

**WHEN ISLAMIC COSMOPOLITANISM MEET SOCIAL MEDIA
TECHNOLOGY: ONLINE/ OFFLINE COMMUNITY,
AUTHORITY, AND TRADITION**

Supriansyah

suprikindai@gmail.com

Kindai Institute Banjarmasin

Abstract: This article examines the broadcasting of religious activities via social media accounts "Aswajanet" and social dynamics in the community, from November 2019 until August 2020. Aswajanet is the official social media accounts of a young people community in Banjarmasin, which did the broadcasting regularly various online Pengajian (Sermon) or Haul using social networking services. Activities social media Aswajanet does not build the image of Majelis Taklim or Preacher or disseminate information on religious activities only. According to them, broadcasting Haul and Pengajian (Sermon) live via social media does not diminish the meaning contained in this religious ritual. They consider these activities to be part of their efforts to maintain memory and relations with the Ulama, an essential tradition of Islamic traditionalist or Islamic Traditionalist. Using the Ethnographic Digital method, this article collects entire upload status and direct broadcasting religious activity in the interface of social media in the "Aswajanet" account and observing them offline activities. I formally or informally conduct interviews with several of Aswajanet's activists and some influencer other social media in Banjarmasin. In this article, I ask two primary questions: How is the interaction and articulation of young people in the community Aswajanet with communications technology and the internet? How does social media technology affect authority, collective memory, and Islamic identity in Banjar? As a result, this article has found that majority activity accounts of social media the young Muslim Traditionalist still at rites and religious traditions, such as Pengajian, Haul, and other major religious practices that mediated the computer uploaded online. Besides, through new media, they also carry out discussions, friendships, and support that combine local and online resources, practices, and connections, offering spiritual experiences and new social ties. They emphasize the old identity and tradition, Islam Traditionalism, among young people rather than replacing it.

Keywords: Aswajanet; Islamic Traditionalism; Youth.

Introduction

During the pandemic, Indonesians were forced to undergo an accelerated adaptation to technology, especially those related to the internet and other digital cultures. Various dimensions of people's lives are forced to come into contact with technology, such as Distance Teaching at schools, campuses, seminars, and meetings using zoom or

recitation applications or majelis taklim which broadcast their activities directly on YouTube or Facebook.

In accelerating this adaptation, I found an increase in the same virtual world activity in the millennial generation in South Kalimantan. Most of them have a background from Islamic Traditionalism or associate it with the *Abl as-Sunnah Wa al-Jamaah* (Aswaja) tradition. When I made observations in the last ten months from February 2021 to December 2021. I observed two social media accounts, Instagram and Facebook, belonging to a community called *Aswajanet*, which are managed by several young people from Banjarmasin. Their posts are various content with the narrative of traditional Islam or Traditionalist Islam, such as lectures, Manakib recitation, recitation of various prayers, and *Haul* of the scholars.

The presence of the Banjar millennial generation who come from a Islamic Traditionalist culture gives color to Islam in Banjar society, through their mastership of digital technology and their creativity in cyberspace. Other groups of young people have duplicated Aswajanet's social media activities.

These Banjarese youths belong to the generation familiar with the cyber world because their various lifelines cannot be separated from technology, as explained by Hasanuddin Ali, saying that the Millennial generation has three main criteria, namely connected, creative, and confidence (3C).¹ With these three assets, the millennial generation from Banjarmasin can change traditional Islam's face, starting to get attention from citizens. Finally, it can be a new option in religious teachings available in cyberspace.

Aswajanet is one of the earliest youth groups in Banjarmasin and a pioneer group in broadcasting various religious activities online using social media applications, such as recitation *Manaqib* (Hagiography) or *Haul Ulama*. Apart from them, several other young people are also active as initiators and activators of direct sermon broadcasting or *Haul* through social networking services.

