

Islamic Televangelism: Controversy and Da'wah Contest in Television Media

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Abstract

Digital technology has had a significant impact on several aspects of human life, especially on religious aspects. The birth of this religious fragmentation encouraged the presence of new religious, contemporary preachers and new audiences who contribute to revitalizing the debate over religious symbols. This article proposes thinking around the aspects that led to the development of the debate and contestation surrounding da'wah within the context of Islamic televangelism. The method used in this study is a qualitative descriptive method utilizing field observations and direct interviews with one of the Ustaz on television. The results of this study indicate that da'wah programs that are broadcast through television media give birth to a religious authority that is built between preaching actors thanks to the Islamic televangelism media. The contestation regarding religious authority, which was obtained thanks to its popularity in the television media, gave birth to the figure of a religious entrepreneur. Islamic televangelism has also sparked various controversies through preaching on television media, such as reprimands from KPI and even among fellow scholars.

Kata kunci

Islamic
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Kontroversi,
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Dakwah, Ustaz

Abstrak

Teknologi digital memberi dampak yang signifikan terhadap beberapa aspek kehidupan manusia, terutama pada aspek keagamaan. Lahirnya fragmentasi keagamaan ini mendorong hadirnya new religious, new ulama, new audiens yang ikut serta meramaikan perdebatan tentang simbol-simbol agama. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis terkait aspek yang melatar belakangi lahirnya kontroversi dan kontestasi dakwah dalam ruang lingkup Islamic televangelism. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan cara observasi lapangan dan wawancara langsung dengan salah seorang ustaz di televisi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa acara dakwah yang disiarkan melalui media televisi melahirkan otoritas keagamaan yang dibangun di antara para aktor pendakwah berkat adanya media Islamic televangelism. Kontestasi terkait otoritas keagamaan yang diperoleh berkat kepopulerannya di media televisi melahirkan sosok religius entrepreneur. Kehadiran Islamic televangelism ini juga memicu berbagai kontroversi lewat dakwah di media televisi, seperti teguran dari KPI, bahkan kontroversi sesama ulama.

Introduction

In the last 25 years, the rising media technology has tremendously changed the digital world, especially the Islamic world. There are no longer barriers between communities because everything has been entirely digitalized and networked. The social repercussions affect Muslims' political and religious lives, among other aspects of society. Religious dynamics are evolving rapidly, as seen by the fragmentation of religious authority, the creation of new modes of religious knowledge production, and the encouragement of the emergence of new religious, contemporary preachers and new audiences who contribute to revitalizing the debate over religious symbols. (Mupida, 2019)

Religious knowledge saw a very major movement before and after Suharto, specifically from print media to television media. This may be observed in the rise of private television and the subsequent airing of various religious shows. On par with other well-known Ustaz, such as Ustaz Abdul Somad, Ustaz Adi Hidayat, and Aa Gym, who had success with the Qolbu Management (MQ) program about the value of protecting the heart, (Hoesterey, 2008) as well as Ustaz Yusuf Mansur, a very popular preacher on Indonesian television and who encourages the concept of charity. Yusuf Mansur sees almsgiving as a means of gaining wealth and prosperity rather than a form of religion. Nikmatnya Sedekah is one of Yusuf Mansur's well-liked television programs. The Yusuf Mansur and Aa Gym initiatives have successfully drawn Indonesian Muslims' attention. (Kailani, 2010)

Religious actors do more than deliver preaching in religious organizations. Da'wah performed by religious actors or Ustaz has invaded the television industry, Youtube, and other internet sites, turning him into a figure of a religious entrepreneur (sales of da'wah tapes and films) and religiously-based literature. (Sounaye, 2013) Thus, conventional religious authorities do not abruptly become fragmented; technological advancements can bring about changes and even the emergence of new religious authorities through new media. (Cadge, 2012)

Then, studies on religious authority in Indonesia by James B. Hoesterey centered on how Aa Gym restored his authority following the polygamy case that exposed him. (Cocker & Cronin, 2017) In addition, some studies on emerging authorities, similar to C. W. Watson, focus on analyzing the figure of Aa Gym. (Watson, 2005) Moreover, Siti Mariatul Kiptiyah's research on K.H. Anwar Zahid's authority is also worth mentioning. (Kiptiyah, 2018)

The idea of religious authority in the social sciences was first introduced by Max Weber, who divided authority into three categories: traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal-rational authority—a figurehead in politics and administration with the status of legal-rational authority. (Turley, 2017) Furthermore, broadcast and social media are fascinating because of their various components and personalities. This dramatically impacts many facets of daily life, including igniting social movements.

