

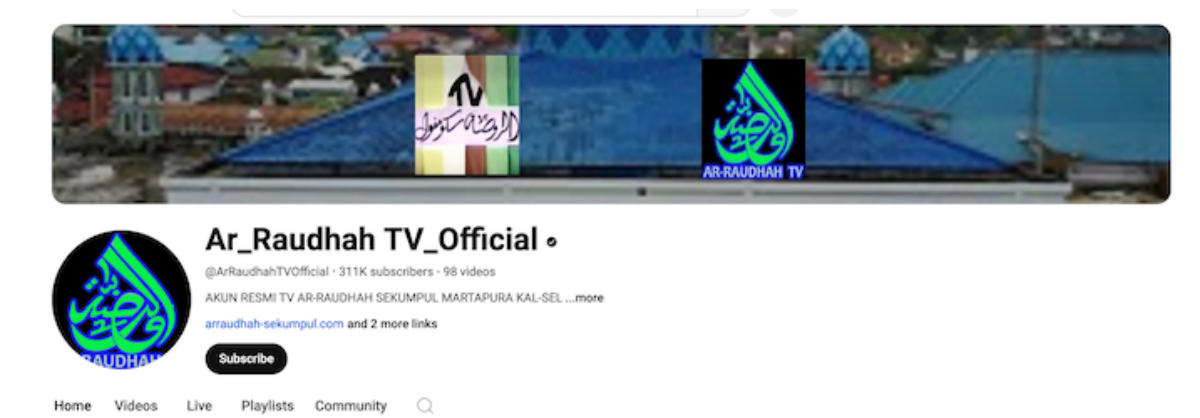
PERSPECTIVE

RESEARCHERS AT ISEAS – YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE ANALYSE CURRENT EVENTS

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The Banjarese YouTubers of Kalimantan: Religious Influence and Gender Diversity

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Screenshot of the YouTube Channel of Ar Raudhah TV Official. Taken on 13 September 2024. In Banjarere society, his teachings are often cited in sermons and cherished by traditionalist Muslim preachers.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Over the past decade, greater access to the internet in Kalimantan has fostered a growing community of local YouTubers. This phenomenon is also witnessed in Banjarmasin, a city in the South Kalimantan (Kalsel) province.
- Analysing more than 100 YouTube channels created by individuals and institutions of Banjarese origin, this article showcases the diverse content, demographics, and religious affiliations of YouTubers. This survey considers how these are comparable to Javanese-based content, Java being the more demographically dense region in Indonesia.
- This article argues that the appeal of female, youth, and non-religious figures is growing among the Banjarese. Yet, religious content online remains highly popular, especially videos, channels and content promoted by the late Guru Sekumpul's followers and students.
- Communities in Kalimantan, who are generally Malay-speaking, prefer local preachers rather than imports from Java. However, Banjarese women are less interested in developing religious content online, and prefer instead to venture into online businesses and entertainment, or become influencers. This may over time, create gender imbalance in the online religious community.

INTRODUCTION

Broadened internet coverage in Kalimantan has been followed by a notable increase in users,¹ reaching 77.42% of the population by 2024.² This development has significantly raised the visibility of Banjarese content creators, both in the secular and religious spheres. This article analyses over 100 YouTube accounts from Kalimantan of Banjarese origin. Increased connectivity has allowed the local population to engage with global trends and monetise their online presence, and a number have achieved fame and wealth as a result. Female Banjarese content creators have also excelled in the gaming and entertainment online sectors. However, their presence in religious discourse remains limited compared to their male counterparts. In fact, studying Banjarese religious behaviour is important for their tendency to favour local preachers over Javanese ones based in the capital.

In addition to television, people now spend significant time on social media, at global daily averages of 2 hours and 23 minutes, and Indonesians even exceed this by 48 minutes.³ Social media serves various purposes like connecting with others, accessing information, shopping, and entertainment.⁴ Despite concerns about negative content on social media, for ordinary Banjarese, it significantly brings about material progress, knowledge creation, and entertainment value.⁵

The Banjarese is Kalimantan's largest ethnic group.⁶ Primarily residing in South Kalimantan, they constitute approximately three-quarters of the population in this province.⁷ Traditionally known for their trading prowess and migratory habits, many Banjarese have settled in East and Central Kalimantan, as well as in various provinces in Sumatra, including Riau, North Sumatra, and Jambi.⁸ Similar to their counterparts in South Kalimantan, Banjarese migrants and their descendants also engage in content-creation activities. They are also Malay-speaking.

