



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Mediating Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia: performing Dakwah through popular TV shows

Siddik, S.

Citation

Siddik, S. (2021, November 9). *Mediating Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia: performing Dakwah through popular TV shows*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3239164>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3239164>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

REFERENCES

Books and Articles

- Abaza, Mona. 2004. "Markets of Faith: Jakartan Da'wa and Islamic entrification." *Archipel* 67 (1): 173-202.
- Abuza, Z. 2007. *Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Ang, I. 1991. *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.
- Anwar, Syamsul. 2005. "Fatwā, Purification, and Dinamization: A Study of Tarjih in Muhammadiyah." *Islamic Law and Society* 12 (1): 27-44,
- Arps, B. and Katinka van Heeren. 2006. "Ghosthunting and vulgar news: popular realities on recent Indonesian television." In *Indonesian Transitions*, ed. Henk Schulte Nordholt, 289-325. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Asad, Talal. 2007. "Explaining the Global Religious Revival: The Egyptian Case." In *Religion and Society: An Agenda for the 21st Century*, eds. Gerrie ter Haar and Yoshio Tsuruoka, 83-103. Leiden - Boston: Brill.
- Azra, Azyumardi. 2006. *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation*. Bandung: Mizan Pustaka.
- Badjeber, Djafar. 2004. *Mengenal Visi Politik Dr. K.H. Zainuddin MZ. dan Sejarah Lahirnya Partai Bintang Reformasi* [Introducing the Political Vision of Dr. K.H. Zainuddin MZ. and the History of the Birth of the Party of Reformation Crescent]. Jakarta: Partai Bintang Reformasi.
- Barendregt, Bart and Chris Hudson. 2016. "Islam's Got Talent: Television, performance, and the Islamic public sphere" in *Lifestyle Media in Asia: Consumption, aspiration, and identity*, ed. Fran Martin and Tania Lewis, 176-190. New York: Routledge.
- Barkin, Gareth. 2014. "Commercial Islam in Indonesia: How Television Producers Mediate Religiosity Among National Audiences". *International Journal of Asian Studies* 11 (1): 1-24.
- _____. 2013. "Reterritorialization in the Micromediascape: Indonesian Regional Television amid the Rise of Normative Media Islam". *Visual Anthropology Review* 29 (1): 42-56.
- Barton, G. & Greg Fealy. 1996. *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Clayton, VIC: Monash Asia Institute.

- Bolter, J. David and Richard Grusin. 1999. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Bucar, E. M. 2017. *Pious Fashion: How Muslim Women Dress*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib. 2020. "Muslim Televangelists in the Making: Conversion Narratives and the Construction of Religious Authority." *The Muslim World* 110 (2): 154-175.
- _____. 2013. "Defining Indonesian Islam: An Examination of the Construction of the National Islamic Identity of Traditionalist and Modernist Islam." In *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, eds. Jajat Burhanuddin and Kees van Dijk, 25-47. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Burke, Peter. 2005. *History and Social Theory*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bush, Robin. 2009. *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS).
- Collins, E. F. 2003. *Dakwah and Democracy: The Significance of Partai Keadilan and Hizbut Tharir*. A paper presented at the International Seminar on Islamic Militant Movement in Southeast Asia in Hotel Mulia on July 22-23, 2003, organized by the Centre for Languages and Cultures, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Indonesia-Netherlands Cooperation of Islamic Studies (INIS-Leiden University).
- Daniels, T. P. 2009. *Islamic Spectrum in Java*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Direktorat Jenderal Radio, Televisi dan Film. 1983. *Televisi Republik Indonesia* [The Television of the Republic of Indonesia]. Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan.
- Dyer, R. 2007. "Heavenly Bodies." In *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader*, eds. Sean Redmon and Su Holmes, 85-89. London: SAGE Publication.
- Eickelman, D. F., & Anderson, J. W. 2003. *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Second Edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Eickelman, Dale F. and James Piscatori. 2004 [1996]. *Muslim Politics*. Second Paperback Edition with a New Preface. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