(Syahputra, 2018) Recent years have seen a significant spike in academic interest in the relationship between religion and the media, particularly television.

The primary issue in this study starts with the growingly prevalent Islamic televangelism in Indonesia. Islamic televangelism has caused significant divisions in the realm of religion. It describes the range of new actors that have emerged in the religious sphere based on observations and data gathered by researchers on the subject (preachers). This new preacher's rise is mainly unrelated to religious education (Pesantren). Popularity on social media and acclaim from a congregation or following give a preacher legitimacy. As a result, the studies or da'wah presented are occasionally not supported by explicit verses from the Qur'an and hadith. This is what sparks debate and disagreement among academics.

This study begins by describing how Islamic televangelism first appeared in Indonesia. Several religious television programs, notably preaching, were broadcast after private television first appeared. The development of these da'wah initiatives, which gave rise to new players in the religious sphere, is also explained by this study. The popularity of these religious actors can be attributed to television. To learn about the history of Islamic televangelism in Indonesia, beginning with KH. Zainuddin MZ, Aa Gym, Yusuf Mansur, and other actors. The author will outline the preachers' missionary journey.

KH. Zainuddin MZ is an Islamic televangelism established during the New Order era and became well-known after mass media outlets were given free rein to operate after the New Order dictatorship fell. According to a survey carried out by the Center for the Study of Development and Democracy (Cesda), an independent research organization, under the Institute for Research, Education, and Economic and Social Development (LP3ES), in 1996, he became the first national Islamic religious figure to become a role model. ³ However, several preachers—whom Howell called "Professor-Preachers"—preached on television before Zainuddin MZ did, including Jalaluddin Rakhmat, Nasaruddin Umar, Nurcholish Madjid, and others. (Howell, 2005)

This study also emphasizes the notable distinctions among television propagandists for Islam. It is crucial to learn how the Ustaz conveys the da'wah ways for this Ustaz to become well-liked and frequently referred to as a celebrity Ustaz in television media. This manuscript will help readers comprehend how the power of the media may turn religious players into religious entrepreneurs in addition to making this religious actor a well-known Ustaz in the da'wah arena. (Jechoutek, 2018) As a result, the research's contribution takes the shape of the most recent studies on the effects of Islamic televangelism, which are seen through the lens of debate and conflict in the religious sphere. Because, particularly in Indonesia, no recent study has raised this problem more thoroughly.

Method

This study is the outcome of five months of fieldwork (September 2019-February 2020). This study was conducted in Yogyakarta, focusing on the Klinik Bengkel Hati

of Ustaz Dhanu. The author collected field data by conducting informal interviews with congregations or the audience of an Ustaz in Yogyakarta utilizing a qualitative descriptive method and case studies in the form of documentation (following accounts related to the Ustaz and postings through social media). Via discourse analysis and subsequent interpretation of the various modes of depicting Islamic da'wah, the research data was gathered through observation methods on websites, live streaming, and numerous television and YouTube shows. In addition to collecting primary data from numerous sources, the authors also look at secondary data from books.

Results and Discussion

Media-related activities have the power to connect communities with no boundaries. Of course, this has repercussions for society, particularly for political and religious life. Islamic televangelism spawned new ulama, or religious scholars, who did not study their religion in Islamic boarding schools or madrasas. The researcher depicts and describes this based on information gathered through field observations and data collection. The following discussion gives a detailed account of a few of the findings the researchers made.

