are as follows: (1) the person offering the sacrifice must be able to provide the animal in a halal manner without incurring debt; (2) the animal must be livestock, such as camels, cows, goats, or sheep; (3) the animal must be free of defects, not blind, lame, or sick, and must have intact ears and tail; (4) the animal must be of sufficient age, meaning camels must be five years or older, cows or buffaloes two years, goats more than one year, and sheep more than six months; (5) the person performing the sacrifice must be free (not enslaved), mature, and of sound judgment; (6) the meat is divided into three parts,

<sup>17</sup> Gun Gun Heryanto, *Strategi Literasi Politik: Sebuah Pendekatan Teoritis Dan Praktis* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2021), 16.

<sup>18</sup> Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, *Kajian Konflik dan Perdamaian* (Jakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2015), 51.

<sup>19</sup> Wahyuni, *Pengantar Sosiologi* (Makassar: Rumah Buku Carabaca, 2018), 18.

<sup>20</sup> "No Title," accessed August 27, 2022, <https://www.almaany.com/id/dict/ar-id/kurban/>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyah, *Zaadul Ma'ad: Bekal Perjalanan Ke Akhirat 2*, trans. Khatir Suhardi (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2000), 319.

<sup>22</sup> "Majmū' Al-Fatāwā Al-Lajnah Al-Dā'Imah Li Al-

Buḥūth Al-'Ilmiyyah Wa Al-Iftā' Vol. 11, p. 406, Fatwa No. 8790," Mamlakah Su'ūdiyyah, accessed August 27, 2022, <https://archive.org/details/MajmuAlFatawaAllajnahAdDaimah2>.

<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ Al-'Uthaymīn, *Al-Sharḥ Al-Mumtī 'alā Zād Al-Mustaqni'* Vol. 3 (Dār al-Jawzī, 2007), 411–12.

<sup>24</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn Al-Bayhaqī, "Kitāb Al-Sunan Al-Kubrā," Maktabah al-Syamilah, n.d., <https://shamela.ws/book/7861/21914>.

<sup>25</sup> Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī 'alā Sharḥ Al-Kabīr* Vol. 5 (Riyadh: Maktabah Ḥadīthah, 1981), 193.





one-third for the sacrificer, one-third given as charity, and one-third given as a gift; and (7) slaughtering should begin immediately after the Eid prayer, without waiting for the sermon to conclude. If there is no Eid prayer in a location, the time is estimated based on when the Eid prayer would normally be held, and any slaughter performed before the proper time is invalid and must be repeated.<sup>26</sup>

One of the major themes of colonial expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries was the interaction between the legal systems of colonial states and those of indigenous peoples. The relationship between the laws and procedures imposed by the British in India and Islamic law had been developing for centuries. Elizabeth Lhost studied this interaction at the level of abstract processes and the social contexts in which people sought justice and equality. In the process, Lhost was acutely aware that she was confronting a world of increasing legal consciousness and a growing Islamic legal consciousness. All of this was linked to the rise of the modern state, with its unmatched capacity to reach all levels of society, and to the communications revolution driven by technological innovations ranging from the printing press and railways to postal systems, telegraphs, and wireless networks.<sup>27</sup> This can serve as a lesson for Indonesia in the context of the interaction between Islamic law and government regulations related to sacrificial slaughter during the FMD period.

### Foot and Mouth Disease

FMD is an acute animal disease caused by a virus of the genus *Aphthovirus* from the *Picornaviridae* family, which consists of seven serotypes that are immunologically different from each other: O, A, C, Asia 1, and Southern

African Territory (SAT-1, SAT-2, and SAT-3). This disease spreads through the air (airborne disease) within a radius of up to 10 km, with 90–100% transmission occurring through direct or indirect contact. Transmission of FMD from sick animals to other animals happens through direct contact with infected animals, contact with secretions and materials contaminated with the FMD virus, and carrier animals. Transmission can also occur via contact with contaminated materials or tools, such as personnel, vehicles, animal feed, and livestock products including milk, meat, offal, bones, blood, semen, embryos, and feces. According to the World Animal Health Organization, FMD is one of the most dangerous animal diseases (List A), although it is not transmitted to humans (non-zoonotic). Mortality among adult cattle infected with FMD reaches 1–3%, while mortality among calves can be as high as 50–60%.<sup>29</sup>

Foot and mouth disease is an infectious disease that affects cloven-hoofed animals, both livestock and wild animals such as cows, buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, deer, camels and elephants. The virus enters the animal's body through the mouth or nose and multiplies in the epithelial cells in the nasopharynx.<sup>31</sup> The FMD virus then enters the blood and multiplies in the lymph glands and epithelial cells in the mouth and feet (foot scuffs) causing wounds and blisters. Transmission among animals, particularly sensitive species, occurs either directly or indirectly. Direct transmission results from direct contact with infected animals, their saliva and nasal discharge, and contaminated materials, as well as carrier animals. Indirect transmission arises from contact with contaminated materials or tools, including personnel, vehicles, animal feed, and products such as milk, meat, offal, bones, blood, semen, embryos, and feces. The

<sup>26</sup> Ibnu Hajar Al-Asqalani, *Fathul Bari: Syarah Shahih Al-Bukhari* (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Syafii, 2010), 201.

<sup>27</sup> Francis Robinson, "Everyday Islamic Law and the Making of Modern South Asia By Elizabeth Lhost," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 34, no. 3 (August 11, 2023): 448–49, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etad027>.

<sup>29</sup> Sutawi, "Bioterrorisme Penyakit Mulut dan

Kuku," 4.

<sup>31</sup> J. Arzt et al., "The Pathogenesis of Foot-and-Mouth Disease II: Viral Pathways in Swine, Small Ruminants, and Wildlife; Myotropism, Chronic Syndromes, and Molecular Virus-Host Interactions," *Transboundary and Emerging Diseases* 58, no. 4 (August 2011): 305–26, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1865-1682.2011.01236.x>.





spread of FMD between areas generally occurs through the movement or transportation of infected livestock, livestock products, and carrier animals harboring the virus.<sup>32</sup>

This disease has an incubation period (the time from viral entry until symptoms appear) ranging from 2–8 days. Symptoms vary by species but generally include high fever (up to 39°C) lasting several days, refusal to eat, and sores or blisters in the mouth area (including the tongue, gums, inner cheeks, and lips) and on all four feet (the heels, interdigital spaces, and coronary bands). Lesions can also appear in the nostrils, muzzle, and teats. Infected cattle typically exhibit excessive salivation accompanied by foaming.<sup>33</sup> Reports indicate that Balinese cattle infected with FMD showed hypersalivation and foaming, reluctance to stand, bleeding sores or blisters in the mouth and on all four feet, and body temperatures reaching 40°C.<sup>35</sup> Indonesia was previously an FMD-infected country;<sup>36</sup> the disease was first reported in 1887 in Malang, later spreading to Java, Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan.

However, in 1990, Indonesia was declared FMD-free, as stated in OIE Resolution No. XI of 1990 (Ditkeswan 2014). In 2013, the Indonesian government classified FMD as a strategic infectious animal disease (PHMS) requiring vigilance and prevention (Minister of Agriculture 2013). Until recently, Indonesia remained FMD-free without a vaccination program, as recognized in OIE Resolution No. XV of 2019 (OIE 2019c). However, in 2022, Indonesia lost its FMD-free status with the reemergence of the disease in East Java, confirmed by PUSVETMA on May 5, 2022.

### Forms of Controversy

The slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period has caused conflict in three forms: (1) the belief that slaughtering sacrificial animals remains valid; (2) the perception of doubt regarding whether such slaughter is valid or concerns that the animal might die; and (3) the belief that it is invalid or prohibited because the animal is sick or does not meet the requirements. This is shown in the table below:

**Table 1.** Forms of Controversy

No	Events/News	Source	Code
1.	Although Liver Flukes Were Found, Sacrificial Animals Are Safe Regarding FMD, July 10, 2022.	<a href="https://mediacenter.temanggungkab.go.id/berita/detail/meski-ditemukan-cacing-hati-namun-hewan-kurban-aman-pmk">https://mediacenter.temanggungkab.go.id/berita/detail/meski-ditemukan-cacing-hati-namun-hewan-kurban-aman-pmk</a>	still valid to slaughter
2.	Ahead of Eid al-Adha, Malang City Government Educated on Slaughtering Sacrificial Animals During FMD Period, June 20, 2022.	<a href="https://malangkota.go.id/2022/06/20/jelang-iduladha-pemkot-malang-edukasi-penyembelihan-hewan-kurban-di-masa-pmk/">https://malangkota.go.id/2022/06/20/jelang-iduladha-pemkot-malang-edukasi-penyembelihan-hewan-kurban-di-masa-pmk/</a>	still valid to slaughter
3.	MUI Fatwa Argument: Animals Exposed to FMD with Mild Symptoms Are Still Valid for Qurban, June 22, 2022.	<a href="https://mui.or.id/tag/fatwa-hewan-pmk/">https://mui.or.id/tag/fatwa-hewan-pmk/</a>	still valid to slaughter

<sup>32</sup> J.S. Salt, "The Carrier State in Foot and Mouth Disease—an Immunological Review," *British Veterinary Journal* 149, no. 3 (January 1993): 207–23, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0007-1935\(05\)80168-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0007-1935(05)80168-X).