- Farida, A. 2009. *Tayangan Dakwah di Televisi: Studi pada Manajemen Qalbu TV di Jawa Barat* [The Broadcast of *Dakwah* on Television: A Study on *Manajemen Qalbu TV* in West Java]. Jakarta: Focus Gramedia.
- Fealy, Greg. 2008. "Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia." In *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White, 15-39. Singapore: ISEAS.
- Fealy, Greg and Anthony Bubalo. 2005. *Joining the Caravan? the Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia*. Alexandria, New South Wales: Longueville Media.
- Federspiel, Howard M. (Oct. 1970). "The Muhammadiyah: A Study of an Orthodox Islamic Movement in Indonesia." *Indonesia* (10): 57-80.
- Feillard, A. 1999. *NU vis-à-vis Negara: Pencarian Isi, Bentuk dan Makna* [NU vis-a-vis State: Seeking Content, Form, and Meaning]. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- _____. 1999. "The Veil and Polygamy: Current Debates on Women and Islam in Indonesia" *Moussons: recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est* 1 : 5-28.
- Fiske, J. 1997. "Global, National, Local? Some Problems of Culture in a Postmodern World." *The Velvet Light Trap*, 40: 56–66.
- _____. 1992. "Audiencing, a Cultural-Studies Approach to Watching Television." *Poetics*, 21 (4): 345–359.
- Gaborieau, M. 2010. "The Redefinition of Religious Authority among South Asian Muslims from 1919 to 1956." In *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam*, eds. Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N.J.G. Kaptein, 1-16. Singapore and Leiden: ISEAS and IIAS.
- Gillespie, Piers. 2007. "Current Issues in Indonesian Islam: Analysing the 2005 Council of Indonesian Ulama Fatwa no. 7 opposing pluralism, liberalism and secularism" *The Journal of Islamic Studies* 18 (2): 202–240.
- Gillespie, M. 1995. *Television, Ethnicity, and Cultural Change*. London: New York: Routledge.
- Greenberg, Karen J. 2005. *Al-Qaeda Now: Understanding Today's Terrorists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gymnastiar, A. 2005. *Aa Gym, Apa Adanya: Sebuah Qolbugrafi*. Eighth Edition. Bandung: Khas MQ.

- Hadi et. al. 1994. *K.H. Zainuddin MZ.: Figur Da'i Berjuta Umat* [K.H. Zainuddin MZ.: The Figure of the Preacher of Million-Audience. Surabaya: Karunia.
- Hadler, Jeffrey. 2008. "Historiography of Violence and the Secular State in Indonesia: Tuanku Imam Bondjol and the Uses of History." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67 (3): 971-1010.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. 2013. *The Making of Public Islam Piety, Democracy and Youth in Indonesian Politics*. Yogyakarta: Suka Press.
- _____. 2010. "The Drama of Jihad: The Emergence of Salafi Youth in Indonesia." In *Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North*, eds. Asef Bayat and Linda Herrera, 50-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2009. "The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere." *Contemporary Islam* 3: 229-250.
- _____. 2006. *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program.
- Hasyim, S. 2015. "Majelis Ulama Indonesia and Pluralism in Indonesia." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 41 (4-5): 487-495.
- _____. 2012. "Shia: its history and development in Indonesia." *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 19 (2): 147-158.
- Hefner, Robert W. 2003. "Islamizing Capitalism: On the Founding of Indonesia's First Islamic Bank." In *Shari'a and Politics in Modern Indonesia*, eds. Arskal Salim and Azyumardi Azra, 148-167. Singapore: ISEAS.
- _____. 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Heryanto, Ariel. 2014. *Identity and Pleasure: The Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- _____. 2008. "Pop Culture and Competing Identities." In *Pop Culture in Indonesia: Fluid Identities in Post-Authoritarian Politics*, eds. Ariel Heryanto, 1-36. London: Routledge.
- Hill, David T. and Krishna Sen. 2005. *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy*. New York (etc.): Routledge.
- Hirschkind, C. 2006. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Hobart, M. 2006. "Introduction: Why is Entertainment Television in Indonesia Important?" *Asian Journal of Communication* 16 (4): 343–351.
- Hoesterey, James B. 2016. *Rebranding Islam: Piety, Prosperity, and a Self-Help Guru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____ & Clark, M. (2012). "Film Islami: Gender, Piety and Pop Culture in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia." *Asian Studies Review* 36 (2): 207–226.
- _____. 2008. "Marketing Morality: The Rise, Fall, and Rebranding of Aa Gym." In *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy & Sally White, 95-113. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hollander, E., D'Haenens, L., & Bardoel, J. 2009. "Television Performance in Indonesia: Steering between Civil Society, State and Market." *Asian Journal of Communication* 19 (1): 39–58.
- Hoover, Stewart M. 2016. *The Media and Religious Authority*. Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
- Horrocks, D., & Kolinsky, E. 1996. *Turkish Culture in German Society Today: Culture and Society in Germany*. Providence: Berghahn Books.
- Hosen, Nadirsyah. 2004. "Behind the Scenes: Fatwas of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (1975-1998)." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15 (2): 147-179.
- Howell, Julia Day. 2008. "Modulations of Active Piety: Professors and Televangelists as Promoters of Indonesian 'Sufisme'." In *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White, 40-61. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/ISEAS.
- Huda, A. Nuril. 2012. "Negotiating Islam with Cinema: A Theoretical Discussion on Indonesian Islamic Films." *Wacana* 14 (1): 1-16.
- _____. 2010. "Filming Ayat-Ayat Cinta: The Making of a Muslim Public Sphere in Indonesia." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4 (1): 43-60.
- Ichwan, M. N. 2005. "'Ulama', State and Politics: Majelis Ulama Indonesia after Suharto." *Islamic Law and Society* 12 (1): 46-72.
- Ida, R. 2009. *Imaging Muslim Women in Indonesian Ramadan Soap Operas*. Bangkok and Chiang Mai: Asian Muslim Action Network and Silkworm Books.
- Istanto, Freddy H. 1999. "Peran Televisi dalam Masyarakat Citraan Dewasa Ini: Sejarah, perkembangan, dan pengaruhnya [the Role of Television