Islamic Televangelism in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the emergence of Islamic televangelism started to surface in 1987. In the 1980s and 1990s, Zainuddin MZ, a well-known preacher, preached at various stadiums throughout Indonesia. Zainuddin MZ was one of the preachers who exploited this opportunity to disseminate his da'wah through the media at the end of 1990 when the government's authority over the media began to wane. Also, there are more incredible options to access mass media, as seen by the involvement of other preachers like Aa Gym, Yusuf Mansur, Arifin Ilham, and others in da'wah through television media. (Muzakki, 2012)

According to K.H. Zainuddin MZ (Died 2011), Islamic televangelism in Indonesia began with the emergence of preachers who specifically delivered Islamic da'wah that focused on law. Furthermore, da'wah, based on joint studies and accompanied by questions and answers, is a program broadcast by the TVOne station since February 2018. This program features several popular Indonesian preachers, including Nazarudin Umar, Abdullah Gymnastiar (Aa Gym), Yusuf Mansur, Ustaz Haikal Hasan, Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS), and others. (Triantoro, 2020)

The role of Islamic televangelism in Indonesia during the New Order era must be distinct from the role of the Islamic political situation in Indonesia. In the 1990s, the New Order government in Indonesia supported Islamic discourse. At the same time, President Soeharto lauded the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI) and the establishment of the first Islamic bank, Bank Muammalah. Furthermore, President Soeharto demonstrated his religiosity in public by participating in the pilgrimage with his family. Furthermore, President Soeharto lifted the ban on wearing

headscarves by female students in schools, which had been in effect since 1987. The discourse of televangelism first appeared in America in 1970, when evangelical Christians gained access to radio and television media as a medium of da'wah. (Kailani & Sunarwoto, 2019).

Additionally, preachers who pioneered the concept of da'wah on family-oriented television, such as Jefri Al-Bukhori (died 2013), Dedeh Rosida (Mamah Dedeh), Oki Setiana Dewi, Nur Maulana, and others draw public attention, particularly among mothers and young people, with themes such as 'O Woman, Your Beauty is in Your Morals,' 'Life is Noble with the Qur'an,' and 'Building a Family of the Prophet's Inheritance.' They packaged their da'wah with simple, relaxed, and quickly accepted rhetoric by their congregation. They combine Islamic concepts with family-centered daily life.

Furthermore, the arrival of private television in Indonesia in the last few decades has been accompanied by religious programming. Religious programs on television cover a wide range of topics, from family-centered da'wah to legal issues to Islamic healing. This also gave rise to new figures in fields previously dominated by traditional clergy. Sunarwoto and Najib Kailani have talked about these new characters. Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS), Ustaz Hanan Attaki, Ustaz Adi Hidayat, and Kyai Anwar Zahid are their names. These four religious actors became prominent due to their religious lectures on social media and television. (Sunarwoto, 2016)

Along with the rise of da'wah on television, Indonesian Muslims are increasingly interested in various religious programs. One of them is the Islamic-inspired healing program. Because of television media, this Islamic healing is becoming increasingly popular. Various religious events on television media are among the programs that Indonesian Muslims are interested in. (Lahmuddin, 2012).

For example, Ustaz Dhanu's 'Siraman Qolbu' healing program on a national television station received a positive response from the community. Siraman Qolbu is a religious program frequently entering Indonesia's top 25 ratings charts. (Mupida, 2020) The emergence of healing programs such as Ruqyah Syar'iyah on television. Zikir Bersama, Ruqyah Trans7, The Path to Healing, Bengkel Hari, Siraman Qolbu, Rahasia Batin, and others. (Jannah, 2019) This television healing program gave birth to new figures like Adam Amrullah, Ustaz Haryono, and Muhammad Faizar, and popular healing by Ustaz Dhanu. (Deuraseh, 2017)

Controversy and Contest; KPI's Rebuke for Da'wah / Religious Events on Television

James B. Hoesterey's study on religious authority in Indonesia focused on how Aa Gym reclaimed his authority after being implicated in a polygamy case. (Hoesterey, 2008) In addition, other study focuses on new authority figures, such as C. W. Watson's work, which explores the figure of Aa Gym, and Siti Mariatul Kiptiyah's study focused on authority in the figure of K.H. Anwar Zahid (Watson, 2005); (Kiptiyah, 2018).