<sup>33</sup> K.A. Kamil Soeharsono and A. Mushawwir., "Sistem Gastrointestinal," in *Fisiologi Ternak: Fenomena dan Nomena Dasar Dari Fungsi Serta Interaksi Organ Pada Hewan* (Bandung: Widya Pajajaran, 2010), 10, <https://digilib.ub.ac.id/opac/detail-opac?id=6271>.

<sup>35</sup> R.M. Abdul Adjid, "Foot and Mouth Disease: Exotic Animal Disease That Must Be Alert of Entry into Indonesia," *Indonesian Bulletin of Animal and Veterinary Sciences* 30, no. 2 (July 3, 2020): 61–70, <https://doi.org/10.14334/wartazoa.v30i2.2490>.

<sup>36</sup> Purnomo Ronoharjo et al., "Potensi Berbagai Vaksin Mulut Kuku Yang Dipakai Dalam Pemberantasan Wabah Penyakit," *Penyakit Hewan* 16, no. 28 (1984): 189–96.





4.	Anticipating FMD Transmission, Pasuruan Regency Government Urges Cow Slaughter Only on the First Day of Eid al-Adha, July 9, 2022.	<a href="https://www.pasuruankab.go.id/isiberita/antisipasi-penularan-pmk-pemkab-pasuruan-himbau-penyembelihan-qurban-sapi-hanya-di-hari-pertama-idul-adha">https://www.pasuruankab.go.id/isiberita/antisipasi-penularan-pmk-pemkab-pasuruan-himbau-penyembelihan-qurban-sapi-hanya-di-hari-pertama-idul-adha</a>	doubt if not valid/ worried about dying
5.	People Reminded Not to Hesitate to Perform Qurban Amid FMD Outbreak, July 9, 2022.	<a href="https://rejogja.republika.co.id/berita/resh96327/masyarakat-diingat-tak-ragu-berqurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk">https://rejogja.republika.co.id/berita/resh96327/masyarakat-diingat-tak-ragu-berqurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk</a>	doubt if not valid/ worried about dying
6.	MUI Suggests Goat Sacrifice Only If in Doubt About FMD Outbreak, Although Cows Are Still Allowed As Long As They Are Healthy, June 25, 2022.	<a href="https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/302707/mui-sarankan-kurban-kambing-saja-jika-ragu-soal-wabah-pmk-meski-sapi-tetap-diperbolehkan-asal">https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/302707/mui-sarankan-kurban-kambing-saja-jika-ragu-soal-wabah-pmk-meski-sapi-tetap-diperbolehkan-asal</a>	doubt if not valid/ worried about dying
7.	MUI: Animals with Severe FMD Symptoms Are Not Valid as Sacrificial Animals, May 31, 2022.	<a href="https://mui.or.id/berita/35446/mui-hewan-pmk-gejala-klinis-berat-tidak-sah-dijadikan-hewan-kurban/">https://mui.or.id/berita/35446/mui-hewan-pmk-gejala-klinis-berat-tidak-sah-dijadikan-hewan-kurban/</a>	Sure it is not valid / prohibited due to illness / not meeting the requirements
8.	Minister of Religion Yaqut: It Cannot Be Forced If Sacrifice Cannot Be Carried Out Due to the FMD Outbreak, June 24, 2022.	<a href="https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/302372/menag-yaqut-tak-boleh-memaksakan-jika-kurban-tidak-bisa-dilaksanakan-karena-wabah-pmk">https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/302372/menag-yaqut-tak-boleh-memaksakan-jika-kurban-tidak-bisa-dilaksanakan-karena-wabah-pmk</a>	Sure it is not valid / prohibited due to illness / not meeting the requirements
9.	Livestock FMD: Celebrating Eid al-Adha Amidst Widespread FMD Virus: 'It Should Be a Harvest But We Are Concerned', July 8, 2022.	<a href="https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-62084385">https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-62084385</a>	Sure it is not valid / prohibited due to illness / not meeting the requirements

This section describes news coverage of these debates, including supporting attitudes, expressions of doubt, and positions rejecting the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period. Portal (1) features Supardi from the Muhammadiyah Kowangan Branch, who stated that he remains convinced of the validity of the sacrifice involving 22 cows and 33 goats, because FMD is not a type of zoonosis—a disease transmitted between animals and humans—but precautions should still be taken to protect other livestock. Recipients of sacrificial meat are advised to wash the meat under running water that drains into a septic tank and to boil it for 30 minutes. Portal (2) reports that the Mayor of Malang, Sutiaji, in a coordination meeting attended by representatives of 80 mosque administrators on June 20, 2022, emphasized the following points: first, that FMD is not contagious to humans and does not pose a health risk; second, that public education based on accurate information from experts is essential to prevent disinformation and anxiety; third, that mitigation, inspection, and monitoring of all

animals should be conducted; and fourth, that no mosque should reject sacrificial animals, as the Indonesian Ulama Council Fatwa No. 32 of 2022 provides clear criteria for permissible and impermissible animals. Portal (3) highlights the MUI’s position that animals with mild FMD symptoms remain valid for sacrifice, and the public generally accepts that such slaughter is permissible.

The three descriptions above illustrate that one form of controversy regarding the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period is the view that it remains permissible and valid as an act of worship on Eid al-Adha.

Portals (4) describe the Pasuruan Regency Government. The Acting Regent of Pasuruan, KH Abdul Mujib Imron, appealed to Muslims celebrating Eid al-Adha 1443 H to slaughter sacrificial animals of the cow type only on the first day to anticipate the transmission of foot and mouth disease (FMD) through airborne means, during an inspection of sacrificial animals by the Pasuruan Regency Animal Husbandry and Animal Health Service at the Al-Yasini Wonorejo Islamic Boarding School on Saturday







(09/07/2022). There was hesitation in the appeal, which caused the public to be uncertain about carrying it out.

Portal (5) reports that the Governor of East Java, Emil Elestianto Dardak, reminded the public not to worry or hesitate to make sacrifices even in the midst of an FMD outbreak, as the spread of the disease in East Java was reportedly declining from day to day. It appears that public concerns were also felt by the government, prompting the issuance of an appeal to reassure people. This shows that an atmosphere of doubt in society had indeed been felt from the outset, especially among sacrificial animal breeders, sellers, and buyers within the Muslim community.<sup>37</sup>

Portal (6) discusses the MUI's suggestion to sacrifice only goats if there is doubt about the FMD outbreak, although cows are still allowed as long as they meet health requirements. If the person intending to perform the sacrifice feels hesitant or disgusted because of the disease, it is recommended not to proceed. Additionally, if someone who has already bought a cow finds that the animal remains sick during the *tashriq* days (the three days after Eid al-Adha), the cow should not be slaughtered until it has recovered, after which it may be used for the Eid al-Adha sacrifice.<sup>38</sup>

The three descriptions above indicate that one form of controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period is the view that the sacrifice may ultimately be invalid, especially if it results in the death of the sacrificial animal or raises concerns among slaughterers and recipients (*mustahiq*) about infection. In this case, there was hesitation in the government's appeal, contributing to public uncertainty. The public's concerns were also acknowledged by government officials, leading to appeals not to worry or hesitate. This demonstrates that an

atmosphere of doubt in society was indeed present from the beginning, particularly among breeders, sellers, and buyers of sacrificial animals within the Muslim community.

Portal (7) reports that the Chairman of the MUI Fatwa Commission, KH Asrorun Niam Sholeh, stipulated that animals affected by FMD with severe clinical symptoms (such as blisters on the hooves causing them to fall off, lameness or inability to walk, and extreme thinness) are not valid for use as sacrificial animals. This statement was made during a press conference on Fatwa Number 32 of 2022 concerning the Law and Guidelines for Implementing Sacrificial Worship during the FMD Outbreak, held on Tuesday (31/05/2022) at the Central MUI Building in Jakarta (Saddam Al-Ghifari/Azhar, 2022).

Portal (8) reports that the Minister of Religion, Yaquut, stated it is not permissible to force oneself to perform a sacrifice if it cannot be carried out due to the FMD outbreak (24 June 2022). The main point emphasized is that the law of sacrifice is *sunnah muakkadah* (recommended). If, under certain conditions, the sacrifice cannot be performed, it should not be forced. This statement responded to reports that cases of FMD were affecting more cows than goats (Fransisca Natalia, Kompas TV).

