



Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan

ISSN 2354-6147 EISSN 2476-9649

Tersedia online di: journal.stainkudus.ac.id/index.php/fikrah

DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v5i2.2638

Religion in Television: Mediated religious "*Kuliah Subuh*" Program

Taufiqurrohim

Center for religious and Cross-cultural Studies,

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

taufiqurrohim@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract

In this contemporary life, television becomes an effective media of the da'wa or proliferation. The flourishing some of Islamic programs also effects to the order of the religious public life in Indonesian society. Using the descriptive analytical research, this essay investigates the process of religious proliferation program who become popular in society. It is started from the objective of some television channel to show "*kuliah subuh*", a religious speech from an expert people that understand about Islamic religion or *ustad* after the dawn. Then the writer tries to find an effect of the media especially television to the audiences from the message of the program and their daily life expressions. Finally, "*kuliah subuh*" appears as a mediated religion which produces certain effects on religion in order to adapt it to television formats. It make the birth of transformations and paradoxes within the institutional model of religiosity.

Keyword: *Kuliah subuh*, mediated religion, religiosity

Introduction

The huge development of mass media cannot be avoided in this contemporary era. As a consequence, the effect of media influences to the social life matter, not exceptionally a religious life. In this case, television, as one of the electronic media, also gives a contribution to the how religious thought spreads among society. So, it is not difficult to find religious sermon, teaching or news in the television screen as one of the media spheres. The audiences get their doctrine and way as a good adherent based on the version that is explicated by the programs. This study represents in a sequence how “kuliah subuh” as kinds of television program emerges new public sphere to the audience of the television. Some essential things can be find in the mass media which develops some of the personal notions as an audience. So, the notion rises in the public sphere as a starting point to increase a suitable framework to be implemented by society. *Kuliah subuh* program rise a new space in the public because of its cause an effect.

The relationship between religion and media have been discussed by scholar in recent years where some critics come from conservative and secularism concept to privatize religion as personal or group sphere. So, we cannot ignore that “religion finds technology” in this modern life (Biersdorjer, 2002). Some research related with religion and television program have been done by some researcher. Martelli & Cappello (2005) look at the audiences of religious television programmes as a possible common field of interest for both the sociology of religion and communication research. The other research shown that 902 television commercials were coded for religious symbolism, science and professional expertise (Maguire, Sandage, & Weatherby, 1999).

Islamic program in television becomes common screen such as religious speech, Islamic lifestyle and Islamic drama about religion teaching too. One of them is “kuliah subuh” or dawn lecture from *Ustad/Ustadzah*, *Kyai* or an artist to teach about the Islamic religion. This article try to discover how and why “kuliah subuh” was screened in the television program. This article also try to surface the effect of scene and how they applicate what in the audience social life.

Method

This paper uses a descriptive qualitative research which analyzes the development of some television programs after *subuh* from the beginning of this trend of program is started on 90's until now. The style of proliferation becomes a focus of this paper how the television program mediated with the religious issue, as we know that the television kinds of the secular activity while the religion is sacred one. It should be considered that the research of the media is divided into three categories of explorations based on the Caesar Gaul's theory. The first is about the examining of media as part of the human environment that should be considered. The second is the interaction of individuals of groups to interpret the media as their part of daily life while the third examines about the study of individuals or groups which construct or regulate to the media product (Meehan, 1999). In the case of "kuliah subuh", the writer takes the third categories of method of the research which try to find how individual or group find the type of religious life which constructs as the way of daily life.

Commercialization or Proliferation/da'wa?