Sunarwoto (2012) who discussed the figure of Ustaz Sukino on the radio, also conducted studies on religious authority that focused on studies on authority through voice channels. Meanwhile, Angela Gendron researched religious authority with a focus on charismatic authority. (Gendron, 2016) Cocker and James Cronin analyze how YouTube video bloggers establish charismatic authority with their followers. Ms. Hayley L. Dorothea E. Schulz examines how Syarif Haidara, a preacher in Mali who is regarded as having charismatic authority by his followers, communicates with his followers via local radio channels and audio cassettes. (Perrot, 2016) Aside from Schulz, the most recent study on charismatic authority was conducted by Doni Arung Triantoro, who investigated the relationship between religious authority and new media through a case study of Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS). (Triantoro, 2020)

Furthermore, studies conducted outside of Indonesia examine authority, namely Nabil Echchaibi. Echchaibi focuses on how local religious authorities gain new transnational followers. This study investigates the success of Amr Khaled, Moez Masoud, and Ali Ardekani's da'wah, which spread beyond Egypt and Saudi Arabia to Dubai, London, Paris, and Los Angeles via audio blog recordings. (Echchaibi, 2007)

The new religious actors above have religious and educational backgrounds that differ from traditional religious authorities. They do not come from formal Islamic religious education or pesantren but from general education, do not have strong religious or scientific abilities, and need access to old sources of Islamic knowledge such as classical books. (Zaman, 2009) Therefore, they package their da'wah messages through storytelling and use marketing techniques through various mass media. (Moll, 2010)

The rise of religious actors, or Ustaz, in television media, was not without controversy. Some Ustaz has disagreed with various parties, including the KPI and fellow Ustaz or ulama. For example, since his appearance as a preacher on the Siraman Qolbu program, which was broadcast on television, Ustaz Dhanu's name has grown so popular that there are rumors that this program was orchestrated or engineered. Ustaz Dhanu faced controversies and criticisms from various circles, including fellow scholars. The author will begin by discussing the controversy surrounding Ustaz Dhanu's Siraman Qolbu program with KPI, Salafi circles, and other preachers. This controversy sparked a dispute over religious authority between Ustaz and ulamas.

Reprimand by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI)

Television media is one of the industries with broadcasting laws governing how programs are broadcast. If television stations violate the broadcasting of programs, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) will issue a letter of reprimand or sanctions following Indonesian broadcasting law. Ustaz Dhanu's 'Siraman Qolbu' program was one of the religious healing programs that received a warning from KPI. The program is thought to have made a mistake with the broadcast program (trance scene) because several parties reported to KPI about Ustaz Dhanu's Siraman Qolbu event, which was thought to be disrupting the comfort around the studio.

This KPI reprimand takes the form of requesting that participants in the Siraman Qolbu program make fundamental improvements to the meaning of the Siraman Qolbu program's content. Based on KPI's observations of religiously tinged programs, KPI requested that the Siraman Qolbu program prioritize educational messages and religious values. Furthermore, KPI hopes the Siraman Qolbu program will reduce mystical nuances such as possession and communication with spirits or supernatural beings. According to the author's interview with one of Ustaz Dhanu's employees, KPI issued a warning letter for Ustaz Dhanu's religious program (Siraman Qolbu). According to an employee of Ustaz Dhanu, the voices of possessed patients were thought to disturb the comfort of the environment around Ustaz Dhanu's Siraman Qolbu studio. Ustaz Dhanu provided the following clarification to researchers regarding media coverage:

'..I know from experience that there are *jinn* or spirits in a person's body, and I also research the health sector, both from Quranic verses and the Prophet's Sunnah. From a moral standpoint, I've learned Sunnah over the years.'

This interview excerpt depicts Ustaz Dhanu's healing claims, which differ from the methods used by other alternative healers. Ustaz Dhanu has also denied allegations of shamanic practices in his healing. To bolster his case, Ustaz Dhanu told the author that before opening a healing clinic and appearing on television as a preacher and a healing expert, he had researched the disease and its solutions on several respondents.

Furthermore, the KPI reprimanded the Siraman Qolbu program, which has da'wah nuances, such as providing a duration of religious content that is longer than treatment for patients and their congregations. KPI has issued circular letter No. 481/K/KPI/31.2/11/2018 concerning Mystical, Horror, and Supernatural Broadcasting Programs at Television Broadcasting Institutions, which includes a prohibition on factual broadcasts that include segments of being possessed or possessed. This KPI warning letter is part of the Central KPI's supervision of Indonesian broadcasting institutions' implementation of regulations and Guidelines for Broadcasting Actors (P3) and Broadcast Program Standards (SPS) in 2012, which are used as a reference in broadcasting a broadcast program.