Portal (9) reports that a number of residents in Indonesia decided not to follow recommendations to slaughter sacrificial animals during the Eid al-Adha celebration that weekend because they were concerned about the risk of foot and mouth disease. Many opted not to buy livestock, as much of the livestock was infected with FMD. They ultimately decided not to perform sacrifices to avoid risk and because they could not guarantee that the sacrificial animals purchased were free from viruses or disease (Abdul Latif Apriaman in West Nusa Tenggara and Fajar Sodik in Central Java, BBC, 2022).

<sup>37</sup> Muhammad Fakhruddin, "Masyarakat Diingatkan Tak Ragu Berqurban Di Tengah Wabah PMK," *Republika*, July 10, 2022, <https://rejogja.republika.co.id/berita/resh96327/masyarakat-diingatkan-tak-ragu-berqurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk>.

<sup>38</sup> Dedik Priyanto, "MUI Sarankan Kurban

Kambing Saja Jika Ragu Soal Wabah PMK, Meski Sapi Tetap Diperbolehkan Asal ...," *Kompas*, June 25, 2022, <https://www.kompas.tv/nasional/302707/mui-sarankan-kurban-kambing-saja-jika-ragu-soal-wabah-pmk-meski-sapi-tetap-diperbolehkan-asal>.





The three descriptions above illustrate that another form of controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period is the belief that the practice is invalid because it has been prohibited by the government due to illness and because such animals do not meet the requirements established by the MUI fatwa.

These findings suggest that the controversy is also influenced by differences of opinion regarding the legal status of sacrificial slaughter, which has been an issue of *khilāfiyyah* (jurisprudential disagreement) since the earliest *ijtihād* of the imams of the schools of law (*madhhab*). The celebration of Eid al-Adha, particularly through the slaughter of sacrificial animals, is regarded by the majority of scholars among the *ṣaḥābah* (companions), the *tābi'īn*, the *tābi' al-tābi'īn*, and the jurists (*fuqahā'*) as *sunnah*

*mu'akkadah*, and none of them considered it *wājib* (obligatory) except for Abū Ḥanīfah (*tābi'īn*). Ibn Ḥazm stated: "None of the Prophet's Companions declared that sacrifice is obligatory."

**Factors Causing Controversy**

There are three reasons that trigger the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period. First, the flood of news about FMD that is overwhelming, causing confusion. Second, the existence of government instructions regarding the prohibition of slaughtering sacrificial animals, causing fear. Third, the effect of the MUI fatwa, which causes doubt. This is shown in the table below:

**Table 2. Factors Causing Controversy**

No	Events/News	Source	Code
1.	Slaughtering sacrificial animals during PMK 2022, about 128 results	<a href="https://www.google.com/search?q=slaughtering+sacrificial+animals+during+pmk+2022&amp;news">https://www.google.com/search?q=slaughtering+sacrificial+animals+during+pmk+2022&amp;news</a>	the torrent of news
2.	Qurban animals PMK 2022, about 372 results	<a href="https://www.google.com/search?q=hewan+kurban+pmk&amp;-news">https://www.google.com/search?q=hewan+kurban+pmk&amp;-news</a>	the torrent of news
3.	Foot and mouth disease 2022, about 1,240 results	<a href="https://www.google.com/search?q=mouth+and+nail+diseases+2022&amp;rlz-news">https://www.google.com/search?q=mouth+and+nail+diseases+2022&amp;rlz-news</a>	the torrent of news
4.	Coordinating Minister Muhadjir Asks Campuses to Help Handle FMD Outbreak, July 3, 2022	<a href="https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/menko-muhadjir-minta-kampus-ikut-tangani-wabah-pmk">https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/menko-muhadjir-minta-kampus-ikut-tangani-wabah-pmk</a>	government ban
5.	Requirements for Sacrificial Animals in the Midst of FMD Outbreak, June 22, 2022	<a href="https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6143540/syarat-hewan-kurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk-cek-selengkapnya/2">https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6143540/syarat-hewan-kurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk-cek-selengkapnya/2</a>	government ban
6.	Slaughtering Sacrificial Animals During FMD Outbreak, Is It Allowed in Places of Worship?, July 1, 2022	<a href="https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/4999969/is-it-allowable-to-slaughter-animals-sacrificially-during-the-pmk-outbreak-at-place-of-worship">https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/4999969/is-it-allowable-to-slaughter-animals-sacrificially-during-the-pmk-outbreak-at-place-of-worship</a>	government ban
7.	MUI Fatwa Argument: Animals Exposed to FMD with Mild Symptoms Are Still Valid for Qurban, June 22, 2022.	<a href="https://mui.or.id/tag/fatwa-hewan-pmk/">https://mui.or.id/tag/fatwa-hewan-pmk/</a>	MUI fatwa effect
8.	Ten MUI Guidelines to Prevent Sacrificial Animals from Being Exposed to FMD, May 31, 2022	<a href="https://mui.or.id/berita/35451/ten-mui-guidelines-so-that-sacrificial-animals-are-not-exposed-to-pmk/">https://mui.or.id/berita/35451/ten-mui-guidelines-so-that-sacrificial-animals-are-not-exposed-to-pmk/</a>	MUI fatwa effect
9.	MUI Allows Distribution of Qurban Meat to Areas in Need in Processed Form, June 1, 2022.	<a href="https://mui.or.id/berita/35471/mui-bolehkan-simpan-daging-qurban-ke-daerah-yang-membutuhkan-dalam-bentuk-olahan/">https://mui.or.id/berita/35471/mui-bolehkan-simpan-daging-qurban-ke-daerah-yang-membutuhkan-dalam-bentuk-olahan/</a>	MUI fatwa effect





In this section, the news is described as a factor underlying the emergence of debates about attitudes that support or reject the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period. Portal (1) contains news related to slaughtering sacrificial animals in that year, totaling around 128 results. This search was more focused on the word “slaughtering”, not on “sacrificial animals.” Portal (2) contains news related to sacrificial animals and FMD in 2022, with around 372 results. This search focused more on “sacrificial animals,” not “slaughter.” Portal (3) contains news about foot and mouth disease in 2022, with around 1,240 results. This search emphasized “foot and mouth disease,” not “slaughter” or “sacrificial animals.” If these three news categories are combined, the number of search results becomes 1,740 in just a few days during the 2022 Eid al-Adha period.

These descriptions indicate that one factor causing controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period is the overwhelming volume of information and debate, making it difficult for the public to sort through and select accurate information to decide whether to proceed with slaughtering.

Portal (4) contains information about the Minister of PMK ordering the isolation of infected animals to prevent transmission and requesting cooperation from universities to assist in handling the outbreak.<sup>39</sup> The strict prohibition on sacrificial animals by isolating them also caused controversy, as animals were treated in a generalized manner. Portal (5) describes the requirements for selling sacrificial animals during the FMD outbreak. The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government required sacrificial animal sellers to process permits online at [jakevo.jakarta.go.id](http://jakevo.jakarta.go.id) no later than June 24, 2022, with the following requirements:: Administrative: Application letter containing the

applicant’s personal data, KTP and NPWP, SUB/NIB/Business Certificate from the area of origin, and a stamped statement letter confirming that: (1) the livestock does NOT come from an outbreak area, infected, or suspected of FMD; (2) a report of arrival and submission of the SKKH/Veterinary Certificate; and (3) willingness to carry out a 14-day quarantine and provide an isolation cage, a conditional slaughterhouse, and boiling facilities. Technical: Availability of isolation and quarantine cages, a conditional slaughterhouse, and a boiling facility for offal, heads, feet, and tails.<sup>40</sup> Portal (6) discusses the government’s prohibition on slaughtering sacrificial animals in places of worship to avoid the spread of FMD and recommends using the RPH instead.

These descriptions illustrate that another factor causing controversy was the government’s prohibition on transporting, selling, and slaughtering sacrificial animals during the FMD period, which disrupted preparations for Eid al-Adha and hindered the good intentions of Muslims, in contrast to previous years when the celebration was more enthusiastic and lively.

Portal (7) reports the Head of the MUI Fatwa Division, KH Asrorun Niam Sholeh, who, during a press conference on Fatwa Number 32 of 2022 regarding the Law and Guidelines for Implementing Qurban Worship during the FMD Outbreak (Tuesday, 31 May at the Central MUI Building, Jakarta), determined that animals affected by FMD with severe clinical symptoms are not permissible as sacrificial animals. Severe symptoms include blisters on the hooves causing them to fall off, lameness or inability to walk, and extreme thinness. Meanwhile, animals with mild symptoms, such as small blisters between the hooves, lethargy, loss of appetite, and excessive salivation, are permissible as sacrificial animals.<sup>41</sup>

Portal (8) explains that the Indonesian Ulama

<sup>39</sup> Novrizaldi, “Menko Muhadjir Minta Kampus Ikut Tangani Wabah PMK,” Kemenko PMK, 2022, <https://www.kemenkopmk.go.id/menko-muhadjir-minta-kampus-ikut-tangani-wabah-pmk>.