Before we go further, there are some commonly television programs in Indonesia between 4 AM and 6 AM. Absolutely it can be found in television screens in Islamic religious speech named "kuliah subuh". Why most of all television channel play this program in this dawn time and how the speaker delivers his *tausiyah* and what kind of the religious studies that he gives? To answer those questions, I assume that there is a factor that influenced the existence of *kuliah subuh* which are for getting a high rating due to economical factor or/and for proliferation of religion. If we analyze the time of *kuliah subuh*, it is suitable with the Islamic culture that have been wake up after praying Subuh, one of worship that must be done after the dawn until the rising of the sun. The determining of *kuliah subuh* program in the dawn time is based on the majority of the audience where Islam the biggest population of Indonesian society and the advantages of praying during this time. As the two verses of Quran that explain about virtues of praying at the morning or dawn time:

Establish Prayer from the declining of the sun to the darkness of the night; and hold fast to the recitation of the Qur'an at dawn, for the recitation of the Qur'an at dawn is witnessed (Quran 17: 78).

So, glorify Allah in the evening and the morning (Quran 30:17).

The two verses point out what are the advantages of praying at the morning or at the dawn. As good adherents, they race to pray regarding to get its virtue, moral excellence and benediction by reading Quran, *shalat* or learning about the religious life that can be watched on the screen rather than reading a such book that contains the Islamic rule and teaching. Because it is simpler to do than the other activities. So, this reason is benefitted by some media to take advantage by screening the *kuliah subuh* program as the pragmatic way of *ibadah*.

In industrialism of the media context, the more audiences watch a program, the more rate will get by the television. So, due to get a huge profit of the programs, the media company should manage to utilize this opportunity and serve an audience as well as get a good opinion from the audience as a “religious channel”. It can be imagined if the dawn time fill with the other program except religion or other religion program turned on by the television. Surely, there will be little bit audience to see this program and this point is supported by Islamic believe about the warning of religion for not to sleep after praying *Subuh* and an advice to worship during the dawn time. So, watching *kuliah subuh* is a pragmatic way to worship. Media Industry and religious actor become two things that difficult to separate. In case *kuliah subuh* program on television, media Industry utilizes the dawn hour for Islamic religious program to increase its rating of audience.

Historically, “kuliah subuh” program absolutely exist at the beginning 1990s. But the increasing audience of the program is approximately 2000s with explosion of the well-known, charming or charismatic ustadz and some da’wa competition program such as Jefry al Bukhory, Abdullah Gymnastiar (Aa Gym), Arifin Ilham and Yusuf Mansyur, who is popular with his Syari’ah business and the motivation to be entrepreneur. This thing makes media industry starting to perforate potential of the Ustaz to show their ability of Da’wa in television and to attract the rating of the program. Then it absolutely gives more profit to the company. So, in this case,

mutualism concept is obtained here, where the media industry gets more profit and *ustaz* gets a popularity from the speech screening. Within the popularity of *ustaz* maintained by media industry, *ustaz* also gets an opportunity to deliver their belief in religious view. If the lecturing is acceptable by audience, he will get follower/*jama'ah* in practicing his religion as a good Muslim. So, the media plays a big role on the teaching that is acceptable for the audiences.

Based on Ammerman (2007), the media mass communication, as like television, have made knowledge of alternate religious possibilities more generally available than ever before. This means, quite simply, that religion has increasingly becomes a matter of individual choice (Ammerman, 2007, p. 12). From this statement, the audiences in following *kuliah subuh* is self-consciousness not because of attraction of media industry or the view of *ustaz*. But the religious teaching of *ustadz*, that is interest for the audience, is the motive to watch a program.

But in this case, I would take the argument of Samuelson (1987) that the motive behind 'distortion' of the scene is the commercial matter, while the political and moral are not the pure motive one. Television ought to show what people want to see, and the system of consumer ratings does just that, viz., the ratings cause the broadcasters to show not what they want, but what the people want to see (Samuelson, 1987, p. 288). Again, the main aim of the media is the commercial motive while the other one is as the supporting matter. Continuity of the media existence articulates how the media management can gather the audiences that will attract some sponsors operationalizing the crew and is also recognized as to be religious television station. It cannot be blame what the programs are based on the commodity liked by the audiences rather than the politic or moral motive input to the television.

In Indonesia, the mediated program is sometimes politicized and guided to the morality that should be institutionalized based on the identity that adhered by the station or the owner of the media management. This phenomenon cannot be separated with the way of politic in Indonesia that not separate between religion and secular one. The religious issues and contents are easy to find in the screen or even political motive

of the party on the advertisement and programs. Again, the case is also influenced with the existed rule to control the media and the public assumption to the religious issues.