Based on this case, KPI believes that the Siraman Qolbu program should pay attention to and protect the interests of children, as well as prohibit the display of content that may encourage teenagers and the general public to believe in supernatural powers. KPI prohibits supernatural shows because they can disrupt the comfort of the environment surrounding the studio, which is adjacent to other *tausiyah* programs. Furthermore, because the Siraman Qolbu program is religious, it must broadcast Islamic and educational content.

In response, Ustaz Dhanu explained in the media that his healing was not engineered and happened as Ustaz Dhanu was healing his patients. Ustaz Dhanu compared and criticized his healing, which differed from other television healings. Ustaz Dhanu also stated that patients or worshipers who experience possession or possession by a genie are experiencing purely actual events that have not been pre-engineered.

In addition, to bolster his case, Ustaz Dhanu stated that he did not recognize the patient or his congregation before performing the healing, both on television and in his clinic. Ustaz Dhanu, on the other hand, made confident that what he was doing was genuinely accountable. MNCTV promised and received input from KPI and will identify internally improvements to Siraman Qolbu's program content. Through this program, Ustaz Dhanu and MNCTV will prioritize Islamic values and da'wah to strengthen faith.

According to the author's observations, Ustaz Dhanu's Siraman Qolbu program has mostly stayed the same and continues to dominate in showing trance scenes. This can be seen in Ustaz Dhanu's healing program, which is broadcast on television. The KPI reprimanded the Siraman Qolbu program in response to complaints from several parties who felt they were disturbing the comfort of the environment surrounding the studio by showing a trance scene originating from Ustaz Dhanu's patient. KPI regards the scene depicting being possessed and the supernatural power of an Ustaz as a broadcast that is not educational and is far from Islamic values, emphasizing commercial aspects rather than education. The author believes that KPI has failed to change the reality of the Siraman Qolbu religious program, which demonstrates Islamic values.

Ustaz Dhanu's popularity in the field of da'wah and healing in various circles demonstrates that ideological collaboration, on the one hand, can strengthen a preacher's authority. On the other hand, it has the potential to spark debate among certain groups. In other words, the more patients cured by Ustaz Dhanu through ordinary prayers and moral improvement, the more support there will be to strengthen Ustaz Dhanu's authority as a preacher and a healer. Furthermore, the more Ustaz Dhanu healed in various circles, the more heated the debate over a preacher's ideology for the benefit of specific groups.

Religious Entrepreneur

Currently, the spread of da'wah is wider than the pulpit. Because of the presence of television and other forms of social media, the spread of da'wah in Indonesia has changed dramatically. Studies conducted outside Indonesia have focused on the religious authority, specifically Nabil Echchaibi. Echchaibi focuses on how local religious authorities gain new transnational followers. This study investigates the success of Amr Khaled, Moez Masoud, and Ali Ardekani's da'wah, which spread beyond Egypt and Saudi Arabia to Dubai, London, Paris, and Los Angeles via audio blog recordings. (Echchaibi, 2007)

The author discovers several studies on how the media is related to religious authority, resulting in the birth of new actors in da'wah. New actors or Ustaz become religious entrepreneurs as a result of this media. That is, the Ustaz are only sometimes conveying da'wah. However, these Ustaz or religious actors use their popularity to compare various products, including Muslim clothing, headscarves, herbal medicines, culinary or food.

The study discussing media and religious authority was conducted by Sunarwoto, focusing on Ustaz Sukino's popularity through radio channels. Before his death (2021),

Ustaz Sukino was popular on television media. If examined further, the study conducted by Sunarwoto also made Ustaz Sukino a religious entrepreneur because Ustaz Sukino was popular thanks to the radio media and benefited financially.

Dorothea E. Schulz investigates how Syarif Haidara, a preacher in Mali, is perceived to have charismatic authority by his followers via local radio channels and cassettes, in addition to Sunarwoto. Mupida's recent research on Ustaz Dhanu's popularity on television, radio, and YouTube for his thesis work in 2020 has turned him into a religious entrepreneur. Ustaz Dhanu's popularity with his healing ideas on radio, television, and YouTube has drawn attention from people of various religious backgrounds. However, he needed more religious education from Ustaz Aa Gym, Ustaz Arifin Ilham, and others. Ustaz Dhanu also lacks a particular Islamic boarding school or religious assembly where he focuses his da'wah and establishes his authority. He only preaches through two television stations, MNCTV and Globaltv, and his Noble Akhlak Clinic in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. His celebrity and appearance in the television media are not only as a lecturer but also as a celebrity Ustaz.