The interest in religious activities among Banjar youths is relatively high. They always cram various religious activities held by various Majelis Taklim or recitation in Banjarmasin, even in every regency/city in South Kalimantan. These young people's interest then impacts their active interaction in their closest circle of religious activities,

¹ Hasanuddin Ali dan Lilik Purwandi, *Wajah Muslim Indonesia* (Jakarta: Islami (dot) co, 2019), 145.

including being the motor of adaptation for *Ulama* or administrators of a recitation, *Haul*, or *Majelis Taklim*.

Before Aswajanet was founded, religious activities in Banjarmasin and its surroundings had been broadcast via limited television networks in the area where the event took place. Usually, conglomerates or rich people in the recitation circle become donors and initiators of broadcasting activities. In some areas, the exclusivity of recitation broadcasts belongs to residents who come from limited settlements around the recitation place or the *Ulama* house. The value of land immediately increases, and the area also becomes part of the image of *takwa*, such as the Sekumpul area, Martapura.²

Owning a luxury house in Sekumpul gives privileges to someone as part of the Sekumpul society. This community lives in a very close relationship, thanks to TV Sekumpul, which shows religious programs from the Sekumpul area complex. Noorhaidi also said that TV is very efficient in strengthening the bonds and togetherness among the residents. Sekumpul's role as a lifestyle trendsetter for medium-sized cities in South Kalimantan is vital. Duplication of dwellings such as Sekumpul has mushroomed in various areas, including TV, as a binding instrument.

However, the presence of the internet and social media changed the landscape of the recitation network. The right to broadcast recitation or *Haul* was no longer the exclusive property of residential residents, and recordings of *Ulama* lectures or religious activities emerged through various posts. With these conditions, Aswajanet was present among South Kalimantan people who began adapting to social media around 2015.

Most young people have the ability and master ship of digital technology and cyberspace, starting to broadcast through social media, like Facebook. Previously, they only replayed the TV belonging to one of the recitation groups. With the help of several donors, whose names they do not want to mention, they began to have several tools, such as cameras, computers, and drones, to support live broadcast activities at religious activities.

H. Fauzan as chairs Aswajanet has an empty house that serves as a base, as a storage area for equipment. They hold a routine gathering every Thursday night, usually filled with reciting *Salawat*. This group of activists is about 15 people, but still voluntary; there is no organization and membership structure. So, whenever they get an invitation to

² Noorhaidi Hasan, "Islam di Kota-Kota Menengah Indonesia: Kelas Menengah, Gaya Hidup, dan Demokrasi," dalam *In Search Of Middle Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016).

broadcast religious activities, they usually hold a meeting, especially to organize a committee for the activity.

Aswajanet in cyberspace, as mentioned above, is one of the initiators of the youth movement in cyberspace in South Kalimantan. The impact of Aswajanet's existence by presenting recitation, rituals of reading Salawat, and *Haul* online through social media applications cannot be underestimated. Another young people's group duplicated Aswajanet's activities from *Majelis Taklim* or *Pengajian* to broadcast their activities.

Now, Aswajanet has various sophisticated equipment, such as cameras, computers, and drones, making it easy to broadcast live religious activities in good quality. Therefore, some of the *Majelis Taklim* or the *Ulama* cemetery administrators asked for their help to broadcast the recitation program or *Haul Ulama*. The reason for the high enthusiasm of the Banjar people with various religious activities, such as *Haul* and recitation (*Pengajian*), asked Aswajanet's help to broadcast their activities. Also, the cost reasons influence their decision to ask Aswajanet for help, as we know the costs required to buy equipment that can broadcast online with good quality, much money is needed.

Indeed, communities with the master ship of technology and have equipment other than Aswajanet are hard to find. Most of the groups that duplicated Aswajanet were born recitation groups or *Majelis Taklim*. Apart from not being as big and successful as they were, the reasons for administrative complexity and group egos would certainly prevent them from broadcasting the religious activities of other groups directly.