It is different with American context which it tries to avoid the religious content to advertise the viewer because two reasons: avoiding the backlash and assuming as an important or “sacred” thing that should not be commercialized (Maguire et al., 1999, p. 421). It is true that United State of America implements secularistic government to separate religious and secular matter as like politicization, where media as a center of campaign but the religious sentiment is rarely meet in public television, regarding the broadcasting rule and the way how they respect with religion as sacred thing.

Religion, Media and Commodity

The development of religious belief comes from the communication of sign and symbols which characterize into culture of the people who want to imitate or practice it. In this case, media as like television is the locus of the place where the people find its reference how to belief as a good adherent easily. Ulrich (2017) said that the presumed transcendent is made visible by the media through our sensory perception. As religious people, the good adherents should look for the teaching of God. The God is transcendent but the teaching can be seen on the screen by each *ustazs*. The *ustaz* is visible and easy to understand through our seen and make a conclusion what should we as a good adherent whether the teaching is good or not is the secondary sensory of the brain. So, it will create some locus of teaching based on the *ustaz* understanding.

Moreover, this condition gives some consequences to the unappropriated situation for the public customers. The media is like a “teaser” for its customers in attracting public curiosity and inviting to create their own meanings and belief (Matrix, 2006, p. 57). The religious sermon of the *ustaz* is like an oasis in the desert that customers can find easily which a religious belief. Again, matrix also takes the term of John Zeglis’s of “new religion” how the costumers communicate with media. But, in this case, it should not be mention as the “new religion”. The term new religion means that the consumers change their Gods. The case of kuliah subuh, the audiences do not change their Gods but the change is articulated how the way to look for God’s teaching not the God.

Furthermore, the writer is more tended to the categories of the civil people life in modern era. Hefner (2000) mentions that the modern societies responds to the present condition from the past inherits tradition. The religious teachings are from the past tradition that is implemented to the present day. The television is only media that is used by the modern society in modern era not looking for good or even finding God from watching TV. The audiences are watching the *ustaz*, hearing his teaching and interpreting their own perception in real life. So, the focus and the influential one are in the personalities of *ustaz* itself.

Moreover, Meehan & Wasko (2013) added that the personalities and caricatures may be make a dramatic ritual because it will contribute to the media as capitalism. Center of the religious sermon which focus on the *ustaz* examination. Capitalism of how religious *ustaz* is like something undebatable which is followed by its audiences. As Ulrich (2017) said in his article “An Unexpected Overlap between Civil Religion and Consumption: The Unseen Role of Conscious Commodity Design”:

“Perhaps, commodity design has, indeed, the power to shape the individual consumer’s aesthetic experience in such a way that it becomes the determinant of his/her judgement regarding what is and what is not true, or, in other words, the determinant of his/her reality-making” (Ulrich, 2017, p. 228).

Consciously or unconsciously, the effect of *ustaz*’s religious sermon contributed the capitalism of the ideologies and doctrines. So, this condition makes both *ustaz* and its teaching as commodity. The opportunity as commodity rises because of huge mass of the audiences who try to follow his ideologies that is not only followed by the audiences but also articulated in real life as like lifestyle or way of religious services.

Religion as commodity is like a real life that would be faced by everyone in nowadays media especially television. The analogy when the ratings of the program is high, the more advertisement that will be engage in the program. So, it decreases the sacredness of religious program, the audiences who firstly want to get the religious sermon comes as the locus of potentially economic gain. Even, the religious program following the consumers’ trend and desire. A huge number of the religious program that specifically is only screened during Ramadhan and Idul Fitri show how religious program depended on the customer trends. Moreover, the variety of religious program

are not stuck on the kuliah subuh or religious sermon. Even it also depended on what the customers want to watch or kind of religious program that 'boom' around its year. For example, during 90's the program which like kuliah subuh as like "hikmah fajar" and "siraman rohani" can be see easily as the only religious program in the television. Different with the trend during 20's which easily to find the religious film and drama on television rather than similar program like kuliah subuh. The management of television makes their expansion to attract the 'religious audiences' that see those people who is thirsty of religious sermon as the 'commodity'. The orientation of the television management change, which the program should be as da'wa or spreading religious teaching through television becomes the potential business. Thus, Religion is a good topic to be sell.