Ustaz Dhanu's image has been shaped more strongly by celebrity culture than by other healing experts, such as Adam Amrullah. Ustaz Dhanu's preaching and healing are not limited to radio and television. He does, however, broadcast his preaching and healing by uploading videos to YouTube and opening a healing clinic. Ustaz Dhanu's healing in television media and offline spaces (clinic owned by Ustaz Dhanu) and herbalist products have propelled him to the status of a religious entrepreneur. The religious entrepreneur is another term for religious entrepreneurs. A religious entrepreneur is someone's creative business in the religious field built on innovation to produce something new and has benefits and financial benefits for the owner.



Figure 1. Akhlak Mulia Clinic by Ustaz Dhanu in Yogyakarta
Source: Research Documentation (2019)

Sounaye has written about the study of religious entrepreneurs in academic circles. In his study of religious entrepreneurship, Sounaye tells the story of Alarama, a young

preacher who has managed to unite religion and media culture by establishing a new mediascape and sacred space in Niamey. Alarama established a recording studio for his lectures and sold the CDs and DVDs he created. (Sounaye, 2013) Ustaz Dhanu, like Alarama, is a lecturer with many businesses, including those in the coal sector, selling fertilizers and herbal medicines. He also has clinics in Jakarta and Yogyakarta.



Figure 2: Ustaz Dhanu's Herbal Products at the Yogyakarta Clinic

Source: Research Documentation (2019)

The presence of his clinic is not only a preaching field but also provides financial benefits for Ustaz Dhanu. Ustaz Dhanu has also successfully used herbal products like honey and herbalist capsules. Not only is he a well-known preacher and healer, but he is also a successful entrepreneur with product branding. (Hoesterey, 2012) Furthermore, Ustaz Dhanu's celebrity is bolstered by his appearances on radio, television, and YouTube media. This increased the public's interest in Ustaz Dhanu. This demonstrates that the media significantly increases one's visibility in promoting religious discourse.



Figure 3: Ustaz Dhanu's Honey at the Yogyakarta Clinic

Source: Research Documentation (2019)

What Ustaz Dhanu describes is the same as Burkin's concept of 'commercial Islam' (2014). He investigated 'commercial Islam' by examining television producers mediating religion nationally. (Barkin, 2014) Meanwhile, Hoesterey (2012) sees a preacher's media fame as a form of charismatic Muslim televangelism. (Hoesterey, 2012) Patients of Ustaz

Dhanu regard him as an Ustaz with extraordinary expertise in the healing field. As a result, the congregation and his followers have rated Ustaz Dhanu as an Ustaz figure with charismatic authority. (Turley, 2017)

The researcher's argument in this study is that the Islamic da'wah developing in the television media fosters religious authority among scholars and preachers. The congregation and their followers provide the preachers with the legitimacy of religious authority. The emergence of new religious authorities calls into question the media's support for traditional religions. This case demonstrates that a preacher's religious background is unimportant to the congregation and its followers. Instead, he can persuade them that it is crucial.

Conclusion

Based on the explanations and findings of field researchers, the researchers conclude that humans are more creative in their activities due to the existence of television media and technological sophistication. The author is referring to the da'wah activity. Before television, da'wah activities were only broadcast from pulpit to pulpit, from one assembly to another, through books, leaflets, and other means. In this study, the researcher has addressed the central question of how the cycle of controversy and contestation over the presence of Islamic televangelism in the world of da'wah occurs. Preachers gain popularity and new authority in the da'wah space due to the existence of television media. These Ustaz are not necessarily known as preachers but have the advantage of becoming religious entrepreneurs. This means these religious teachers or actors use their popularity to compare products, such as Muslim clothing, headscarves, herbal medicines, culinary or food. As a result, they benefit financially. Indeed, television media gave birth to preacher contestation in the form of these Ustaz gaining legitimacy as celebrity Ustaz from the congregation and their followers.

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