Some small groups of young people who have followed only had their own devices and video editing skills. They usually edit and distribute a few small snippets of the lecture on their social media. This group is more worthy of being called a Buzzer because they are more engaged in personal and networked with other accounts via hashtags or tagging each other in uploaded content.

This article examines the online and offline activities of the Aswajanet community, both religious activities, and their daily activities in the group. To make it easier, I regularly check and collect all online activities and conduct interviews with several Aswajanet activists.

In this article, I ask two questions, How are the interactions and articulations of young people in the Aswajanet community with media and internet communication technology in broadcasting the rituals and traditions of Islamic Traditionalism? How does

social media technology affect to the authority, collective memory, and Islamic identity, especially *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* (Aswaja), in Banjar society?

My opinion in this article that the majority of social media account activity for young Traditionalist Muslims is still based on religious rituals and traditions, such as recitation, *Haul*, and other significant religious practices that are computer-mediated and uploaded online. Through the new media, they carry out discussions, friendships, and support that combine local and online resources, practices, and connections, offering spiritual experiences and new social ties, although emphasizing their old identity, namely Islamic Traditionalism among young people rather than replacing them.

So, religious activities broadcast live by Aswajanet in the form of recitation, reading *Salawat* and *Haul* do not affect the Islamic identity that has been familiar with the Banjar people, namely Islamic Traditionalism. They present various religious activities online to amplify or expand the audience network/recitation Jamaah or Majelis Taklim.

Indeed, Ulama's position and role in Banjar has faced new challenges after the Banjar community began using the internet. Indonesian society's religious activities have also undergone many changes due to social and digital media's influence on religion. Changes in Islamic expression occurred in almost all levels of social class in Muslim society, mainly urban, middle class, and millennial communities, which affected Ulama's dynamics in the eyes of the Banjar community. The patterns and processes of the transmission of religious knowledge, which previously still relied on traditional institutions, are gradually eroded by the presence of formulas that are mostly personal and centred on “self-consuming”, which has independence in determining the information received and consumed.

However, online activities in the Aswajanet group, which are more dominant in managing the authorities' image, especially *Kyai* or *Tuan Guru*, have a vital position in Banjar's Islamic community. Moreover, the new authorities could get a place in religious activities popular in the Banjar community if they were close to the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (*Aswaja*) culture. If not, they only occupy a separate area in the transmission of Islamic knowledge and do not disturb or replace the Ulama position in Banjar. Because the articulation of religious symbols and expressions manned by the Banjar youth community, such as Aswajanet, has a close or familiarity with diversity in the Banjar community's habitus, including youth.

Method

This article uses a digital ethnography method that is complemented by in-depth interviews. Digital ethnography was used to observe all social media activities of the Aswajanet group from February to June 2018. The subject of this research is the Aswajanet group, established about a decade ago. With members of young people who have mastered media and internet technology, the Aswajanet started the activity of live broadcasting the recitation of 'Tuan Guru in Banjarmasin. They became pioneers in recording and broadcasting live religious activities in their community, especially in South Kalimantan. Aswajanet's activities in recent years have expanded beyond just providing live broadcasts by relying on relay broadcasts from local television networks or around the majelis taklim, where the 'Tuan Guru's recitation is held.

The digital ethnography approach used in this article is intended to explore the dynamics of broadcasting religious activities by Aswajanet. In addition, this approach, which uses observation and involvement in every religious activity broadcast by the Aswajanet, can provide information collected, processed, and added from interviews with several actively involved figures, ranging from activists to donors to congregants of these online religious activities.

Digital ethnography relies on direct involvement and observation in all activities of the research subject, in this case, the Aswajanet, so the variables develop from these observational activities. Although, the variables in this article are also generated by elaborating on the central question in this article. The variables in this article are to examine the religious activities that are broadcast, the role of the kyai, the donors, and the young people in the Aswajanet, and how the reception and conversation of the online congregation in the broadcast. In addition, the variables of this article also explore how relations, negotiations, and competition between other youth groups also have similarities with the Aswajanet, namely broadcasting religious activities through social media. Deepening the subject of study through online involvement hardly leads to an organised and in-depth explanation. Therefore, interviews are needed in the process of processing data that has been obtained through direct observation.