- in Visual Society Today: History, development, and its influence]." *Nirmana* 1 (2): 95-108.
- Izharuddin, A. 2017. *Gender and Islam in Indonesian Cinema*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jahroni, Jajang. 2015. *The Political Economy of Knowledge: Salafism in post-Soeharto Urban Indonesia*. Unpublished Dissertation. Boston: Boston University.
- Jamhari & Jajang Jahroni. 2004. *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia [Radical Salafi Movement in Indonesia]*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada Rajawali Pers.
- Jones, Carla. 2010. "Materializing Piety: Gendered anxieties about faithful Consumption in contemporary urban Indonesia" *American Ethnologist* 37 (4): 617-637.
- _____. 2007. "Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia." *Fashion Theory* 11 (2/3): 211-232.
- Junaedi, U. 2014. *Yusuf Mansur Apa Adanya: Metamorfosa Sang Ustadz : Penjara, Sedekah sampai Menemukan Tuhan yang Hilang*. Tangerang: CR Publishing.
- Juoro, Umar. 2008. "The Development of Islamic Banking in Post-Crisis Indonesian Economy." In *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Fealy and Sally White, 40-62. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/ISEAS.
- Kaptein, N. J. G. 2004. *The Voice of the 'Ulamâ': Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies ISEAS.
- Kitley, Philip. 2014. *Television, Nation, and Culture in Indonesia*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- _____. 2008. "Out There: Citizens, Audiences, and the Mediatization of the 2004 Indonesian Election." In *Political Regimes and the Media in Asia*, eds. Krishna Sen and Terence Lee, 208-227. London (etc.): Routledge.
- _____. 2003. *Television, Regulation, and Civil Society in Asia*. London (etc.): RoutledgeCurzon.
- Kurnia, Novi. 2009. "Berbagi Suami (Love for Share): The Discourse of Polygamy in a Recent Indonesian Film." *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 19 (1): 54-72.
- Leo, A. 1972. *Televisi di Indonesia: TVRI 1962–1972*. Jakarta: Direktorat Televisi Departemen Penerangan.

- Loven, K. 2008. *Watching Si Doel: Television, Language, and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Lukens-Bull, R. 2008. "Commodification of Religion and the 'Religification' of Commodities: Youth Culture and Religious Identity." In *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa, 220-234. London [etc.]: Routledge.
- Machmudi, Yon. 2008. *Islamising Indonesia: The rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- McQuail, Denis. 1997. *Audience Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA [etc.]: Sage Publications.
- Millie, Julian. 2017. *Hearing Allah's Call: Preaching and Performance in Indonesian Islam*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- _____. 2011. "Islamic Preaching and Women's Spectatorship in West Java." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 22 (2): 151–169.
- Moll, Yasmin. 2010. "Islamic Televangelism: Religion, Media and Visuality in Contemporary Egypt." *Arab Media & Society* 1 (10): 1–27.
- Morley, D. 1992. *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. London [etc.]: Routledge.
- Mulyadi, Sukidi. 2003. "Violence under the Banner of Religion: The Case of Laskar Jihad and Laskar Kristus." *Studia Islamika* 10 (2): 75 – 109.
- Muzakki, Akh. 2008. "Islam as a Symbolic Commodity: Transmitting and Consuming Islam through Public Sermons in Indonesia." In *Religious Commodifications in Asia*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa, 205-219. London (etc.): Routledge.
- Nakamura, Mitsuo. 2015. *The Crescent Arises over the Bayan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c. 1910s-2010*. Singapore: ISEA-Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Nilan, Pam. 2001. "Gendered Dreams: Women Watching Sinetron (Soap Operas) on Indonesian TV." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 29 (84): 85-98.
- Nisa, Eva F. 2018. "Social Media and the Birth of an Islamic Social Movement: ODOJ (One Day One Juz) in Contemporary Indonesia." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46 (134): 24–43.
- Njoto-Feillard, Gwenaël. 2008. "L'orientation économique du post-islamisme indonésien" *Centre d'études et de recherches sur le Proche-Orient Les Cahiers de l'Orient* 92 (4), p.29-40
- Nurdin, Ahmad Ali. 2010. "Islam and State: A Study on the Liberal Islamic