In other hand, taken from the Fragile's theory, Meehan & Wasko (2013) also gives his consideration of media as "resistance industry" which can be explored from those further categories such as creativity from the interpretation of the media artefacts. The interpretation of religious sermon not fully blamed as the negative effect. Because, basically, the audiences not fully accept the religious teaching from *ustaz* and even get a better conclusion from what the kuliah subuh explanation. The other positive implication of media is implemented in how the symbols and signs of the media can create new identities of the marginal community through reemerging grand narratives of this media (Vásquez & Marquardt, 2003, p. 48). Media can get stimulation the audiences find the identity especially for the people who want to get the advice and guidance to be good adherents. Kuliah subuh is a media where to find this guidance and give contribution how not only bad guidance but also a good advice that would be become a direction for the people who get this effect. But when we talk about urgency of religion screened on the television, it should be considered about the bad thing or its good effect to input religious matter on media.

Finding an Effect of "Kuliah Subuh" Program

To find an effect of the "kuliah subuh", we should differentiate between religion and culture industry which this TV programs as an entertainment or infotainment. Based on Meyer (2004), the danger of proliferation of media and religion avoids of

culture industry that decreases a local culture into re-feudalizing the public culture. The problems here are about normative and morality view behind the scene. The normative one is how media influences to way of social interaction with the community and religious strength. Such as the attendance on the shrine when there are a burial ceremony or disaster, the share is focused on the televised news program (Charlton, Gunter, & Hannan, 2002, p. ix). So, when there is a disaster or the sad information, the audiences will focus on the news that screened on television rather to visit the mosque and as a forgiveness and remembrance with God gives. Or specific on the *kuliah subuh* program, the audiences will prefer to hear Quran and watch the religious teaching than read it on the book.

In morality effect media provides an accessible language resource as people strive to articulate to others what they find to be meaningful or banal, good or bad, hateful or compassionate in the world around them (Ammerman, 2007, p. 71). From those argument, the privilege of particular voices will be rise in the surface. *Kuliah subuh*, in this case, is unrealizable privileged a majority population in controlling media. On the other hand, other religion means except Islam will feel underestimate with the existence of *kuliah subuh* program.

The next pitfall is commercialization and liberalization of the media. *Kuliah subuh* gives a new form of entertainment that entails a repositioning of both the secular and the religion represented in the public. The ideology of capitalism will be increase in controlling media based on the higher authority role while the neutrality of media will be less reliable or can be debatable. In the case of *kuliah subuh* by Yusuf Mansyur, for the example, it shows some promotion of his business to be Multi-Level Marketing (MLM) entrepreneur. So, it blurs between religion and economy space.

The last danger is overemphasizing of capacity of appropriated and subverted audiences to the message. This view looks like declaration of people's tactics to gather power and tends to overemphasize the agency of audiences inherent in processes of appropriation. This perspective, trapped in an opposition between oppression and resistance, is not very helpful when the focus is on gaining insight in the emergence of new culture industries and the new power structures on which they make. The role of

ustaz here should be concerned, where he tries to doing *da'wa* by announcing his religious learning. Some of audiences will participate in defining and reinforcing what can be counted as religious matter and what should be seen as outside the bounds of religion or spirituality boundaries. Media gives people stories and examples that provide the arena in which this “boundary work” can be done (Ammerman, 2007, p. 72). Therefore, back to the role of subjectivity and objectivity, the writer argues that the participation of media, especially an audience, is not only as an objectivity of the *kuliah subuh* but also as an active subject to express his religiosity or piety.