The data generated from the two instruments were then recorded and recapitulated in detail in field notes. Then, the field data was classified and processed in a more detailed

editorial by adding data from previous studies and interviews with experts. The results of the recap are then analysed by presenting them as actual research data, which is then examined in depth by examining and exploring the data through various theories and previous studies. Finally, the data will present a new review of youth studies in academic conversations.

Discussion

A. Relationship, Religion, and Piety in Social Media

The encounter between technology and religion cannot ignore internet technology and social media in human life. The encounter between religion, humans and internet technology has an impact on two important things, social relations, and the adaptation of ritual movements from offline to online in a community.

Amid the popularity of social media worldwide, a new generation of so-called 'digital natives' is rapidly developing, who are born and raised in the digital era. The relationship between human life in this generation is very dependent on the internet. Among them are social media, which is now deeply embedded in the lives of young people. This condition increases anxiety in society because there is an assumption that social media can replace offline interactions and relationships.³ The online and offline worlds imply mutually contradictory and exclusive.

The crucial points in exploring human relations on social media are the approach that states that society is built and stays together as 'symbolic interactionism'. Charles Cooley and George Herbert Mead discover the concept; this approach asserts that our world is socially constructed and will not exist outside of social action and interaction. Sarah Pink assesses that this approach focuses on human interaction, which can be explored through anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and communication.⁴

The points of action and social interaction in society are language, symbols, and communication in our interactions, including forming specific community languages, the importance of cultural competence in communication, and especially code-switching in specific groups and contexts. Besides the non-verbal communication, scholars identify

³ Daniel Miller dkk., *How the World Changed Social Media* (London: UCL Press, 2016), 100.

⁴ Sarah Pink dkk., *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice* (New York: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2015), 80.

practices such as daily communication, namely methods that exist in society, to keep in touch without even communicating verbally.

After the emergence of the internet, especially social media, social interactions have become increasingly mediated. Each new media technology has a set of capabilities that both facilitate and limit mediated social interaction.⁵ After the emergence of the internet, especially social media, social interactions have become increasingly mediated. Every new media has a set of capabilities that both facilitate and limit mediated social interaction. In this case, the internet presents new dynamics the patterns of interaction and relations, including in religion or piety. Thus, the Internet is of great importance in the search for new forms of religion

Most people use the Internet in suitable ways to improve their social life. Of course, some say that the internet is changing our social life landscape, including religion. However, Lorne L. Dawson wrote that the internet's presence could change religious dynamics, depending on changes in people's offline lives.⁶ This opinion may differ from the opinion that using the Internet will change the religious landscape itself.

Dawson augments the society shares the 'collective representation' embodied in religious rituals and the 'collective joy' that can occur when people gather to perform rituals and ceremonies.⁷ This religious experience can still occur in the online interface through mediation on this interface and the expressed cultural patterns presented in cyberspace.⁸

I see the form and process of mediation above in practices considered 'religious' by the community as articulated in communication via the internet or social media. It is a practical definition that focuses on the social and communicative aspects of what netizens do and consider as 'religion'. Then, expression and articulation of diversity in cyberspace are now part of diversity itself.

Indeed, we can find that the impact of the internet's encounter with religion or ritual is the religious ecosystem's movement from offline to online. Some religious practices can become increasingly popular and ritualized in society. Religious rituals are considered

⁵ Knut Lundby, "Patterns of Belonging in Online/Offline Interfaces of Religion," *Information, Communication & Society* 14, no. 8 (1 Desember 2011): 1222.

⁶ Lorne L. Dawson, "Religion and the quest for virtual community," dalam *Religion Online. Finding Faith on the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 79.

⁷ Dawson, 80.