- Network in Indonesia, 1999-2004." In *Islam in Southeast Asia*, eds. Joseph Chinyong Liow and Nadirsyah Hosen, 191-210. London (etc.): Routledge.
- Nurmila, Nina. 2009. *Women, Islam, and Everyday Life: Renegotiating Polygamy in Indonesia*. London (etc.): Routledge.
- Osella, Filippo., & Osella, Caroline. 2009. "Muslim Entrepreneurs in Public Life between India and the Gulf: Making Good and Doing Good." *Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (s1): S202–S221.
- Osman, Mohamed Nawab Mohamed. 2010. "The Transnational Network of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia." *South East Asia Research* 18 (4): 736-743.
- Parsons, Nicolas and Marcus Mietzner. 2009. "Sharia By-laws in Indonesia: A Legal and Political Analysis." *Australian Journal of Asian Law* 11 (2): 190-217.
- Porter, D. J. 2002. *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. London etc: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Purdey, Jemma. 2005. *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia, 1996-1999*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Rakhmani, Inayah. 2016. *Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia: Television, Identity, and the Middle Class*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- _____. 2013. *Regime and Representation: Islam in Indonesian Television, 1962 to 1998*.
- Rani, Mohd. Zariat Abdul. 2012. "Islam, Romance and Popular Taste in Indonesia: A Textual Analysis of Ayat-Ayat Cinta by Habiburrahman El-Shirazy and Syahadat Cinta by Taufiqurrahman Al-Azizy." *Indonesia And the Malay World* 40 (116): 59–73.
- Rinaldo, Rachel. 2008. "Muslim Women, Moddle Class Habitus, and Modernity in Indonesia" *Contemporary Islam* 2 (1): 23-39.
- Romano, Angela and Blythe Seiner. 2006. "Between Dictatorship and Democracy: State-Affiliated News Media in Indonesia." In *Journalism and Democracy in Asia*, eds. Angela Romano and Michael Bromley, 122-136. London and New York: Routledge.
- Rosyad, R. 2006. *A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islamic Resurgence Movement among the Youth in Bandung, Indonesia*. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Royan, Naomita. 2008. "Increasing Press Freedom in Indonesia: The Abolition of *Lesé Mejesté* and 'Hate-Sowing' Provisions." *Australian Journal of Asian Law* 10 (2): 290-311.

- Rudnyckyj, D. 2010. *Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Sakai, M., & Fauzia, A. 2014. "Islamic orientations in Contemporary Indonesia: Islamism on the Rise?" *Asian Ethnicity* 15 (1): 41–61.
- Salim, Arskal. 2011. "Between ICMI and NU: The Contested Representation of Muslim Civil Society in Indonesia, 1990-2001" *Al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 49 (2): 295-328.
- Salvatore, A., & Eickelman, D. F. 2004. *Public Islam and the Common Good*. Leiden [etc.]: Brill.
- Schmidt, Leonie. 2017. *Islamic Modernities in Southeast Asia: Exploring Indonesian Popular and Visual Culture*. London (etc.): Rowman & Littlefield International.
- _____. 2012. "Urban Islamic Spectacles: Transforming the Space of the Shopping Mall during Ramadhan in Indonesia." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13 (3): 384-407.
- Schulz, D. 2006. "Promises of (im) mediate salvation: Islam, broadcast media, and the remaking of religious experience in Mali" *American Ethnologist* 33 (2): 210-229.
- _____. 2003. "Charisma and Brotherhood' Revisited: Mass-Mediated Forms of Spirituality in Urban Mali." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (2): 146–171.
- Sen, Khrisna and David T. Hill. 2000. *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*. Melbourne (etc.): Oxford University Press.
- Sen, Khrisna. 1994. "Changing Horizons of Television in Indonesia." *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences* 22 (1): 116-124.
- Shirazi, F. 2016. *Brand Islam: The Marketing and Commodification of Piety*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Sirry, Mun'im. 2013. "Fatwas and Their Controversy: The Case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44 (1): 100-117.
- Syahril Siddik. 2011. *Cursing the Sacred: recent debates on blasphemy in Indonesia*. Unpublished Master Thesis. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Sirozi, Muhammad. 2005. "The Intellectual Roots of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: Ja'far Umar Thalib of Laskar Jihad (Jihad Fighters) and His Educational Background." *The Muslim World* 95 (1): 81-120.
- Slama, Martin. 2005. "Orang Indonesia Keturunan Hadramaut di Bali: Masyarakat Diaspora dalam Perbandingan [Indonesians with Arabic Hadramaut descendants in Bali: Diaspora community in comparison]."