Different with the Fowles's (1992) approach, in his book entitled “Why viewers watch: a reappraisal of television's effects”, He tries to rediscover about the positive effect of watching television which is explicated into five views that television is good for nerves, spleen, heart, brain and children. It points out that television can be said as a media of healing arguing human needs a fantasy for their development of daily life questioning about how if people does not have any fantasies. But in the case of religious sermon in television, I would take three advantage that would be gotten from the *kuliah subuh* program.

The first advantage is good effect of television for nerves. The nerves come from the stressful situation and complicated condition the daily activity. Television is one of the media for not to trim our serve through its comedy which has different way which can be compared with the funny thing in novel, movie, book or radio, regarding its interaction in engaging some senses (Fowles, 1992, p. 108). In religious sermon, the speaker often inserts the comedy or a funny thing during their speeches. This case also makes audiences of the sermon for relaxing their mind from the busy activity or a boring situation. Themes that is delivered by the *ustaz* also have an eye-catching matter and even with the contemporary “booming” phenomena. The anxiety of the audiences is answered by the analogized funny thing rather than in to serious way based on religious rule, thought and consideration.

In a case television good for spleen, Fowles also argues that “Definitely, Television fantasies supplement a person's own imagination, and help him discharge pent-up aggression in the same way that dreams and other products of the imagination

can do". The cite points out how the imagination creates through the analogized fantasy on the television. Feeling anger with dislike people also pictures on the screen as a media of releasing the spragged thing on the brain through the protagonist drama which is loose by the main actor of the film. The other argument, that television affects for the human heart in a good way, can be seen on the religious program and ceremony that pictures by some televisions. The approach of Abdullah Gymanstiar through model of *manajemen qolbu* (the heart management) is also acknowledged a good consideration for the televised religious program. The style of this actor is through how to response with such phenomena and the bad thing around our environment with the kindly attitude, softly response and patiently decision becoming the good effect for its audiences. Maintaining the heart can create peaceful of mind through the inner response rather than to see with the outer consideration in emotional reaction.

The last consideration, for the argument that television good for brain is answered by the news program articulated in screen. At the beginning, *kuliah subuh* just screens from the expert religious people to speech and talk about the religion issue. But the development does not stag in those ways of delivering religious teaching, the program is screened on the news particularly for inform how to be good Muslim with the Islamic rule. Some informations sometime are unappropriated with such religious identities, but the audiences will also filter the proper information that is suitable for them. It was like how the self-control of watching television. The way how we control and choose the program that we watch for our children is the other argument one. Most of the people exaggerates the television gives a bad influence even it contributes to imagination that would be create in society and its environment.

Different with Asthana (2008) exploration, "embedded imaginaries" comes from the television in negotiating between religion and secularism issue. In this case, television can mediate and offer a negotiation the tension of religious belief and secularistic phenomena which it creates a "constitutes identities" (Asthana, 2008, p. 305). Being religious or secular has a contradictive side. The categorization of being religious and secular is intermingling matter which the separation is like the forbidden thing that would be done. But religiosity and secularism are the thing which is hard to be applied. The way how religious teaching picturing in media is like the paradoxes one

in separating media and religious belief. While the media is assumed as the secular matter, the religious one tends to the sacred thing. So it is important to see how the reconciliation between the two, which in this case to explain how the religion mediated rather than to see how media religionized.

Religion in Television Discovering a New Public Sphere

Kuliah subuh here captures the growing disjuncture between media, especially television, and religion and it can be explored the arena that emerged by media factory. It is useful to turn to the notion of the public sphere provided that development is not hampered by a normative and narrow understanding of that notion. *Kuliah subuh* by *Ustaz* appears not only to be able to attract masses of believers but also to be success in incorporating and recasting suitable religiously expression as to have had its style taken up in the screen named as mediated religion into the public.

