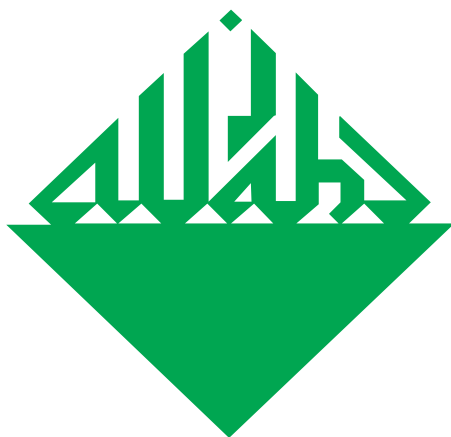


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 28, Number 2, 2021



THE WORD 'LEBAI' AND ITS ETHNIC ORIGINS:
REASSESSING AN EARLY DESIGNATION
FOR MUSLIM RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS IN THE MALAY WORLD

Alexander Wain

FORBIDDEN VISIBILITY:
QUEER ACTIVISM, SHARI'A SPHERE
AND POLITICS OF SEXUALITY IN ACEH

Moch. Nur Ichwan

THE POLITICS OF SYARIATISATION IN INDONESIA:
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Ratno Lukito

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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 28, no. 2, 2021

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.

Editorial Office:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
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Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution:
US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$ 25,00;
individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$
20,00. Rates do not include international postage and
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Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM,
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Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu:
Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum
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Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang
Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

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Islamic on Screen: Religious Narrative on Indonesia's Television

Fahmi Imam Fauzy & Aptiani Nur Jannah

The digital era does not necessarily replace television as a source of information, including about religion. Television remains vital in the construction and dissemination of religious information in Indonesian society. The survey conducted by PPIM in 2018 shows that 33.73% of Generation Z (youth) access television as a source of religious knowledge (Saputra 2018). The previous research by Alvara in 2020 also found that 54.2% of respondents listen to and watch religious sermons from television (Alvara 2020). Therefore, PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta through Media and Religious Trend In Indonesia (MERIT) conducted a research entitled “*Preaching on Screen: Television and Religious Narrative in Indonesia*”, which ran from July to December 2020. The research found that moderate and conservative of islam are highly dominating on television programs in Indonesia.

This research is also driven by the significance of television in disseminating religious knowledge demonstrated by the widespread proliferation of religious programs produced on television. These religious programs are broadcasted not only during Ramadan month but also on daily basis. The significant role of television as a source of religious knowledge is also illustrated by the high public interest in

watching religious programs. For example, the “Damai Indonesiaku” program produced by TVOne successfully gains a share of 10.42% in the month of Ramadan and 8.33% on normal days (Tirto 2018). The program “Kata Ustadz Solmed” broadcasted by SCTV (Surya Citra Televisi), enjoys a high rating of 31 shares, which is much higher than the soap opera with the highest rating of only 15 shares. In addition to religious programs on public television stations, currently, many TV stations use satellite frequencies to exclusively broadcast religious programs for example RodjaTV, Ihsan TV, and Surau TV. In fact, with the rapid development of the internet, many televisions use Youtube platform to broadcast their religious programs such as CokroTV, Al BahjahTV, YufidTV, TVMU (TVMuhammadiyah), Nabawi TV, and so on.

However, the development of religious television programs still raises some problems. In 2013, KPI issued an official warning against TVRI for giving broadcast slots to Islamic organization which openly opposes the existence the Republic of Indonesia. A preacher on a religious program in 2017 also received a warning for describing heaven with an inappropriate narrative. A similar case also happened when a TV station that aired a religious program with exorcism as one of its primary elements received harsh backlash in 2018. Another issue also arises when religious shows are considered to support one party and at the same time alienate the other party, for example, a preacher in a TV station condemns the traditional practice of *tahlilan* (prayer gathering) as heresy. Thus, television is also inseparable from the contestation of various religious understandings. Current development also raises issues especially with the rise of religious channels on YouTube with questionable religious understandings and the lack of government control on such free platforms. Thus, this research particularly attempts to address this trend.