- Masyarakat Indonesia: Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Indonesia*, XXXI (2): 1-24.
- Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007. "Javanese Women and the Veil in Post-Soeharto Indonesia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (2): 389 - 420.
- Soares, Benjamin. 2005. *Islam and the Prayer Economy: history and authority in a Malian town*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Sofjan, Dicky. 2012. "Gender Constraction in *Da'wahtainment*: A Case Study of *Hati ke Hati bersama Mamah Dedeh*" *Al-Jāmi'ah* 50 (1): 57-74.
- Sudibyo, Agus. 2004. *Ekonomi Politik Media Penyiaran* [Political Economy of Media Broadcasting]. Jakarta: Yogyakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi ISAI and Lembaga Pengkajian Islam dan Sosial LKiS.
- Sudibyo, Agus & Nezar Patria. 2013. "The Television Industry in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Critical Essay." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43 (2): 257–275.
- Sunarwoto. 2016. "Salafi Dakwah Radio: A Contest for Religious Authority." *Archipel* (91): 203-230.
- _____. 2013. "Dakwah Radio in Surakarta, a Contest for Islamic Identity." In *Indonesian Islam, Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, eds. Jajat Burhanuddin and Kees van Dijk, 195-214. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Syamsuddin, D. 1995. *Islamic Political Thought and Islamic Cultural Revival in Modern Indonesia*. A Paper Presented at the Conference on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia, Jakarta, May 29-31, 1995, Supported by LIPI, IAIN, and AMINEF.
- Tasman and Dita Kirana. 2017. "Rodja: Rujukan Radio Salafi di Indonesia [Rodja: Salafi Radio Reference in Indonesia]." In *Suara Salafisme: Radio Dakwah di Indonesia* [the Voice of Salafisme: Dakwah Radio in Indonesia], eds. Din Wahid and Jamhari Makruf, 262-278. Jakarta: Kecana.
- Turner, Bryan S. 2007. "Religious Authority and the New Media." *Theory, Culture & Society* 24 (2): 117–134.
- Umam, Akhmad Khairul & Akhmad Arif Junaidi. 2017. "Political Islam: The shrinking Trend and the Future Trajectory of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia." *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan, dan Politik* 30 (1): 1–12.
- Umam, Saiful. 2006. "Radical Muslims in Indonesia: The Case of Ja'far Umar Thalib and the Laskar Jihad." *Explorations in Southeast Asian Studies* 6 (1): 1-26.

- Van Bruinessen, Martin. 2013. *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies/ISEAS.
- _____. 2002. "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia." *Southeast Asia Research* 10 (2): 117-154.
- Van Dijk, K. 2001. *A Country in Despair: Indonesia between 1997 and 2000*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Van Dijk, Kees & Kaptein, N. J. G.. 2016. *Islam, Politics and Change: the Indonesian Experience after the Fall of Suharto*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Wagemakers, J. 2016. *Salafism in Jordan: Political Islam in a Quietist Community*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. Unpublished Dissertation. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- Ward, Ken. 2009. "Non-violent Extremist? Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63 (2): 149-164.
- Watson, C. W. 2005. "A Popular Indonesian Preacher: The Significance of Aa Gymnastiar." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11 (4): 773-792.
- Weber, M. 1964). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York and London: Free Press of Glencoe and MacMillan.
- Webster, J. G. 1998). "The Audience." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 42 (2):190-207.
- Weintraub, A. N (ed.). 2011. *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*. London [etc.]: Routledge.
- _____. 2010. *Dangdut Stories: A Social and Musical History of Indonesia's Most Popular Music*. New York (etc.): Oxford University Press.
- Wirastri, Theresia Dyah and Stijn Cornelis van Huis. 2021. "The Second Wife: Ambivalences towards State Regulation of Polygamy in Indonesia" *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53 (2): 246-268.
- Wise, Lindsay. 2003. *'Words from the Heart': New Forms of Islamic Preaching in Egypt*. Unpublished M. Phil Thesis. Oxford: Oxford University. Available online at <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~metheses/WiseNoImages.pdf>, accessed on December 14, 2015.

- Yavuz, M. Hakan.; Esposito, John L. 2003. "Islam in Turkey: Retreat from the Secular Path?" in *Turkish Islam and the secular state: the Gülen movement*, eds. M. Hakan Yavuz and John L. Esposito. New York, NY : Syracuse University Press.
- Yayan, M. A. F. 2013. *Kun Yusuf Mansur: Kisah Perjalanan Hidup Ustadz Yusuf Mansur* [Kun Yusuf Mansur: The Life Journey Story of Preacher Yusuf Mansur]. Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.
- Yunanto, Sri and Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid. 2013. "Fragmentation and Conflict among Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia during Reformasi Era (1998-2009): Anatomy, Factors, and Implications." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7 (2): 337-365.
- Zayd, N. A. 2006. *Reformation of Islamic Thought: A Critical Historical Analysis*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Zuhri, Syaifuddin. 2013. "Inventing Balinese Muslim Sainthood." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 41(119): 1-13.
- Zulkifli. 2009. *The Struggle of the Shi'is in Indonesia*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Leiden: Leiden University.

Magazines, Periodicals, and Newspapers

- Monitor: Mingguan Televisi, Video, Radio, dan Film*. No. 22, (01 April 1987).
- Televisi Republik Indonesia. 1985. *Laporan Tahunan* [Annual Report]. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Radio, Televisi, dan Film, Departemen Penerangan.
- _____. 1983. *Laporan Tahunan* [Annual Report]. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Radio, Televisi, dan Film, Departemen Penerangan.
- _____. 1982. *Laporan Tahunan* [Annual Report]. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Radio, Televisi, dan Film, Departemen Penerangan.

Online Sources

- Ahmadiyya. "SKB 3 Menteri tentang Ahmadiyya [Joint Decree of 3 Ministers about Ahmadiyya]." <http://Ahmadiyya.org/skb-3-menteri-tentang-Ahmadiyya/>. Last accessed, December 7, 2016.