<sup>40</sup> Widhia Arum Wibawana, “Syarat Hewan Kurban Di Tengah Wabah PMK, Cek Selengkapnya,” *Detik*,

June 23, 2022, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6143540/syarat-hewan-kurban-di-tengah-wabah-pmk-cek-selengkapnya>.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Ghifar Sadam, “Sepuluh Panduan MUI Agar Hewan Kurban Tidak Terpapar PMK,” MUI, 2022, <https://mirror.mui.or.id/berita/35451/sepuluh-panduan->





Council (MUI) allowed qurban meat to be distributed to areas in need in processed form. Fatwa Number 32 of 2022 provides guidance: if animals accumulate in one area and cannot be transported due to quarantine policies, qurban can still be performed locally, and the meat distributed as fresh or processed.

Portal (9) contains the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) issuing Fatwa Number 32 of 2022 concerning the Law and Guidelines for Implementing Qurban Worship during the FMD outbreak, announced on Tuesday (31/5) by the Head of the MUI Fatwa Division, KH Asrorun Niam Sholeh, at the MUI Building, Central Jakarta. Here are the 10 guidelines for qurban worship to prevent animals from being exposed to FMD: 1) Muslims who will perform qurban and sellers of qurban animals must ensure that they meet all applicable requirements; they do not have to slaughter the animals themselves and/or witness the slaughtering process directly; they must supervise the health conditions of the animals and the process of cutting and handling the meat, offal, and waste; restrict the movement of livestock from areas with insufficient stock; delegate (*tawkil*) the slaughter to others; and perform qurban through socio-religious institutions to bridge prospective qurban participants with providers of sacrificial animals. (2) Sacrificial meat can be distributed by the committee in the form of fresh or processed meat, following principles of cleanliness and health (hygiene and sanitation) to prevent the wider spread of the FMD virus. The government is obliged to guarantee the availability of healthy and qualified sacrificial animals, provide assistance in the supply, sale, and maintenance of sacrificial animals to ensure their health and welfare, and develop appropriate facilities and infrastructure for slaughterhouses (RPH) (Sadam Al-Ghifar/Angga).<sup>42</sup> Portal (10) contains the

Indonesian Ulama Council issuing MUI Fatwa Number 32 of 2022 concerning the Law and Guidelines for Implementing Qurban Worship during the FMD outbreak. The fatwa presents MUI's arguments stating that animals exposed to the FMD virus under certain conditions are still valid as qurban animals. This fatwa is essentially a response to the spread of FMD cases in livestock farms throughout Indonesia ahead of the Eid al-Adha celebration, the period when Muslims carry out qurban worship.

In the fatwa, the MUI not only provides evidence from the Quran, hadith, and classical scholars but also includes the opinions of zoonosis experts regarding the condition of animals exposed to FMD and how it affects both the meat and human health. There are four criteria that render animals invalid to be used as qurban: being blind, sick, lame, or extremely thin, including the status of animals infected with FMD, as stated in the hadith:

ولا عوراء، ولا عمياء،  
ولا مريضة مرضا يفسد لحمها،  
وأن لا يبين شيء من أذننها وإن قل أو لسانها  
أو ضرعها أو أليتها، ولا شيء ظاهراً أو أسنانها،

"It is not permissible to sacrifice an animal that has scabies, is severely lame, is thin, is mad (stressed), is blind, has crossed eyes, is seriously ill to the extent that its flesh is damaged, has a cut ear even if only a little, or its tongue, nipples, buttocks, or the visible part of its thighs, or if all its teeth have fallen out."<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, animals exposed to the FMD virus, according to the statement of the Zoonosis Coordinators, drh. Cahyani Widiastuti, drh. Supratikno, M.Si., and Dr. drh. Deni Widaya Lukman, M.Si.—at the MUI Fatwa Commission meeting on May 27, 2022, include: 1) Clinical symptoms that do not significantly affect the quantity and quality of meat produced; thus, the

daerah-yang-membutuhkan-dalam-bentuk-olahan-majelis-ulama-indonesia/.

<sup>43</sup> 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Al-Ḥaḍramī, *Muqaddimat Al-Ḥaḍramiyyah Fi Fiqh Al-Sādah Al-Shāfi'īyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 2017), 307–8.

[mui-agar-hewan-kurban-tidak-terpapar-pmk/](http://mui-agar-hewan-kurban-tidak-terpapar-pmk/).

<sup>42</sup> Fakhrudin, "MUI Bolehkan Distribusi Daging Qurban Ke Daerah Yang Membutuhkan Dalam Bentuk Olahan – Majelis Ulama Indonesia," MUI, 2022, <https://mirror.mui.or.id/mui-provinsi/mui-dki-jakarta/35484/mui-bolehkan-distribusi-daging-qurban-ke->





meat of animals infected with FMD remains fit for consumption and does not endanger human health. 2) Foot and mouth disease is not contagious to humans. 3) This virus is easily destroyed by boiling in water for at least 30 minutes. Therefore, animals infected with the FMD virus, as long as they are classified as mildly ill, are still valid to be used as sacrificial animals.<sup>44</sup>

The three descriptions above can be explained as one of the factors causing the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period: the MUI fatwa prohibits sick animals from being used as sacrifices, but there is also a fatwa stating that the animal remains valid if it is classified as mildly affected. Since the determination of these

conditions still requires examination by a health team, which takes time, while the window for slaughter is limited to one day on Eid al-Adha and three days of *tashrīq*, this has caused considerable uncertainty.

### Implications of the Controversy

The implications arising from the controversy in the case of slaughtering sacrificial animals on Eid al-Adha are as follows: First, the decline in sales of sacrificial animals and its economic impact; Second, the weakening of the spirit of sacrifice and spirituality; Third, social conflict within the Muslim community. This is shown in the table below:

Table 3. Implications of the Controversy

No	Events/News	Source	Code
1.	Qurban Animal Traders in Cirebon City Experience Declining Sales, July 6, 2022	<a href="https://www.republika.co.id/berita/rejzcm382/pedagang-hewan-qurban-di-kota-cirebon-alami-penurunan-penjualan">https://www.republika.co.id/berita/rejzcm382/pedagang-hewan-qurban-di-kota-cirebon-alami-penurunan-penjualan</a>	declining sales/economic impact
2.	Impact of FMD: Sales of Sacrificial Animals in Bandung Decrease, July 7, 2022	<a href="https://www.metrotvnews.com/play/KXyC9orQ-impact-of-pmk-sales-of-sacrificial-animals-in-bandung-decrease">https://www.metrotvnews.com/play/KXyC9orQ-impact-of-pmk-sales-of-sacrificial-animals-in-bandung-decrease</a>	declining sales/economic impact
3.	Sales of Sacrificial Cows Drop Drastically Ahead of Eid al-Adha, July 7, 2022	<a href="https://www.kompas.tv/article/306657/sales-of-sacrificial-cows-drop-dramatically-ahead-of-eid-ul-adha">https://www.kompas.tv/article/306657/sales-of-sacrificial-cows-drop-dramatically-ahead-of-eid-ul-adha</a>	declining sales/economic impact
4.	Impact of FMD 2022: Decline in the Number of Sacrificial Animals in Mosques, July 9, 2022	<a href="https://jakarta.poskota.co.id/2022/07/09/akibat-merebaknya-pmk-jumlah-hewan-qurban-di-mosque-muhammadiyah-menurun-di-tahun-ini">https://jakarta.poskota.co.id/2022/07/09/akibat-merebaknya-pmk-jumlah-hewan-qurban-di-mosque-muhammadiyah-menurun-di-tahun-ini</a>	weak spirit of sacrifice/spiritual
5.	Impact of FMD: Uswatun Hasanah Grand Mosque Experiences Decrease in Sacrificial Animals, July 9, 2022	<a href="https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2986629/imbasi-pmk-masjid-raya-uswatun-hasanah-alami-penurunan-hewan-qurban">https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2986629/imbasi-pmk-masjid-raya-uswatun-hasanah-alami-penurunan-hewan-qurban</a>	weak spirit of sacrifice/spiritual
6.	Ahead of Eid al-Adha, Demand for Cattle in Tuban Drops Drastically Due to FMD, July 15, 2022	<a href="https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2022/06/15/064331778/ahead-of-idul-adha-the-demand-for-cows-in-tuban-has-decreased-dramatically-due-to-the-outbreak">https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2022/06/15/064331778/ahead-of-idul-adha-the-demand-for-cows-in-tuban-has-decreased-dramatically-due-to-the-outbreak</a>	weak spirit of sacrifice/spiritual
7.	<b>Foot and Mouth Disease in Livestock is a Shared Responsibility, June 14, 2022</b>	<a href="https://diskominfo.kedirikab.go.id/baca/penyakit-mulut-dan-kuku-pmk-pada-ternak-adalah-tugas-bersama">https://diskominfo.kedirikab.go.id/baca/penyakit-mulut-dan-kuku-pmk-pada-ternak-adalah-tugas-bersama</a>	social conflict & concerns
8.	Vice President's Working Visit to NTB: Ensures FMD Outbreak is Under Control in Qurban Season, June 30, 2022	<a href="https://www.ntbprov.go.id/post/vice-president-work-visit-to-ntb-ensures-pmk-outbreak-is-controlled-in-qurban-season">https://www.ntbprov.go.id/post/vice-president-work-visit-to-ntb-ensures-pmk-outbreak-is-controlled-in-qurban-season</a>	social conflict & concerns

<sup>44</sup> Ilham Fikri and Angga, "Argumentasi Fatwa MUI Hewan Terpapar PMK Gejala Ringan Tetap Sah untuk

Qurban," *Mui.or.Id*, 2022.