This research uses mixed-method applying both qualitative and quantitative methods. Big data takes a significant role in all data processing in this research. It sets this research apart from previous researches in terms of methodology. The data contains text transcription of television religious programs and in-depth interviews through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with the television production team as main informants. The television studied consists of national television of the Indonesian government, private

commercial, satellite, and internet-based television. To analyse, the research uses, first, unstructured data analysis through text analytics and topic modelling for exploring topics and program themes that produced on TV. These analyses use machine learning like Voyant Tools in exploring the words. Second, structured data analysis which statistically getting proportion data of religious understanding in TV. Third, descriptive analysis to get information from interview data and transcription data of program. The research divides two typologies of television namely conventional and non-conventional television. Conventional television technically uses radio wave transmitters and an antenna that captures ultra-high frequency (UHF) waves of television. Meanwhile, non-conventional television is internet-based television.

Development Phases of Indonesian Television

From the historical perspective, Indonesian television has three prominent phases. The first is the conventional phase (1962-1988). In this phase, the government has a huge control in designing religious programs aired by the National Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI). Religious programs were named *Mimbar Agama* and *Quran Recitations (Tilawah Quran)*. Especially for *Mimbar Agama* program at that time, TVRI broadcast all nationally recognized religions which are Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. All these religious programs had to reflect the government's goals and principles, one of which was promoting and supporting the New Order's Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita) program.

The second is the commercial television phase (1998-2011). Television develops as an industry that focuses on profit which then influences the rise of religious conservatism in television. TVRI which previously had exclusive broadcasting rights, gradually decline in popularity and was replaced by private commercial televisions. The first commercial TV station that successfully aired was Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI) on August 24, 1989, which was owned by Bambang Trihatmodjo who is son of President Soeharto at that time, followed by SCTV, PT. Cipta Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia or TPI, and ANTV in 1991. Afterwards, it grew to 15 public TV stations in 1999. Religious programs on television also underwent significant changes. Monologue settings on TV programs were switched to talk

shows. New preachers such as Aa Gym and Jefry al-Buchori emerged to replace old figures such as Zaenuddin MZ. They offer an appealing and entertaining personality. In this phase, Sofjan and Hidayati call it the emergence of the phenomenon called “*dawahtainment*” (Sofjan & Hidayati, 2013).

The third is the non-conventional television phase (2011-today). Television evolves to be new media with the emergence of the internet. YouTube and Instagram are alternative TVs for people who are dissatisfied with national TV stations. Butler (2018) defines this phase as Internet-distributed television. It gives religious conservative groups a free platform to express their Islamic understanding. Several channels in this study promote a variety of religious views, such as Al Bahjah TV, Yufid.TV, Shift Media with conservative religious views; 164 NU Channel, MuTv (Muhammadiyah TV), and Narasi TV with moderate religious views; and Cokro TV with liberal religious views.

The Government and Religious Narratives in Indonesian Television

The presence of government in television affects the variety of religious views. In conventional television, religious interpretations are mostly dominated by moderate and conservative views. The Indonesian government mandates the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) to control and evaluate the religious programs in all television. It was based on Indonesian Law number 32, 2002 on Broadcasting that KPI is a representative institution for the Indonesian government in managing the broadcasting in Indonesia.

This research finds that when the state (KPI) has a large enough control over religious programs on TV, the religious narratives are less varied. They only consist of non-political narratives of religious moderatism and conservatism often considered as “safe” for the public. This term is a reflection of TV stations that adhere to the rules of KPI, MUI, and the Ministry of Religion and per KPI’s broadcasting guidelines. On the contrary, the absence of government control in non-conventional television triggers the rise of more varied religious understandings and accommodates Islamist and liberal Islam views. KPI can only evaluate and control all programs that are broadcasted on conventional television but have no authority over internet-based television.