- Amrullah, Amri. November 2015. "Ustadz Maulana: Maaf Bila Ceramah Saya ada yang Salah [Preacher Maulana, I apologise if my preaching is wrong]." <http://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/15/11/19/ny178c334-ustaz-maulana-maaf-bila-ceramah-saya-ada-yang-salah>. Last accessed, December 22, 2016.
- Amsha, Amalia Qishtyana. October 2017. "5 Fakta Bisnis Paytren Yusuf Mansur yang Dibekukan BI, Perputaran Uang sampai Konsep Syariah [5 Facts of Paytren Corporate of Yusuf Mansur, which is Blocked by Indonesian Central Bank, from Money Circulation to Sharia Concept]." <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2017/10/06/5-fakta-bisnis-paytren-yusuf-mansur-yang-dibekukan-bi-perputaran-uang-sampai-konsep-syariah>. Last accessed, November 26, 2019.
- Anton. June 2006. "Uje Luncurkan Uje Centre dan SMS Obat Hati [Uje launches Uje Centre and SMS heart healing]". <http://www.kapanlagi.com/showbiz/selebri/uje-luncurkan-uje-centre-dan-sms-obat-hati-lpytiap.html>. Last accessed, December 20, 2013.
- ATVSI. "Asosiasi Televisi Swasta Indonesia [Private TV Association of Indonesia]." <http://atvsi.or.id/aboutus.php>. Last accessed, December 5, 2014.
- Asril, Sabrina. May 2014. "Ceramah di Masjid Aa Gym Harapkan Prabowo-Hatta Satukan Umat [Preaching in a Mosque Aa Gym Hopes Prabowo-Hatta Unify Umma]." <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/20/1452467/Ceramah.di.Masjid.Aa.Gym.Harapkan.Prabowo-Hatta.Satukan.Umat>. Last accessed on August 28, 2014.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. February 2018. "Proyeksi Penduduk menurut Provinsi 2010 [Population Projection based on Provinces 2010]." <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/02/18/1274/proyeksi-penduduk-menurut-provinsi-2010---2035.html>. Last accessed, April 14, 2015.
- _____. January 2017. "Luas Wilayah, Jumlah Penduduk, dan Kepadatan Penduduk menurut Kabupaten Kota di Sumatera Utara [Width of Areas and Population Density in accordance with Distict Cities in North Sumatera Province]." <https://medankota.bps.go.id/statictable/2017/01/18/87/luas-wilayah-jumlah-penduduk-dan-kepadatan-penduduk-menurut-kabupaten-kota-di-provinsi-sumatera-utara-2015.html>. Last accessed, April 18, 2018.
- Batubara, Herianto. October 2016. "Aa Gym Ikut Demo Ahok 4 November:

- Tetap Jaga Akhlakul Karimah [Aa Gym Participating in a Rally against Ahok 4 November: Keep Good Deeds.”
<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3333050/aa-gym-ikut-demo-ahok-4-november-tetap-jaga-akhlakul-karimah>. Last accessed, December 2, 2016.
- Bernard, M. and Troupeau, G., “Ḳiyās”, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/15733912_islam_COM_0527. Last Accessed, March 14, 2021.
- DetikNews. June 2004. “MUI: Fatwa Haram Presiden Perempuan Tak Perlu Ditanggapi [MUI: Fatwa Prohibiting Women Becoming Presiden should not be Discussed].”
<http://news.detik.com/berita/160786/mui-fatwa-haram-presiden-perempuan-tak-perlu-ditanggapi>. Last accessed, December 23, 2016.
- Fernandes, Feri. 2016. “Tak Merasa Disingkirkan, Begini Perjalanan Karier AKBP Dodi Usai Bom Buku [Do not Think Neglected, This is How Career Journey of AKBP Dodi after Book Bombing].”
<http://news.detik.com/berita/3137699/tak-merasa-disingkirkan-begini-perjalanan-karier-akbp-dodi-usai-bom-buku>. Last accessed, December 21, 2016.
- Hamzah, Zaky Al. April 2013. “KPI Peringatkan ‘Khazanah Trans7’ [KPI Warn Khazanah Trans7].”
<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/news-update/13/04/18/mleuqe-kpi-peringatkan-khazanah-trans7>. Last accessed, December 8, 2016.
- Hoesterey, James B. October 2016. “Sincerity, Scandal, and the State: Islam and Media in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia.”
<https://pomeps.org/2017/01/25/sincerity-scandal-and-the-state-islam-and-media-in-post-authoritarian-indonesia/>. Last accessed, December 14, 2016.
- Ihsanuddin. May 2018. “Jalan Panjang Pemerintah Bubarkan FPI [Long Journey of the Government to Ban HTI Organisation].”
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/08/10463051/jalan-panjang-pemerintah-bubarkan-hti>. Last accessed, November 4, 2018.
- International Crisis Group. December 2002. “Indonesia Backgrounder: How the Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Network Operates.”
<https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/indonesia->