Habermas (2006) adds that the ‘normative resonance’ of religion does not stage on the doctrinal and its rigid rule but it articulates on source of religious energy coming from the activities on the daily life. Religion play a role in human faith which it draws on the religious belief (Habermas, 2006, p. 8). The notion of public sphere is also influential here, where it gives a space not only for a media itself but also for the audiences to articulate what they deserved. “Media as public sphere for religious expression” can be as the way of negotiation of belief in Indonesian everyday life. The media is just one of the factors that build the religious identity but we cannot fully blame it as the single factor a negative, puritan and fundamentalist identity rise in Indonesia, because media just gives an umbrella what the audiences deserves, including to choose which *ustaz* or kind of religious teaching that audience choose affects to the rating of the program and its continuity.

The interpretation of televised screen is the “process of the de-secularization” by rediscovering the religious belief in such pattern of institutionalized religiosity model (Martelli & Cappello, 2005, p. 244). The process of identity shapes from what the audiences see, hear and analyze what content suitable for their life. It was like just a competition among media to choose the theme for its audiences. Because without any consciousness, they should not be done what the religious teaching, the audiences just

automatically filter what they want from television. It is same with the religious preacher or speaker in television, through its physic, gesture, theme, way to deliver and even theme that often brought by the speaker.

According to Guizzardi (1989) stated the charismatic religious leaders and preachers are a “man of the crisis”. We need them when the solution is configured and we can celebrate this utopia one. It contains the personal human right that would be re-established in choosing the rightest one according to the personal view must be respected (Guizzardi, 1989, p. 339). The needs of religious people are considered as the basic religious matter. The complicated religious decision can be depended on *ustaz*'s understanding, regarding the complexity of the classical rule that can be implemented in contemporary life not only for religious public life but also for the private one, related to the human response and the heart management based on the sacred text and religious teaching consideration.

“The electronic media also deterritorialize communication and challenge representationalism as one on one relation between image and reality” (Campbell & Golan, 2011). The communication that happen on media is like one faced legitimation for the audiences. Different with one on one communication which provides a justification in distinguishing what should be done or not and what is wrong and right response from the guidance or advices.

In other hand, Azadarmaki (2008) states that, in Iran, media has the major roles in building a culture which it should consider the three aspects that influence it: family, religion and government. “Inter-institutional interaction” is done by the media rather than in vacuum position of the role of media itself (Azadarmaki, 2008, p. 46). The argument points out how the cultural identity is built from three major elements which media here as the catalyst of this built culture. Family is the nearest controller of the children to the adult which determine of the character. The control of the parents of the children filters the televised program that suitable for its particular age. Next, religion is the step of part of human belief to differentiate between true and false in deciding what they choose. Religion is like a control of attitude as a good adherent, including the heart response and suitable morality in seeing such phenomena of public life. While

government is the last influence on the culture building. It points out how the politic also gives a contribution to the way how media articulated to what they should be pictured. In case of *kuliah subuh*, the family is the basic standard of the people what they usually learn in religious issue. The question comes from response of the religious matter that will be gotten from the teaching. The politicization of religious program is the way how the “mediated religion” negotiated to the audiences, due its rating and commercial aim for the program continuity based on the governmental rule of motive.

Conclusion

The process how the media pictured *kuliah subuh* is to serve the commodity of most Indonesian population which are Muslim. The media finds its space to get the rating on the dawn of the morning. There was sufficient time when Government have a rule that television should be stop to broadcast during 1 AM until 5 AM in 2005. But the rule holds out only no more than one year and even it is only implemented a couple a month. It cannot be blame that the audiences also need the program during those times, including *kuliah subuh* as a proper show that can attract the audiences besides the other program, such as the sport or news. The popularity of the religious speaker of *kuliah subuh* takes a benefit both by the management of the media or its own *ustadz* to attract the audiences in the way how to commercialize this religious program and popularities. Although the politic and moral inside are just the side aims that should be considered, the commercialization is the basic purpose of the media for its sustainability. But it is fine to commercialize this “religious” matter as sacred in public media. It depends on the rule of the state which one should be followed secular one to separate religious matter in public space as a sensitive one to televise in public or make it into private one, as the main direction of secularism in privatization of religion. Indonesia has different ways of religious matter in publicize religion that should be respected as the way of negotiation public sphere.