The Threat of Intolerant Religious Narratives in Television

Religious narratives in some of the preaches in television seem neutral however they often carry intolerant messages which likely threaten peace in the long run. In terms of word frequency, a closer look at 2500 data transcriptions shows the dominance of religious conservative narratives with the percentage of 46.3%, followed by moderate (33.4%), liberals (0.6%), Islamist (0.4%), and radical (0.1%) religious narratives. In a preach related to morality, for instance, a preacher advises Muslims to follow the Prophet. This may fall under moderate religious narratives if it is interpreted as following the fundamental character of the Prophet. However, most of the narratives are prone to literal interpretation and against a contextual understanding of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Following the prophet in some of the narratives mean total imitation of every life aspect during the prophet's time to present. The emphasis of Muslims shifts from values taught by the Prophet (i.e., love, compassion, kindness) to mere daily acts such as how to walk, eat, sleep, etc. One preacher supports a literal take on Islamic text by affirming that everything which is mentioned in Islamic text must be taken for what it is without the need to interpret. This further motivates rejection against modernization. Some of the preaches even convey Islamist narratives which reaffirms Islam as the only true religion and all aspects of life including politics must be under Islamic rule. These narratives also often raise clashes between religions and cultures such as Islam vs Christianity or Islam vs West. Such narratives are then used as justification to conduct prejudiced acts against minority groups. Eventually, this poses threats to the sustainability of tolerance among Indonesia's diverse society.

Popular Religious Narratives and Programs

By assessing the level of engagement (combination of views, likes, and comments) on YouTube data gathered, this study finds that religious programs on non-conventional television enjoy higher popularity than those on conventional television. On the other hand, by evaluating the content of the programs, we find that narratives that represent conservative and Islamist views are more popular than narratives that reflect moderate and liberal religious understandings. First, television stations that have the highest engagements are Trans 7 and TVOne. Trans 7 gains popularity not only owing to its unique

form of historical travel documentaries but also its religious narratives, which tend to be conservative especially due to its preacher with Salafi background. Meanwhile, TVOne, a predominantly news TV, designs religious programs to open a space for dialogue between people with different religious views and with themes that follow current trends and issues happening in society. Second, the third to ninth order of religious programs that have a high level of engagement is occupied by non-conventional televisions. These televisions mostly produce conservative and Islamist narratives. Third, religious programs that have a fairly low level of engagement are dominated by programs from conventional television. Additionally, program popularity is also influenced by the fame of the preachers. Religious narratives have less impact on the popularity of religious programs than the preachers. The public tends to like the preachers due to his status compared to the messages he brings. Individuals form *parasocial* interactions with preachers deemed by the public as celebrities as they opt to watch videos from the preacher they idolize. This *parasocial* interaction with religious celebrities is then followed by interest in religious content or narratives delivered by the preacher. They are thus motivated to follow other preachers who have the same affiliation in terms of religious views. Most of popular preachers produce conservative religious contents.

Ramadhan and Non-Ramadhan Narratives in Television

One aspect to analyze is the comparison between programs that are produced in the month of Ramadhan and the rest of the year. During Ramadhan, the religiosity of Indonesian people is usually quite high thus inspires the rise of various religious programs on TV. In this occasion, humans are encouraged to improve their religious capacity and return to the nature of Muslims. One thing that is often recommended in the month of Ramadan is to improve worship and morality. In general, narratives related to worship are the first category of narratives that are mostly constructed in the month of Ramadan and non-Ramadhan followed by morality narratives. It is further elaborated in the table below that worship (*ibadah*) narratives are more common in Ramadhan (1084 times) than in the non-Ramadhan month (960 times). However, based on the proportions of each category, the proportion of worship in Ramadhan is slightly lower (62%) than the narrative of worship in non-Ramadhan (66%).



Picture 1: Proportion of topic category of program in Ramadhan and non-Ramadhan

Both in the month of Ramadan and non-Ramadan, the narratives related to prayer are the most dominant type of worship constructed in television religious programs. Furthermore, the narrative of fasting appears strong in the Ramadan program with a proportion of 28.78%, followed by narratives related to Hajj (10.9%). On the other hand, narratives related to Hajj are the second-highest worship narrative in non-Ramadan religious programs (10.57%), followed by fasting at 9.94%. This indicates the high interest of Indonesian society on ritual religious practices than other subjects.