⁸ Lundby, "Patterns of Belonging in Online/Offline Interfaces of Religion," 1226.

successful if (a) they reproduce the core values and norms of the community; (b) involve a large number of believers; (c) protect the sacred from the profane.⁹

I see religious practices that have been accepted as rituals among religious believers' online community because they have meaning to them. However, some practices fail to adapt to online. Among others, it loses its effectiveness or becomes ambiguous so that actions and behaviours, which are elements of the practice, become blurred and sometimes render the religion helpless. On the other hand, some practices that may not play a central role among religions in one particular environment may attract more attention in another.

Religious expressions in the millennial generation that are articulated through social media can be interpreted as pious self-cultivation, a paradigm in which a religious person desires to cultivate himself to be more obedient and pious. Different from the material point of view where "self" (self) is the source of one's will and truth, in pious self-cultivation, "self" is something that can be cultivated and developed in a specific direction through various practices and disciplines.

Then, presenting religious activities is understood as part of the embodiment where religion is also used as self-expression as a realm of norms of embodiment and attainment, not just a tool to show virtue. "The body is not only a canvas for symbolism but also the main material and means of forming the body-self (embodied subject)."¹⁰

The dynamics of ritual adaptation to the online realm are influenced by two things, namely Habitus and Agency. Both are theories introduced by Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus refers to "a system of disposition that is durable and transferable, structured structures that tend to function as structured structures, namely as principles that produce and regulate practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to the results of practice and representation. It does not presuppose a conscious goal at the end, or a rapid mastery of the operations required to achieve these systems of practice and representation."¹¹

Bourdieu's explanation above is required to understand the people's choice of Islamic symbols as symbolic assets to engage in religious debate and appreciation, depending on the availability of religious space in the new landscape. This condition began

⁹ Carmen Becker, "Muslims on the Path of the Salaf Al-Salih," *Information, Communication & Society* 14, no. 8 (1 Desember 2011): 1181.

¹⁰ Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 28.

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 79.

with the Islamic revival that had hit Indonesia in the 1980s. It has a tremendous effect on society's increasing demands, especially urban areas, for Islamic symbols as the capital of modern cultural expression in the public sphere.¹²

Islamic symbols appearing in public spaces are very diverse. Islamic Traditionalism also enlivened the expression of modern culture with their Islamic symbols. As explained, social relations in the era of social media are also expressed through symbols that can be understood by the public. Besides, the presence of ritual expressions in public spaces is a symbol of Islam mediated by social media. Social networking services, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Youtube, provide a new space for Muslims to become places for their religious expression.

Meanwhile, Islamic symbols reflect the middle class's efforts to construct new narratives about themselves and their place through distinctive practices of differentiation. The distinctions made in various everyday life areas are drawn from history, memory, friendship, consumption, and recreational practices.¹³ Their inspiration comes from many sources.

Noorhaidi Hasan described the middle class's position in the above process as acting as an agent to facilitate various religious expressions in the public sphere. The agent here refers specifically to the capacity to realize Muslim interests in the face of a dominant ideology that makes it challenging to reconcile piety and various forms of public religious expression with modernity.¹⁴ On the other hand, Millennials also have the role of agents in encounters in the modern era.

Their involvement in the development of religious discourse in the public sphere is the agency's main feature. A new form of interpretation and meaning is offered for religious expression and identity. The Millennial generation's involvement also makes religion that can be represented in modern forms of life, including values, teachings, to moral distinctions.

B. Religious/Online Community on the Tradition of Islamic Traditionalism: Aswajanet Case

¹² Hasan, "Islam di Kota-Kota Menengah Indonesia: Kelas Menengah, Gaya Hidup, dan Demokrasi," 227.

¹³ Hasan, 227.

¹⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Social Theory and Modern Sociology* (New York: Stanford University Press, 1987).