9.	Livestock FMD: Celebrating Eid al-Adha Amidst Widespread FMD Virus: "This Should Be a Harvest But We Are Concerned," July 8, 2022	<a href="https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-62084385">https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-62084385</a>	social conflict & concerns
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On Portal (1), it is described that traders of sacrificial animals in Cirebon City, West Java, admitted that there was a decline in sales due to the prohibition of bringing in animals from outside the region as a result of the FMD outbreak. This was evidenced by only about 20 cows being sold, which differed from the previous year when sales could reach 30 cows. In addition to public concerns about FMD, the distribution of sacrificial animals has also been hampered..

Portal (2) describes that the sale of sacrificial animals in Bandung, West Java, has decreased compared to the previous year, forcing traders to reduce the stock of sacrificial animals. Three days before Eid al-Adha, sales in Bandung remained sluggish; usually, 200 cows could be sold. However, this year sales have decreased by 60%, as evidenced by the 78 cows available, of which only 33 cows had been sold. The FMD outbreak has made sellers cautious about bringing in cows to resell to the public.

Portal (3) describes that sacrificial animal traders in Jember Regency, East Java, have been significantly affected by the foot and mouth disease virus. Sales have decreased drastically compared to last year, even though the selling price of sacrificial animals has been lowered. Many residents are wary of sacrificing cows, fearing that their sacrificial animals might be infected with FMD. As the Eid al-Adha holiday approached, sacrificial animal exchange stands emerged in Jember Regency. Unfortunately, sales have decreased sharply, especially for cows, even though traders have lowered the price of cows to five million rupiah per head. According to the sacrificial cow trader Hasan Basri, the decline in cow sales reached 80 percent compared to last year's Eid al-Adha. Unlike cows, sales of goats and sheep have actually increased. In fact, their

prices have also risen to 2–4.5 million rupiah per head, whereas in the previous year prices ranged from 1.7–3 million rupiah. To boost sales, traders provided free delivery to buyers' homes within the city and offered free storage of sacrificial animals at the traders' stalls. The three descriptions above demonstrate that one of the consequences of the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period has been a decline in sales in several locations. This also means that the income and earnings of traders have decreased drastically. This is particularly striking because they had been waiting for the momentum of Eid al-Adha 2022 for a year. Moreover, since March 2020, they have also been impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, resulting in even greater losses.

From a theological doctrine perspective, the phenomenon of FMD has influenced society and naturally driven it to reinterpret or reconsider the meaning of the qurban ritual.<sup>45</sup> First, people initially understood that qurban is an absolute obligation, ingrained in their minds, feelings, and understanding, so that if the ritual was not performed, they believed they would bear a great sin, as it was deemed contrary to the commands of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. However, the outbreak has caused fear, anxiety, and doubt, leading them to perceive it as an emergency condition that allows them not to perform qurban. Second, there is also a principle of *uṣūl al-fiqh* that they understand: *al-ḍarūrah tubīḥu al-maḥzūrāt*, meaning that emergency conditions permit actions that are otherwise prohibited. Third, the MUI fatwa influences public understanding as it develops in such a crisis situation. This reflects the theological conception of how their understanding responds to crises such as the FMD outbreak.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, Portal (4) reports that at the Jami'

mosque administrators (*ta'mir al-masjid*), and animal trader," 2022.

<sup>45</sup> "Observation During Eid Al-Adha 1443," 2022.

<sup>46</sup> "Interview with the sacrifice (*muqarrabīn*),





Al-Huda Muhammadiyah Tebet Timur Mosque in South Jakarta, after holding the Eid al-Adha 1443 H prayer, the congregation immediately continued with the slaughter of sacrificial animals, namely cows and goats. This year, the committee received 16 cows and 17 goats. "This number is down compared to last year," said the Chairperson of the General Health and Social Services Advisory Board of the Muhammadiyah Tebet Timur Branch, Kiki Ramadhan, on Saturday (9/7/2022). He said that last year, they received 22 cows and 46 goats. "This year it has decreased, due to the outbreak of FMD, which has affected animals such as cows, significantly impacting the availability of sacrificial animals," he said. Furthermore, Kiki stated that the sacrificial meat would be distributed directly to the *mustahiq*. "We will distribute approximately 1,750 coupons to *mustahiq*, which will then be handed to the coordinators," he said. "Thus, the system remains the same as during the previous PSBB period: no *mustahiq* comes to the mosque, but instead is represented by the coordinator. Approximately 1,500 worshippers performed Eid al-Adha prayers at the Jami' Al Huda Muhammadiyah Tebet Timur Mosque. Because the congregation reached the main road, there were likely around 1,500 worshippers present."

Portal (5) notes that although mosque administrators have opened opportunities for residents to contribute sacrificial animals in physical or monetary form, and have implemented strict selection procedures to ensure that the entire distribution process is accountable, Muslims have shown decreased enthusiasm for sacrifice. This is evidenced by the fact that on slaughter day in 1443/2022, only three cows were sacrificed, compared to 12 cows and 10 goats in 1442/2021.

Portal (6) reports that although cattle breeders usually see high demand for sacrificial purposes before Eid al-Adha from various regions, since the FMD outbreak has affected livestock, especially cattle, the number of buyers has decreased drastically. Now, there is no demand at all. Breeders admit to having difficulty selling cattle they have raised for nearly a year,

even though their condition is healthy and disease-free. "There are 28 cows, all healthy, sir, because I have taken great care of their health, buying medicines myself without any government assistance," he said. According to him, to sell livestock at this time, farmers must first have their animals examined by veterinary officers and obtain a health certificate from the relevant agency. "The process is complicated. It must go through an inspection by veterinary officers, and there must be a health certificate, all of which costs money," he said. In addition to the decline in buyers, livestock prices have also fallen since the widespread outbreak of FMD in Tuban Regency and several regencies in East Java. "Before this disease, the price of one cow could reach 25 million rupiah. Now, the price is only around 15 million," he explained.

The three descriptions above indicate that one of the consequences of the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period has been a decline in the spirit of sacrificing in several places, which is marked by the submission, slaughter, and distribution of sacrificial animal meat also decreasing sharply in quantity.

In practical theology, what is quite interesting is how this transformation occurs when society responds to a religious crisis. A more detailed explanation shows how people shift from crisis toward creating new alternatives. First, the objective conditions of many animals dying before being slaughtered have encouraged the community to focus more on health and safety. Some members of the community have even participated medically to address the disease through preventive and curative measures. Second, the psychological trauma of society toward animals that have been severely affected by disease, coupled with the lack of guarantees of recovery, health, and halal status when slaughtered, has led them to reconsider or cancel their intentions. This sad and concerning situation has created an unfavorable atmosphere. Third, the belief of religious communities that something causing harm must be prioritized over taking benefits. In the principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh*:





*dar'ul mafāsīd muqaddamun 'alā jalbi al-maṣāliḥ*, meaning that preventing something that causes harm should be prioritized over obtaining benefit. They believe that qurban under such conditions will bring harm and disadvantages to Muslims in particular and the Indonesian nation in general.<sup>48</sup>

As for Portal (7), it describes that although they are not technically in charge, "as members of the Kediri Regency government, we are agents of information on government policies and programs who also have duties and roles in conveying accurate information to the public," said the Head of the Communication and Information Service, Drs. Sri Ilham Wahyu Subekti, M.Si, in his speech. This Bakoinmas event is intended to ensure that the ranks of the Kediri Regency Government gain an understanding of accurate information about FMD from the Kediri Regency Food Security and Livestock Service, which is technically responsible, so that they can forward the information to the public and help filter out any incorrect or hoax information circulating in the community. In the same forum, the Head of the Food Security and Livestock Service, drh. Tutik Purwaningsih, explained that FMD disease has caused very large economic losses. "Livestock traffic is hampered. Distribution of animal products is hampered. Decreases in milk production, livestock deaths due to outbreaks. Issues have emerged in the community about the safety of meat and milk, so sales have decreased."