- backgrounder-how-jemaah-islamiyah-terrorist-network-operates. Last accessed, November 30, 2016.
- Jordan, Ray. April 2017. “Ini yang Dibahas Jokowi Bersama Yusuf Mansur dan Ulama di Istana [Here is What is Discussed by Jokowi with Yusuf Mansur and Muslim Scholars in State Palace].”
<https://news.detik.com/berita/3476847/ini-yang-dibahas-jokowi-bersama-yusuf-mansur-dan-ulama-di-istana>. Last accessed, May 6, 2017.
- Khalifah Trans7. April 2016. “Kisah Karomah Umar bin Khattab R.A. [Umar bin Khattab’s Miracles].”
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y6NI6_ZMjgg. Last accessed, December 4, 2016.
- Khazanah Islam Trans7. January 2014. “Kupas Tuntas Syirik Besar [Uncover Big Shirk].”
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZLHoaJ8OPI>. Last accessed, November 13, 2015.
- Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia. January 2014. “KPI Mediasi Ijabi dengan Trans7 soal Khazanah [KPI Mediate the Meeting between Ijabi and Trans7 about Khazanah programme]”. <http://kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/38-dalam-negeri/31689-kpi-mediasi-ijabi-dengan-trans7-soal-khazanah>. Last accessed, December 8, 2016.
- _____. April 2013. “Trans7 Penuhi Undangan Dialog KPI Pusat Soal Tayangan Khazanah [Trans7 Fulfil KPI’s Invitation for Dialogue regarding Khazanah Broadcasting].”
<https://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/38-dalam-negeri/31294-trans-7-penuhi-undangan-dialog-kpi-pusat-soal-tayangan-khazanah>. Last accessed, December 8, 2016.
- _____. “Regulasi [Regulation].”
<https://www.kpi.go.id/download/regulasi/>. Last accessed, December 22, 2016.
- Kumparan News. August 2017. “Mamah Dedeh dan Permintaan Maafnya Soal Ceramah tentang Dokter Hewan [Mamah Dedeh and her apology about her preaching on veterinarians].”
<https://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/mamah-dedeh-dan-permintaan-maafnya-soal-ceramah-tentang-dokter-hewan>. Last accessed, August 17, 2017.
- Majelis Ulama Indonesia. May 2014. “Fatwa tentang Pluralisme,

- Liberalisme, dan Sekularisme dalam Agama [Fatwa on Pluralism, Liberalism, and Secularism].” <http://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/12.-Pluralisme-Liberalisme-dan-Sekularisme-Agama.pdf>. Last accessed, December 7, 2016.
- Majelis Az-Zikra. “Majelis Az-Zikra.” <http://azzikra.com/tentang-kami/majelis-az-zikra/>. Last accessed, December 22, 2016.
- Mamah dan Aa Beraksi. July 2017. “Mertua yang Semena-mena [Parents-in law Doing What They Like].” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9IcI3avaiQ>. Last accessed, August 3, 2017.
- Mamah dan Aa Beraksi. September 2017. “Hidupku Dibiayai Suami Orang [My Life is Financed by Other’s Husband].” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TH9up_mrsMI. Last accessed, September 4, 2017.
- Mamah dan Aa Beraksi. October 2016. “Ujian dalam Rumah Tangga [Obstacles in Family Lives].” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JIgXFNeFHQ>. Last accessed, December 4, 2016.
- Mansur, Yusuf. July 2014. “Tentang Pilpres [About the Presidential Election]”. <http://yusufmansur.com/tentang-pilpres/>. Last accessed, August 28, 2014.
- Matanasi, Petrik. 2018. “Zainuddin MZ: Dai Sejuta Umat, Politikus Sejuta Massa [Zainuddin MZ: The Preacher of a Million Followers, the politician of a Million People]”. <https://tirto.id/zainuddin-mz-dai-sejuta-umat-politikus-sejuta-massa-cCKz>. Last accessed, October 12, 2017.
- MP, Istman. June 2017. “Dikabarkan Naik, Berapa Gaji Presiden Sekarang? [How Much President’s Salary Now?]” <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/887667/dikabarkan-naik-berapa-gaji-presiden-jokowi-sekarang>. Last accessed, September 2, 2017.
- Muhammadiyah. “Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah”. <http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-51-det-anggaran-dasar.html>. Last accessed, April 26, 2015.
- Poros Surga. April 2017. “Berkah Safar di Kota Rasul, Madinah [The Advantages of Travelling in the Prophet’s City, Medina].” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q7YyryxPdd4M>. Last accessed, May 2, 2017.