The Islamic Traditionalism group in Banjarese is often referred to as the *Kaum Tuba* or *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* school. Aswajanet's presence as a pioneer and the primary motor in the campaign for the tradition and culture of Islamic Traditionalism in South Kalimantan's land. Their massive campaign against the Islamic tradition of Traditionalistic is not only offline but also online. As I explained above, Aswajanet activists mentioned that they carried out live broadcasts of *Pengajian*, *Majelis Taklim*, *Haul*, and reciting *Salawat* as part of the campaign and keeping the traditions of Islamic Traditionalism.

Aswajanet's online campaign presents the Koran, the ritual of reciting the *Salawat* and *Haul* of the scholars online via social media applications. *Haul* commemoration is for Ulama living around South Kalimantan and some *Ulama* who are already popular in Banjar society, such as Syekh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani and Syekh Samman al-Madani. Whatever, *Haul*, or reading of *Manaqib* or Hagiography of the *Ulama* has long roots in the people of South Kalimantan.

Aswajanet's offline activities are usually filled with pilgrimages to the *Ulama's* graves or visiting some *kyai*. Their visits are usually filled with friends or just having a certificate of a hadith, wirid, or specific reading from the *Ulama* they come. Even now, the various places of pilgrimage or places of the *Ulama* are increasingly being visited by young people. They also create social media content containing pilgrimages or visits to these *Ulama* to be uploaded on Instagram, Facebook, or YouTube.

The duplication of online-offline activities mentioned above is mushrooming among Banjar youths. There are administrators of *Majelis Taklim* or *Pengajian* who began recruiting young people to become officers responsible for broadcasting live *Pengajian* or *Majelis Taklim* in Banjarmasin or the field officer. Therefore, an increase in the activity or participation of young people in several religious activities.

They are also active in making video teasers of lectures for *Ulama*, both those who have died or those still alive. Their reason is usually just a beat or seeking blessing, and a reminder among them said several young people who were active in the group. I see Aswajanet and other youth groups' activities still rely on social media. Not many have touched the world of website management, a decision related to the conception of piety in the Banjar community, which is articulated in an online group.

However, various Muslim rituals in cyberspace are considered to experience what Nilufer Gole calls the 'banalization process', conditions that cause the erosion of sacredness

in a ritual. It is because actors from various backgrounds are involved in shaping Islam's face in public spaces and entering modern urban spaces with little doubt. By using a global communication network, they participate in public debates, track consumption patterns, and study market rules while embracing individualistic, professional, and consumerist values.¹⁵

The encounter of these factors has led to the discourse about social media activity among young people or the millennial generation, in this case, Aswajanet, to become another model in social media and religious interactions. As explained by Ibtissam Ham, social media among the preachers of young people is often still related to the image and dissemination of information on the da'wah community's activities.¹⁶ In his research, Ibtissam Ham emphasized that social media management's critical factors are live broadcasting, management of visual content, development of da'wah video content, to control of the Ustad's branding.

When it comes to social media management, Hannan Attaki's *Shifit* community is far more outplayed than Aswajanet. Although the Aswajanet social media account is still managed in a simple manner, meaning that the account only posts live broadcasts and information on these activities, there are striking differences between the two social media accounts, especially in the youth's pressure points da'wah movement. If *Shifit's* social media accounts focus more on personal branding and disseminating information, Aswajanet will focus more on their social media activities on mere religious activities. Aswajanet's decision to specialize in religious activities was based on the religious reasoning of the Banjar community.

The critical position of an *Ulama* or *Tuan Guru* in the Banjar community has more or less colored young people's surfing social media activities. Previously, there were two models of religious leaders who were familiar with the land of Banjar.¹⁷

The first model is *Ulama* in the government system. They are included in the bureaucratic system that has existed since the Banjar Sultanate until the colonial period. Second, *Ulama* who are outside the system. They usually become imams in mosques or

¹⁵ Nilufer Gole, "Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (1 Januari 2002): 173–90.