Meanwhile, Portal (8) describes that "the government is concerned and has established a vaccination policy for cattle," said Kyai Ma'ruf. When FMD struck a month ago, six cows were exposed to FMD, then the number increased to 170 cows before all the cows in the pen were infected, exhibiting symptoms of loose hooves and damaged mouths. The Governor of West Nusa Tenggara, Dr. H. Zulkieflimansyah, SE, MSc, accompanied the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, KH Ma'ruf Amin, to visit the Livestock Farmers Group (KTT) in Gerung,

West Lombok, on Thursday (30/06). He said that the government's steps to vaccinate in several areas were intended to prevent transmission to healthy cows, especially during the Eid al-Adha season when the demand for beef among Muslims increases. He also appealed to officers to continue to monitor and ensure that sacrificial animals were free of FMD, including ensuring that the distribution of cattle outside the region complies with the provisions of the Ministry of Agriculture (IKP Division, NTB Province).

Portal (9) reports that a number of residents in Indonesia decided not to follow the recommendation to slaughter sacrificial animals because they were worried about the risk of FMD virus disease. A sacrificial animal trader from Klaten, Central Java, admitted: (1) there was a decrease in purchases compared to last year, when he could sell up to 50 sacrificial animals, but this year he only dared to keep 20 cows; (2) there were not enough buyers; (3) stock was limited; and (4) because he was required to obtain a certificate from a veterinarian, he had suffered losses, resulting in loans decreasing drastically to Rp. 300 million with the only collateral being a house certificate. "This should be a harvest, but we are concerned that public interest in buying sacrifices is still low. It is still difficult to convince buyers, even with the guarantee that the animal can be exchanged if it is not suitable." A banner announcing the temporary closure was displayed at the Beringkit Cattle Market, Badung, Bali, on Wednesday (6/7/2022), alongside appeals to the government to "immediately overcome the FMD outbreak." The Indonesian Cattle and Buffalo Breeders Association (PPSKI) noted that in general, there has been a decrease in purchases of sacrificial animals this year. The government will immediately distribute vaccines to healthy livestock. "If this continues, there will be no more livestock. Maybe cows and goats will only be in zoos." There is still no clear solution, and the vaccine program for healthy livestock remains uncertain. They urged the government to provide compensation for farmers affected by the FMD

and animal trader,".

<sup>48</sup> "Interview with the *muqarrabīn*, *ta'mīr al-masjid*,







virus. "This transmission is not only through livestock materials but can also occur through human traffic and goods traffic. This must be considered as contagious." Kadin estimated that if the government carried out a total regional quarantine, the losses suffered by farmers could reach IDR 9 trillion. Some parties have challenged government data related to the death rate of livestock infected with the FMD virus. Based on the siagapmk.id site as of Thursday, July 7, 2022, cases of the FMD virus were recorded as having spread to 235 districts and cities. The total number of sick livestock was 334,213, with 2,126 deaths and 2,923 conditional slaughters. Thus, the mortality rate of livestock infected with the FMD virus is around 0.6%. "However, the experience of friends whose farms were infected shows that losses could be much higher, with death rates reaching 30%," he said. This has caused many to question the government's policy of continuing to allow people to consume meat from livestock infected with FMD. The FMD virus, which was first discovered last April in Gresik, East Java, has now spread to 21 provinces in Indonesia. The three descriptions above indicate that one of the consequences of the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period has been conflict in several places, which also means that public concerns have increased drastically.

There is a decline in enthusiasm in some communities to perform qurban. However, this phenomenon does not yet fully reflect the daily religious aspects, namely, how people explore and express their religiosity in daily life as a response to the situation.<sup>49</sup> First, those who perform the *muqarrabīn* expressed that they carry out this ritual every year as a routine act of worship, thus making the sacrifice a good habit. They have planned the sacrifice a year in advance as preparation for the following year, estimating the costs to purchase the sacrificial animals. They always strive to the best of their abilities, possessing enthusiasm and high motivation to

practice theological doctrines and their implementation. This reflects their religious situation and commitment in sacrificial worship each year. Second, during the time of the FMD outbreak, its effects clearly decreased the enthusiasm of some due to the disease and the condition of many sacrificial animals that had died, which influenced some people to decide not to sacrifice, while others were hesitant, and some continued to sacrifice. Third, the Muslim community had been accustomed to performing sacrifices in the years before the emergence of the FMD outbreak. Their enthusiasm remained high and stable, as evidenced by the statements of the *muqarrabīn*, *ta'mīr al-masjid*, and animal trader.<sup>50</sup>

### Challenge in Practical Theology

The findings are summarized as three main points: first, the form of controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals during the FMD period appears in three forms: 1) an attitude of agreement to continue the slaughter of sacrificial animals on Eid al-Adha with strict health protocol requirements, both for humans and animals, because it is based on the belief that slaughtering remains valid; 2) an attitude of hesitation due to concerns that the sacrifice may not be valid or due to fear of death resulting from slaughtering infected animals; 3) an attitude of disagreement, based on the conviction that it is invalid or prohibited because the animals are sick or do not meet the requirements.

The second finding concerns the factors that cause controversy: 1) there is concern about the threat of death of sacrificial animals, fueled internally by a flood of news; 2) the government's prohibitions, which seem to hinder the celebration of Eid al-Adha externally; 3) the impact of the MUI fatwa, which has divided Muslims in their respective interpretations.

The third finding is the negative impact of the controversy over the slaughter of sacrificial animals on Muslims: 1) decreased sales of sacrificial animals and economic losses; 2)

and animal trader,".

<sup>49</sup> "Observation During Eid Al-Adha 1443."

<sup>50</sup> "Interview with the *muqarrabīn*, *ta'mīr al-masjid*,





weakened spirit of sacrifice and spirituality; 3) conflict within the Muslim social community, causing a lack of sympathy toward the regulations.

The results reflect that foot-and-mouth disease is a challenge that must be faced, and a solution must be found to ensure safe and healthy sacrificial slaughter during Eid al-Adha. First, the festival becomes a crowded point of animal sales, which can be a potential source of disease spread. The government should consider and regulate provisions to allow limited livestock markets on the outskirts of the city. Thousands of people rush to these places, resulting in congestion and crowding. In addition, these markets often do not comply with safety and health protocols due to low literacy levels among livestock breeders and traders. Second, these factors facilitate disease transmission from human to human and can further spread to rural areas. Due to limited health and administrative facilities in rural communities, implementing preventive measures may be difficult or even impossible. Third, the level of understanding among dairy farmers regarding cases of FMD, including knowledge of the disease, prevention attitudes, and handling practices, is not yet sufficient.

These findings can also be analyzed using framing theory: First, Kompas.com frames news about FMD cases as a challenge for various parties to overcome its spread and prioritizes prevention. Meanwhile, Kompas.com's framing emphasizes that the impact of FMD reduces export value and disrupts the community's food supply chain.<sup>51</sup> Second, Detik.com's framing sees FMD primarily as a loss for cattle traders, including cooperatives, due to the scarcity of cattle and minimal availability. Scarcity and

increased operational costs (for example, from sea transportation) force prices to rise. In Detik.com's framing, the impact of FMD affects trade by cattle breeders and beef sellers most strongly. Detik.com emphasizes the need for meat that is fit for consumption.<sup>52</sup> Third, Republika.co.id's framing shows that the community's need for sacrificial animals remains very high, even during the FMD issue. Therefore, Republika.co.id connects FMD cases more directly with the availability of sacrificial meat. This study confirms that the three media outlets (Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Republika.co.id) differ consistently in how they frame the same event.<sup>54</sup>

### Re-Emergence of FMD Outbreaks: Security, Imports and Bioterrorism

This finding can be interpreted in line with Sutawi,<sup>55</sup> who analyzed that there are three factors associated with the re-emergence of FMD outbreaks in Indonesia: 1) the loss of the principle of maximum security; 2) imports of beef and buffalo from India; and 3) bioterrorism.

First, the loss of the principle of maximum security. Indonesia's success in eradicating FMD after 100 years was due to the implementation of a maximum security policy by adopting a country-based system—only importing livestock and livestock products from countries declared FMD-free. This country-based policy was later changed to a zone-based policy under Law No. 18 of 2009 and its amendments, namely Law No. 41 of 2014 concerning Animal Husbandry and Animal Health. Through this zone-based approach, it became possible to import livestock products from a region (province) in a country that has an FMD-free zone, even though the country as a whole has not been declared free.

<sup>51</sup> Yuhdi Fahrimal et al., "Media dan Pandemi: Frame Tentang Pandemi Covid-19 Dalam Media Online Di Indonesia (Studi Pada Portal Berita Kompas.Com Dan Detik.Com)," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media* 24, no. 2 (December 25, 2020): 169, <https://doi.org/10.31445/jskm.2020.3100>.

<sup>52</sup> Nishya Gavriila and Farid Rusdi, "Analisis Framing Detik.Com dan Kompas.Com Terhadap Pemberitaan Kualitas Udara Jakarta Terburuk Di Dunia,"

*Koneksi* 3, no. 2 (February 7, 2020): 366, <https://doi.org/10.24912/kn.v3i2.6396>.