- Poros Surga. May 2016. "Semua Orang Berhak Umroh [Everyone Has Right to do Umrah/Pilgrimage]." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1oof4bxCU8>. Last accessed, May 2, 2017.
- Putra, Erik Purnama. November 2015. "Fatwa MUI Jatim: Ajaran Syiah Sesat [East Java MUI Fatwa: Shia Teachings are Misleading]." <http://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/15/11/29/nykugi334-fatwa-mui-jatim-ajaran-syiah-sesat>. Last accessed, December 7, 2016.
- Radio Rodja. "Program Muhsinin Tetap Radio Rodja dan RodjaTV [Fixed Donatur Program of Rodja Radio and RodjaTV]." <http://www.radiorodja.com/infq-sedekah-dan-zakat-online-inafaq-online-sedekah-online-dan-zakat-online-via-radio-rodja-dan-rodjatv/program-muhsinin-tetap-radio-rodja-dan-rodjatv/>. Last accessed, April 13, 2017.
- Rakhmatulloh. April 2017. "Jokowi Undang Yusuf Mansur, Arifin Ilham, hingga Mahfudz MD ke Istana [Jokowi invites Yusuf Mansur, Arifin Ilham, and Mahfud MD to State Palace]." <https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1197830/15/jokowi-undang-yusuf-mansur-arifin-ilham-hingga-mahfud-md-ke-istana-1492421639>. Last accessed, August 1, 2017.
- Ramses, Alex. August 2017. "Surat Cinta buat Mamah Dedeh tentang Etika Berfatwa dan Dokter Hewan [(Letter to Mamah Dedeh about Ethics to issue Fatwas and Veterinarians)]." <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/80107/surat-cinta-buat-mamah-dedeh-tentang-etika-berfatwa-dan-dokter-hewan>. Last accessed, August 29, 2017.
- Agung Sasongko. March 2018. "Pengobatan Ala Rasulullah [Healing Like the Prophet's]." <http://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-digest/18/03/02/p4yfo5313-pengobatan-ala-rasulullah>. Last accessed, March 15, 2018.
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. 2017. "Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 17 Tahun 2013 tentang Organisasi Kemasyarakatan [Amendment of Regulation Number 17, 2013 concerning Mass Organisation]." http://setkab.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Perpu_Nomor_2_Tahun_2017.pdf. Last accessed, November 4, 2018.

- Shahab, Alwi. 2019. "Suharto Membangun 999 Masjid di Indonesia [Suharto Built 999 Mosques in Indonesia]".
<https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pw6krm282/soeharto-membangun-999-masjid-di-indonesia>. Last accessed on January 5, 2021.
- Tempo. May 2017. "Ahok Dihukum 2 Tahun Penjara, GNPF-MUI Terima Keputusan Hakim [Ahok is sentenced 2 years in prison, GNPF MUI accept the judge's decision]."
[\https://nasional.tempo.co/read/874086/ahok-dihukum-2-tahun-penjara-gnpf-mui-terima-putusan-hakim/full&view=ok. Last accessed, January 17, 2017.
- Kumparan News. August 2017. "Viva Group Kuasai Rating TV Hiburan dan Berita di Indonesia [Viva Group Dominate TV Ratings for Entertainment and News Programmes in Indonesia]."
<https://kumparan.com/jofie-yordan/viva-group-kuasai-rating-tv-hiburan-dan-berita-di-indonesia>. Last accessed, August 29, 2017.
- Yadi, Bukhori Supriyadi. August 2017. "Mamah Dedeh Klarifikasi Ceramahnya yang Melarang Muslim Menjadi Dokter Hewan [Mamah Dedeh Clarifies Her Preaching about Muslims to not become Veterinarians]."
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=4&v=0G4-Z5k4eZc. Last accessed, August 10, 2017.
- Yusuf, Oik. November 2014. "Pengguna Internet Indonesia Nomor Enam Dunia [Indonesian Internet Users Rank 6th in the World].
<https://tekno.kompas.com/read/2014/11/24/07430087/Pengguna.Internet.Indonesia.Nomor.Enam.Dunia>. Last accessed, March 4, 2015.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

- Table 2.1. Programmes of propagation of Islam broadcast by television channels in 2015.
- Figure 2.1. The broadcasting of Irama Qasidah on TVRI in 1973.
- Figure 2.2. The Setting of *Mamah dan Aa Beraksi* in the Studio of INDOSIAR in Jakarta.
- Figure 2.3. A shopkeeper in Medan showing a DVD containing the sermons from several television preachers.
- Figure 3.1. The first book written by Yusuf Mansur, which later became the brand of his activities of propagation of Islam.
- Figure 3.2. Yusuf Mansur with Syeikh Adil Al-Kalbani (in the centre), the leader of prayers at Al-Haram Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, when he visited *Darul Qur'an* in Tangerang.
- Figure 3.3. Television preachers including Aa Gym (background), Arifin Ilham (background), and Bakhtiar Nasir (centre) shown in the picture of the press conference to the media in Jakarta on May 2, 2017 before the anti-Ahok demonstration.
- Figure 4.1. Programme of propagation of Islam, *Khazanah*, displays a number of Muslims praying around the graves in their short documentary movie about big sin.
- Figure 4.2. Mediation between members of NU and the producers of *Khazanah* Trans7 held by the KPI on April 17, 2013 at the Central Office of KPI in Jakarta.
- Figure 5.1. Indonesian actress', Zaskia Sungkar's, Islamic fashion shop on her Instagram account.