¹⁶ Muhammad Ibtissam Han, *Dakwah Jalanan Kaum Muda: Dinamika Keberagamaan Anak Muda Genk Motor dan Skateboard* (Yogyakarta: Omah Ilmu Publishing, 2019), 53.

¹⁷ Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, *Konflik dan integrasi: perbedaan paham dalam agama Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1986), 3–4.

Langgar, preachers, and teach religion. People who are made as religious authorities are usually intellectuals in the region, who have the additional task of asking residents about various daily problems outside of teaching religion and how to read the Koran.¹⁸ They are also used as a place for the Banjar community to consult about when to start planting rice, provide the antidote for the sick, make predictions about a husband or wife's life possibilities, and give prayers of blessing to be safe the journey and so on.

The Ulama's position and role in Banjar have received new challenges since the Banjar people use the internet. As the religious dynamics of Indonesian society, there have also been many changes due to the influence of social and digital media in the realm of religion. Changes in Islamic expression occurred in almost all levels of social class in Muslim society, primarily urban, middle, and millennial class communities, which also affected Ulama's dynamics in the eyes of the Banjar people.

The patterns and processes of the transmission of religious knowledge, which previously still relied on traditional institutions, are gradually eroded by the presence of formulas that are primarily personal and centred on “self-consuming”, which has independence in determining the information received and consumed. Felix Siauw, Hannan Attaki, Ustaz Abdus Somad, Ustaz Adi Hidayat until Syafiq and Khalid Basallamah are examples of Ulama born in the changing landscape of the da'wah.

However, da'wah in the world of social media is no longer only controlled by the da'wah model as described above. We can begin to study what Khairuddin Aljunied wrote when quoting Bruce Lawrence's statement that 'the information age marks a new era for Muslim Traditionalism'.¹⁹ Aljunied also said that virtual spaces, like blogs, have become places where Muslim Traditionalism is discursively cultivated. The study conducted by Aljunied has still focused on blogs or websites whose readers are the people who read and share blogs the most are youths from the age of nineteen to twenty-three years. So, he has not reviewed how Muslim Traditionalism is present in the dynamics of preaching on social media.

Aswajanet activists argue that there is a big difference between their da'wah models and social media Da'wah activists, such as Shift and others. According to them, Aswajanet's social media activities and the digital ecosystem in Banjar land only duplicated, amplified,

¹⁸ Alfani Daud, *Islam dan Masyarakat Banjar* (Yogyakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1997).

¹⁹ Khairudin Aljunied, *Muslim Traditionalism: Southeast Asian Islam in Comparative Perspective* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 51.

and moved from offline to online towards the Banjar people's diversity. The presence of a new authority born through social media assistance occupies a particular position in the transmission of Islamic knowledge. It does not disturb or replace the position of Ulama in the land of Banjar. The articulation of religious symbols and expressions manned by the Banjar youth community, such as Aswajanet, has a close or familiarity with diversity in the Banjar community's habitus. The Ulama position was born from the Islamic Traditionalism culture that has long taken root in the life of the Banjar people.

The Aswajanet community has become the driving force for direct broadcasting of religious activities, especially recitation and haul, creating a model of the da'wah movement that focuses not only on the image of preachers. They think that what is done in this community is part of Khadam (devotion to the Ulama), so, naturally, no one desires to become a new preacher by relying on social media. According to them, a preacher or Ulama must be born from a strong Islamic culture and have an explicit scientific knowledge down to the Prophet.

They succeeded in presenting religious rituals online and presenting a robust Islamic Traditionalism tradition in the Banjar community. Some of the rituals of religious behavior that the Banjar people often do are pilgrimage and haul. Coming to the grave of a Wali or Ulama and commemorating his Haul has become an inseparable habit or culture in the Banjar community. It can be said that the two interrelated rituals are now increasingly being carried out through social media support.