The negative and positive impact of the television should be reminded. We cannot fully blame the media as single factor of every clashes. In fact, televised *kuliah subuh* also gives a good effect on the audiences. Regarding the correlation between media and cultural identity. But the factor of family, religion and government control

should be mention here. Because, the religious identity comes from them. Media is articulated the public provided to commercial purpose and issue of religion belief just a single factor from many factors. In this concluding remark, I would say that the mediated religion is a process of public sphere negotiation due to the hybrid of such controls. How the media broadcast a *kuliah subuh* is the way how attract audiences. The development issue of the program, theme and religious actor follows its commodities, no more to just mediate the religion than religionize the media because religion finds its technology. Media basically has the power, power to mobilize community and influence doctrinally of people's belief. So, it urgently needed to find a formula in controlling a media starting from how the contents and people who should be screened on the media.

Reference

- Ammerman, N. T. (2007). *Everyday religion : observing modern religious lives*. Oxford University Press.
- Asthana, S. (2008). Religion and Secularism as Embedded Imaginaries: A Study of Indian Television Narratives. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 25(3), 304–323. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15295030802191998>
- Azadarmaki, T. (2008). Television, Religious Media, and the Mirror Relationship between Family, Government, and Religion in Iran. *Journal of Media and Religion*, 7(1–2), 45–55. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15348420701838335>
- Biersdorfer, J. . (2002, May 16). Religion Finds Technology. *The New York Times*.
- Campbell, H. A., & Golan, O. (2011). Creating digital enclaves: Negotiation of the internet among bounded religious communities. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(5), 709–724. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711404464>
- Charlton, T., Gunter, B., & Hannan, A. (2002). *Broadcast television effects in a remote community*. Routledge.
- Fowles, J. (1992). *Why viewers watch : a reappraisal of television's effects*. Sage.
- Guizzardi, G. (1989). Religion in the Television Era. *Social Compass*, 36(3), 337–353. <http://doi.org/10.1177/003776868903600306>
- Habermas, J. (2006). Religion in the Public Sphere. *European Journal of Philosophy*, 14(1), 1–25. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2006.00241.x>
- Hefner, R. W. (2000). *Civil Islam : Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press.
- Maguire, B., Sandage, D., & Weatherby, G. A. (1999). Television Commercial Content: Religion versus Science and Professional Expertise. *Sociological Focus*, 32(4), 413–425. <http://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.1999.10571151>
- Martelli, S., & Cappello, G. (2005). Religion in the Television-mediated Public Sphere *Transformations and paradoxes*. *International Review of Sociology*, 15(2), 243–257. <http://doi.org/10.1080/03906700500159573>
- Matrix, S. E. (2006). *Cyber pop : digital lifestyles and commodity culture*. Routledge.

- Meehan, E. R. (1999). Commodity, Culture, Common Sense: Media Research and Paradigm Dialogue. *Journal of Media Economics*, 12(2), 149–163. http://doi.org/10.1207/s15327736me1202_6
- Meehan, E. R., & Wasko, J. (2013). In defence of a political economy of the media. *Javnost*, 20(1), 39–54. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2013.11009107>
- Meyer, B. (2004). “Praise the Lord”: Popular cinema and pentecostalite style in Ghana’s new public sphere. *American Ethnologist*, 31(1), 92–110. <http://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2004.31.1.92>
- Samuelson, N. M. (1987). A MORAL CRITIQUE OF TELEVISION VALUES AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION. *Religious Education*, 82(2), 285–292. <http://doi.org/10.1080/0034408870820213>
- Ulrich, M. (2017). An Unexpected Overlap between Civil Religion and Consumption: The Unseen Role of Conscious Commodity Design. *Journal of Religion in Europe*, 10(1–2), 218–239. <http://doi.org/10.1163/18748929-01002008>
- Vásquez, M. A., & Marquardt, M. F. (2003). *Globalizing the Sacred: Religion Across the Americas*. Rutgers University Press.

This page is intentionally left blank