<sup>54</sup> Bima Abdu Julian, Akhmad Rosihan, and Hendra Alfani, "Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Kaburnya Selebgram Rachel Vennya Dari Karantina Covid-19 Di Media Online Republika.Co.Id, Detik.Com & Kompas.Com," *Jurnal Massa* 3, no. 1 (2022): 29.

<sup>55</sup> Sutawi, "Bioterrorisme Penyakit Mulut Dan Kuku," 4.





The purpose of this policy was to expand sources of cattle and buffalo supply and reduce dependence on Australia and the United States. However, the change in the law—from a country-based to a zone-based system—effectively shifted the principle from maximum security to minimum security, which is very dangerous economically, from a health perspective, and politically. This policy has a direct impact on the sustainability of human life, livestock health, and the broader animal health system in Indonesia. In international trade, Indonesia also risks losing its status as an FMD-free country.

Second, beef and buffalo imports from India. Indonesia needs around 700,000 tons of meat (equivalent to 4 million cows) every year to meet the consumption needs of its 273 million people. Domestic beef production can only meet around 500,000 tons (equivalent to 3 million cows), so the remaining 200,000 tons (equivalent to 1 million cows) must be met by importing cattle and beef. India, a country that has not been declared free of FMD, is one of the main countries of origin for Indonesian beef imports. Nagendrakumar et al. stated that FMD is endemic in India and the most common serotypes are A, O, and Asia 1. The share of frozen boneless beef and buffalo imports from India continued to increase during 2016–2020. In 2016, the share of frozen beef imports from India was 33.81% of total beef imports (116,761 tons), rising to 51.91% of total beef imports (170,305 tons) in 2020. Indonesia also imports beef from Brazil, which has not been declared FMD-free.<sup>56</sup>

Third, bioterrorism. Bioterrorism is an act of terror using biological agents to spread disease in humans, animals, or plants. This action varies, from the spread of disease agents to the

contamination of food products and water sources. Terror with biological agents is much cheaper, easier, and often very effective compared to chemical or conventional weapons. Bioterrorism in animals is very effective for causing mass mortality and huge socio-economic losses.

In 2003–2004, Indonesia experienced an outbreak of bird flu (Avian Influenza, AI), which caused 9.4 million poultry deaths with total losses exceeding IDR 10 trillion. The FMD outbreak in Taiwan in 1997 destroyed 4 million livestock, resulting in losses of USD 6.6 billion. The FMD outbreak in England in 2001, which lasted three months, led to the extermination of 6.24 million livestock and losses of around GBP 3.5 billion. The FMD outbreak in South Korea (2010–2011) destroyed 3.4 million livestock with losses of USD 2.78 billion. Losses due to FMD outbreaks globally over the past 15 years have averaged USD 1.5 billion (Rp 22 trillion) per year. Naispospos<sup>57</sup> estimated that economic losses from the FMD outbreak in Indonesia reached USD 761.3 million (Rp 9.9 trillion).<sup>58</sup>

### Positive Impacts of Practical Theology

This article provides findings on the positive impacts of efforts to slaughter sacrificial animals while paying greater attention to health and safety. However, it also acknowledges the negative impacts that have emerged, namely the drastic decline in community income in general, especially in the trade of sacrificial animals, which previously increased sharply at every Eid al-Adha celebration.

There are three positive impacts. First, measuring the intensity of the spirit of sacrifice in accordance with principles based on the Al-Quran and Al-Hadith, especially regarding the

<sup>56</sup> S. B. Nagendrakumar et al., "Genetic Analysis of Foot-and-Mouth Disease Virus Serotype A of Indian Origin and Detection of Positive Selection and Recombination in Leader Protease- and Capsid-Coding Regions," *Journal of Biosciences* 34, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 85–101, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12038-009-0011-9>.

<sup>57</sup> Tri Satya Putri Naipospos and Pebi Purwo Suseno, "Cost Benefit Analysis of Maintaining FMD Freedom Status in Indonesia," A report submitted to the

World Organisation of Animal Health (OIE), 2017, [https://kikp-pertanian.id/ditjenpkh/uploaded\\_files/temporary/DigitalCollection/YWI4OTYzZTRiMTZiYTQyZWRIQGEwYmMyNWFKZjU4ZjllZjEwODAzNw==.pdf](https://kikp-pertanian.id/ditjenpkh/uploaded_files/temporary/DigitalCollection/YWI4OTYzZTRiMTZiYTQyZWRIQGEwYmMyNWFKZjU4ZjllZjEwODAzNw==.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> Sutawi Sutawi et al., "Re-Emergence of Foot and Mouth Disease Outbreak in Indonesia: A Review," *Advances in Animal and Veterinary Sciences* 11, no. 2 (2023): 264–71, <https://doi.org/10.17582/journal.aavs/2023/11.2.264.271>.





virtues of slaughtering sacrificial animals, as illustrated in the following hadiths: (1) "Whoever finds himself in a free state and does not sacrifice, then let him not approach our Eid prayer place." (HR. Ahmad and Ibn Majah).. (2) The hadith of Zaid ibn Arqam, who said, or they said: "O Rasulullah SAW, what is sacrifice?" The Prophet answered: "Sacrifice is the sunnah of your father, Prophet Ibrahim." They asked: "What benefit will we gain by this sacrifice?" Rasulullah replied: "Every strand of hair is a good deed." They asked: "What about the feathers?" The Messenger of Allah answered: "Every piece of feather is also a good deed." (HR. Ahmad and Ibn Majah); (3) "If the 10th of Zulhijah comes and one of you wants to make a sacrifice, then let him not shave or cut his nails." (HR. Muslim); (4) "We sacrificed with the Prophet SAW in Hudaibiyah, one camel for seven people, one cow for seven people." (HR. Muslim, Abu Daud, Tirmidzi).

Second, it provides a valuable lesson for the government and livestock breeders that this is an extraordinary event. Since it was first discovered in Gresik Regency, East Java Province, and Aceh Tamiang Regency, Aceh Province, in April 2022, the foot-and-mouth disease (FMD) epidemic has now spread throughout Indonesia. In a press conference by the Ministry of Agriculture on Monday (13/6/2022), it was stated that FMD had spread to 180 districts/cities in 18 provinces, with 150,630 sick cattle, 39,887 recovered, 893 conditionally slaughtered, and 695 dead. The re-emergence of FMD can be categorized as an extraordinary event (KLB), considering that Indonesia had succeeded in declaring its FMD-free status in 1986 through the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture No. 260/1986, received international recognition of this status in the World Organization for Animal Health (Office International des Epizooties, OIE) Resolution No. XI of 1990, and was declared FMD-free without a vaccination program through OIE Resolution No. XV of 2019.

Third, preventive, curative, and predictive

steps are needed to address livestock health problems, particularly in relation to religious holiday commemorations, through collaboration between the government and the community.

### **Negative Impacts of FMD: Politics, Economics and Socio-Religious**

There are also three negative impacts. First, political effects that impact government policies in dealing with national problems. Second, economic effects that impact income from production, distribution, and consumption processes. Third, socio-religious effects that impact the lives of religious communities.

Sutawi analyzed that the current FMD outbreak is not merely a disease affecting livestock but must be reviewed more deeply as a possible act of economic terrorism. If this terror is orchestrated by foreign parties, the motivation is to destroy Indonesia's cattle farming agribusiness and create lasting dependence on cattle and beef commodities from abroad. If masterminded by a domestic cartel, the motivation is to increase the volume and profits from cattle and beef imports for their group.

Under Law No. 15/2003 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, terrorism is defined as an act that uses violence to create an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, causes mass casualties, and/or causes damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political, or security disturbance motives. According to The Global Terrorism Index (GTI), terrorism is the illegal and threatening use of force or violence by non-state actors to achieve political, economic, religious, or social goals through fear, coercion, and intimidation. Simply put, economic terrorism is an act of terror targeting the economic sector, aiming to hinder, damage, or destroy economic systems from production factors and distribution to investment, consumption, and economic growth.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Sutawi, "Terorisme Ekonomi Agribisnis Sapi," *Malang Posco Media*, June 25, 2022, 2,

<https://www.umm.ac.id/id/arsip-koran/malang-posco-media/terorisme-ekonomi-agribisnis-sapi.html>.





Economic terrorism has a negative impact on cattle agribusiness from upstream to downstream. First, the cattle population will shrink. Indonesia's cattle population in 2020 was 17.467 million, of which around 3 million were ready for slaughter (equivalent to 500 thousand tons of meat). The national need for beef for a population of 273 million is around 700 thousand tons (equivalent to 4 million cattle), resulting in a deficit of 200 thousand tons (equivalent to 1 million cattle). The beef deficit increases every year in line with economic growth, rising incomes, population growth, and increased nutritional awareness. It is feared that FMD will further reduce the cattle population, thereby jeopardizing the 2026 PSDS target.

Second, imports of cattle and beef will increase. Indonesia has an increasing dependence on beef imports, as indicated by the import dependency ratio (IDR), which was 18.38 percent in 2016 and continued to increase to 24.83 percent in 2020. Indonesia's beef trade balance deficit during 2016–2020, in both volume and value, has also increased.