The ritual of visiting the grave and commemorating the *Haul* of the *Wali* or *Ulama* has not only become a culture. However, it reinforces the Islamic identity of the Banjar people, close to the Islamic culture of Traditionalism. Not all Banjar people indeed do it, but the traditionalist culture is strong enough so that the two rituals become massive, especially in rural areas. Pilgrimage and haul are traditions of religious orders, such as *Tarekat* or *Pesantren*.²⁰ *Haul* of *Ulama* or *Tuan Guru* has a dimension as a link for the next generation to the founders and the congregation who attended the *Haul* commemoration. So, the story of the experience of attending the Haul or making a pilgrimage to the *Ulama's* grave, whether we realize it or not, now has a dimension of fighting memory and identity simultaneously, especially after being broadcast live on social media. So, the Haul Ulama

²⁰ Pradjarta Dirjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat (Kyai Pesantren-Kiai Langgar di Jawa)* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 1999).

ritual's relocation to the internet has become a symbol of Islamic identity for Islamic Traditionalist on Banjar community.

Conclusion

Aswajanet's social media activities and the digital ecosystem in Banjar's land did not find much change in the Banjar community's religious reasoning. The new authority occupies a particular position in the transmission of Islamic knowledge and does not disturb or replace the Ulama position in Banjar's land. The articulation of religious symbols and expressions manned by the Banjar youth community, such as Aswajanet, has a close or familiarity with diversity in the Banjar community's habitus. Also, the online activities of young people / Aswajanet represent the traditionalist Islamic Banjar community or Islamic Traditionalism.

The majority of social media account activities for young Traditionalist Muslims still revolve around religious rituals and traditions, such as recitation, haul, and other significant religious practices that are computer-mediated and uploaded online. Besides, through the new media, they also carry out discussions, friendships, and support that combine local and online resources, practices, and connections, offering spiritual experiences and new social ties. In general, they emphasize old identities and traditions among young people, namely Islamic Traditionalism, rather than replacing it.

Bibliography

- Ali, Hasanuddin, dan Lilik Purwandi. *Wajah Muslim Indonesia*. Jakarta: Islami (dot) co, 2019.
- Aljunied, Khairudin. *Muslim Cosmopolitan: Southeast Asian Islam in Comparative Perspective*. Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.
- Becker, Carmen. "Muslims on the Path of the Salaf Al-Salih." *Information, Communication & Society* 14, no. 8 (1 December 2011): 1181–1203.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Daud, Alfani. *Islam dan Masyarakat Banjar*. Yogyakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1997.
- Dawson, Lorne L. "Religion and the quest for virtual community." Dalam *Religion Online. Finding Faith on the Internet*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

- Dirjosanjoto, Pradjarta. *Memelibara Umat (Kyai Pesantren-Kiai Langgar di Jawa)*. Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 1999.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Social Theory and Modern Sociology*. New York: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Gole, Nilufer. "Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries." *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (1 January 2002): 173–90.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "Islam di Kota-Kota Menengah Indonesia: Kelas Menengah, Gaya Hidup, dan Demokrasi." Dalam *In Search Of Middle Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016.
- Ibtissam Han, Muhammad. *Dakwah Jalanan Kaum Muda: Dinamika Keberagamaan Anak Muda Genk Motor dan Skateboard*. Yogyakarta: Omah Ilmu Publishing, 2019.
- Lundby, Knut. "Patterns of Belonging in Online/Offline Interfaces of Religion." *Information, Communication & Society* 14, no. 8 (1 December 2011): 1219–35.
- Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Miller, Daniel, Elisabetta Costa, Nell Haynes, Tom McDonald, Razvan Nicolescu, Jolynna Sinanan, Juliano Spyer, Shriram Venkatraman, dan Xinyuan Wang. *How the World Changed Social Media*. London: UCL Press, 2016.
- Pink, Sarah, Heather Horst, John Postill, Larissa Hjorth, Tania Lewis, dan Jo Tacchi. *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. New York: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2015.
- Saifuddin, Achmad Fedyani. *Konflik dan integrasi: perbedaan paham dalam agama Islam*. Jakarta: Rajawali, 1986.