Profit vs Ideology Motivations

Another finding in this research shows in general, conventional television caters moderate religious view more than non-conventional television although it is more driven by profit than ideology motivation. The former accommodates other religious understanding like conservatism as long as it complies with market demands. Economic aspect of the television industry is more important than da'wah itself. Moreover, religious programs are often considered as "public services" for TV station to demonstrate "a good TV" as public image. On the other hand, the aspect of da'wah has become the main motivation for religious programs in non-conventional television. Religious ideology is a prominent part of internet-based TV. This spurs the variety of religious narratives in the online setting such as moderate, conservative, Islamist, and

liberal religious views. In the digital environment, religious conservative views rapidly grow because these religious channels are all managed by huge Muslim community organizations as well as Islamic groups that began to thrive after the reformation political system, such as the Salafi group and the Hijrah movement. To illustrate, tvOne (conventional tv) produces its religious program by presenting the speakers from various religious perspectives to attract viewers. Meanwhile, driven by ideology, non-conventional TVs like Cokro TV and Cinta Quran TV consistently criticize religious ideas that are against them.

Gender Inequality in Television

This research finds that television religious shows illustrate the reality of hegemonic masculinity in which media, in this case, television, is used as a tool to construct patriarchal values which then upholds the domination of men over women in society. This practice then legitimizes discriminatory practices against women. First, women are underrepresented in religious programs on television. Hosts and preachers in religious programs are mostly men with a percentage of 88.8% against women who only gain 11.2% of total preachers in television. This study also finds that patriarchal construction is facilitated by television through religious programs by combining religious counsels with patriarchal moral standards that perpetuate gender inequality. Religious content on television often raises gender-biased narratives such as themes of women domestication and subordination. Men as 'breadwinners' are considered as 'heads of the family' so their position is deemed higher than women constructed in their capacity as housewives and mothers who nurture children. Narratives about men focus on their obligation to 'earn money while narratives about women focus on their reproductive functions and their role in managing a household. When men are out in the public sphere, women are supposed to be at home. In addition, the subordinate position of women compared to men is also raised on television. Women are narrated as obliged 'to serve' men. A wife is taught to 'please husband.' This shows that the gender narrative developed in the da'wah program on television contains the practice of subordination of women in which they are considered more subordinate than men. Therefore, patriarchal culture is maintained through the process of constructing unequal gender relations in television religious programs.

In response to these findings, Dr. Mega Hidayati, M.A, lecture of Political Islam at Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, praises the research as its findings essentially portray the reality of religiosity among Indonesian people. She acknowledges that religious narratives presented on television do not only reflect the TV production team but also the interests of Indonesian people. While Prof. Akh Muzakki, M.Ag, Professor in Sociology of education at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, shows similar appraisal as he believes that the variation of religious narratives in TV is mainly due to profit-making beside the difference in religious argumentation and understanding. He emphasizes that capital gain in television is very powerful in producing programs. These responses were presented during research findings launching on May 25, 2020. The research of *Berdakwah di Layar Kaca: Televisi Narasi Agama di Platform Online dan Televisi Indonesia* is available in Bahasa on <https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/publikasi/buku/>

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3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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تصميم الغلاف:

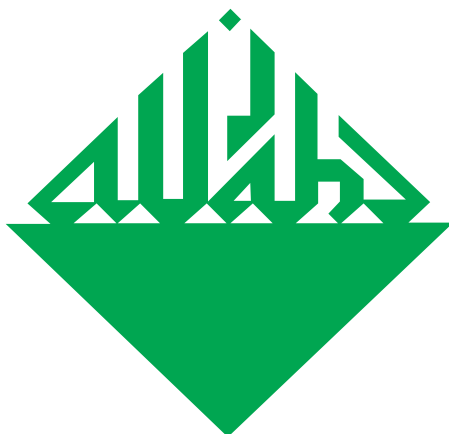
س. برنكا

ستوديا اسلاميا

استوديا اسلاميا

السنة الثامنة والعشرون، العدد ٢، ٢٠٢١

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية



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اللغة العربية

في المعاهد الإسلامية بإندونيسيا:

مشكلاتها وطرق حلها

محمد نفيس جويني وأحمدي عثمان