Third, beef consumption will decline. Indonesia's beef consumption is 2.3 kg per capita per year, lower than the Philippines (3.9 kg), Malaysia (7.2 kg), Singapore (13.5 kg), and the world average of 6.4 kg. Low beef consumption is driven by low purchasing power due to low per capita income and high beef prices. The FMD epidemic will further reduce meat supply, increase prices, and cause consumption to decline drastically.

Fourth, the economic losses are very large. The economic loss per infected animal is IDR 4.577 million (Rast et al., 2010). The economic loss of FMD in East Java Province alone is estimated to reach IDR 1.263 trillion. The total economic loss of the FMD outbreak in Indonesia is projected at USD 761.3 million (IDR 9.9 trillion), including

impacts on livestock production, trade, and industry (Naispospos, 2020). These are Sutawi's five analyses of the negative impacts of FMD on Indonesia's national conditions.<sup>60</sup>

Foot-and-mouth disease (FMD) is a highly contagious viral disease that primarily affects cloven-hoofed animals. The disease is characterized by the development of vesicles in and around the mouth and on the feet. Outbreaks of FMD can cause substantial disruption to livestock markets due to production losses and restricted access to international markets.<sup>61</sup>

According to the Director of Animal Health at the Directorate General of Animal Husbandry and Animal Health of the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture, Nuryani Zainuddin, in a virtual webinar on Sunday, July 26, 2022, economic losses due to FMD reach IDR 9.9 trillion per year. Nuryani also explained that several factors cause FMD in livestock to result in very large losses, including an 80 percent decrease in milk production, sudden deaths (often occurring in livestock), miscarriages, decreased fertility rates, weight loss, trade barriers, and export restrictions.<sup>62</sup>

The comparison of these findings with other studies reveals both similarities and differences. The similarities lie in the research objects, while the results differ between Indonesia and Pakistan. In Pakistan, it is common practice for cattle farmers to travel from rural to urban areas to sell their animals before Eid al-Adha. These farmers sell their animals directly to buyers at designated markets. However, many of them move from city to city to sell livestock on the roadside or in commercial and residential areas. These traders, along with the remaining animals, typically return to their hometowns immediately after the festival.<sup>63</sup>

Currently, Pakistan is witnessing an unprecedented surge in COVID-19 cases, which

<sup>60</sup> Sutawi, 2.

<sup>61</sup> Siyi Feng, Myles Patton, and John Davis, "Market Impact of Foot-and-Mouth Disease Control Strategies: A UK Case Study," *Frontiers in Veterinary Science* 4 (September 1, 2017): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fvets.2017.00129>.

<sup>62</sup> Hidayat, "Kementan Perkirakan Kerugian

Ekonomi Akibat PMK Rp 9,9 T Per Tahun."

<sup>63</sup> Tauqeer Hussain Mallhi et al., "Commentary: Surveillance of Crimean-Congo Haemorrhagic Fever in Pakistan," *Frontiers in Public Health* 5 (June 6, 2017): 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2017.00132>.





is mainly confined to urban areas. This is due, first, to the fact that approximately 64% of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas. Such extensive rural-to-urban migration activities could exacerbate the situation by facilitating the spread of the virus to previously COVID-19-free areas. Second, given the low literacy rate among the rural population, understanding COVID-19 remains a major challenge for health authorities. Third, these conditions may lead to a sharp increase in case numbers.<sup>64</sup>

Research plans related to the controversy surrounding the slaughter of sacrificial animals can be prioritized to address the challenges of managing foot and mouth disease in the coming year, including other diseases that affect sacrificial animals. First, preventive measures should include early detection of animal health and anticipation of unhealthy meat trade. Second, medical and curative measures are needed if FMD spreads widely among sacrificial animals. Third, there should be a credible and flexible study of Islamic jurisprudence specifically related to the slaughter of animals on the day of sacrifice as an annual celebration for Muslims.

Mallhi<sup>65</sup> stated that Eid al-Adha poses logistical challenges and requires effective planning to avoid potential disasters. Given the high risk of disease spread during the festival, the authors offer several suggestions to avoid a possible spike in COVID-19 cases: (1) The potential risk of COVID-19 transmission during Eid al-Adha should be communicated to the public in a timely and effective manner through electronic media to create a sense of responsibility. (2) Online purchasing would be an effective approach during the current health crisis. Various websites in Pakistan provide facilities for online purchasing, allowing people to select animals to be delivered to their doorsteps. Alternatively, buyers can request the

slaughter of the selected animal on their behalf and the meat to be delivered to their homes. Encouraging people to adopt this practice will help reduce crowding in livestock markets, thereby facilitating movement control measures. (3) Livestock markets should be restricted to designated areas. Administrative authorities should monitor illegal livestock markets that have emerged in cities and towns. In addition, the principle of social distancing should be enforced during purchasing. Adequate space for animals, as well as the availability of face masks, gloves, and hand sanitizers, should be mandatory in markets. (4) Slaughter of animals at home by non-professional butchers is a common practice in Pakistan. Banning such activities and restricting the slaughter of animals to slaughterhouses will help control the movement of people and spectators during the festival. Many Muslim countries have restricted slaughter to designated places in the presence of veterinarians to combat Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever.<sup>66</sup> (5) Systematic education campaigns on preventive measures such as social distancing and the use of protective equipment should be conducted for staff in slaughterhouses. (6) Livestock traders should be encouraged to self-quarantine for at least 14 days before returning to their hometowns. In addition, post-festival surveillance programs need to be conducted to enable timely identification of variations in case incidence patterns. As the COVID-19 pandemic is ongoing, health authorities should remain vigilant, and special measures should be implemented for aggressive surveillance during festivals. Governments should refocus their efforts and allocate sufficient funding to implement control measures during Eid al-Adha.

<sup>64</sup> Muhammad Atif et al., "The Reasons Why Pakistan Might Be at High Risk of Crimean Congo Haemorrhagic Fever Epidemic; a Scoping Review of the Literature," *Virology Journal* 14, no. 63 (December 23, 2017): 63, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12985-017-0726-4>.

<sup>65</sup> Mallhi et al., "Celebrating Eid-UI-Adha in the Era

of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Pakistan: Potential Threats and Precautionary Measures."

<sup>66</sup> Leblebicioglu et al., "Consensus Report: Preventive Measures for Crimean-Congo Hemorrhagic Fever during Eid-Al-Adha Festival," 9–15.





## Conclusion

The slaughter of sacrificial animals on Eid al-Adha during the foot and mouth disease period has caused controversy due to three fundamental factors. First, the varied and prolonged nature of the controversy, both from the government and from the perspective of the community, especially Muslims in Indonesia. On the one hand, there is a desire to celebrate the great day of Islam joyfully and enthusiastically. On the other hand, the disease has threatened the health and safety of both sacrificial animals and humans. Second, the factors influencing the celebration of sacrificial rituals are neither singular nor homogeneous, but rather complex and heterogeneous. The complexity and heterogeneity of these factors can be used as indicators in measuring the strengths and weaknesses of the people and nation, enabling them to identify opportunities and challenges. Third, the positive and negative impacts of the controversy can provide valuable lessons for Muslims and the Indonesian nation to be wiser and more prudent. This requires maturity and wisdom from all parties so that the holiday can provide the greatest possible benefits to religious, national, and civic life.

The contribution of this finding is twofold. First, theoretically, it can serve as a conceptual basis related to animal slaughter during disease outbreaks and as a research method that can be used as a model for producing more meaningful subsequent findings. Second, practically, it can be used as a guideline, technical instructions, and recommendations for various parties involved in the celebration of Eid al-Adha, including government agencies responsible for policies on sacrificial animals, the Ulema Council issuing fatwas, livestock traders, and Muslims who observe the ritual.

This study focuses on three main areas: the concrete forms of controversy surrounding the slaughter of sacrificial animals on Eid al-Adha during the foot and mouth disease outbreak; the factors influencing these controversies; and their implications for Muslims. Based on these limitations, further research is needed on

religious ceremonial events in relation to the aspects and fields that influence daily life among religious communities and society in the context of the nation and state, both globally and particularly in Indonesia.

## Acknowledgements

The authors sincerely extend their appreciation to everyone whose support and contributions proved invaluable throughout the course of this research.

## Competing Interests

The authors declare that they have no competing interests or affiliations that could have influenced the outcomes of this study.

## Author Contributions

All authors have actively contributed to the conceptualization, development, and writing of this manuscript.

## Data Availability

This research did not generate or rely on any new data; therefore, data availability is not relevant to this study.

## Ethical Considerations

This study was conducted in accordance with established ethical research standards and did not involve human participants or animal testing.

## Funding Information

The research was carried out without any financial sponsorship from governmental bodies, commercial entities, or non-profit organizations.

## Disclaimer

The opinions and interpretations presented in this article are solely those of the authors and do not reflect the official stance of their respective institutions.

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