Banjarese YouTube content creators range from individuals to institutions, including mosques, Islamic study groups, news organizations, and businesses.⁹ The term "YouTuber" encompasses both video creators and influencers with varying audience sizes, ranging from micro-influencers (1,000 to 100,000 subscribers) to macro-influencers (100,000 to 1 million subscribers), and even mega-influencers (over 1 million subscribers). The analysis of 100+ YouTube channels reveals content diversity. Over three dozen channels focus on education and Islamic outreach, another three dozen showcase local cuisine, attractions and narratives, and thirty channels offer news and various entertainment forms.

RELIGIOUS CONTENT STILL DOMINATES: THE LATE GURU SEKUMPUL

The sampled YouTube channels also indicate various Islamic currents, reflecting the religious diversity among Muslims in South Kalimantan, where the majority adhere to traditionalist Islam, alongside active followings of modernist Islam and Salafism.¹⁰ The highest subscription rate among Banjarese Islamic propagation channels is 305,000 for Ar Raudhah TV Official, affiliated to the late Guru Muhammad Zaini Sekumpul, the great traditionalist Islamic scholar from the 1990s and early 2000s.¹¹ In Banjarere society, his teachings are often cited in sermons and cherished by traditionalist Muslim preachers. The YouTube channel which streams activities from his prayer hall (*langgar*)—established long after his passing—consistently draws attention with broadcasts of his past religious lectures. Even though much of the content

is not archived on the channel after being streamed, various content creators upload recordings of his past lectures, Maulid recitations, and Arabic hymns on YouTube. These recordings vary in that some are in bite-sized videos and others larger in size. The Guru's life and teachings have been extensively documented in numerous books and academic studies, celebrated not only in South Kalimantan but also across Kalimantan itself, reaching Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

His popularity online matches a certain reality on the ground, namely that popular preachers (online and offline) from Java are not especially popular in Banjarmasin. Photographs of Guru Sekumpul are prominently displayed in restaurants, cafés, and shops throughout South Kalimantan and widely disseminated across Central and East Kalimantan, often to serve as a notable, though unofficial, indicator of the halal status of food establishments.¹² The placement of these photos in private residences symbolises a quest for blessings from Guru Sekumpul, revered as a saint with extraordinary spiritual prowess. Despite the closure of his tomb, thousands continue to make pilgrimages to his resting place. Each year, his commemorative event in Martapura attracts hundreds of thousands from Kalimantan, various parts of Indonesia, and abroad. Politicians, including President Jokowi, have attended the event—though they do not always receive a red-carpet welcome.¹³ Researchers from the University of Palangkaraya highlight that the Guru Sekumpul *haul* fosters unity and strengthens community bonds, with people voluntarily setting up rest areas and providing free meals along Jalan Ahmad Yani, the main road connecting Kalimantan's provinces. This collective effort boosts the local economy and enhances social cohesion, promoting a more peaceful and united community.¹⁴ Across Kalimantan, Muslim communities independently organise the same *haul* alongside the commemoration of Isra and Mi'raj, the miraculous journey of the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁵

The late Guru Sekumpul continues to command deep respect and interest among locals to this day, despite the presence of preachers from outside Kalimantan, such as Ustaz Adi Hidayat (UAH), Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS), and Gus Baha, who are well-received and widely watched in the region. This enduring admiration is evident from seasonal observations and reflected in Google search trends, which show that Guru Sekumpul consistently attracts more attention than UAH, UAS, and Gus Baha in South and Central Kalimantan.¹⁶

The deep impact of and respect for Guru Sekumpul's commands are felt across various communities in South Kalimantan. Melkiannus Paul Lambut, a senior Christian professor from the University of Lambung Mangkurat in Banjarmasin and a respected church figure, remarked that Guru Sekumpul was the most memorable figure from South Kalimantan for him, a statement that surprised the Muslim journalist who interviewed him.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Gede Narayana Sunarkha, a Hindu leader in South Kalimantan, described Guru Sekumpul as “a person who respected and valued others regardless of ethnicity, religion, or social class.”¹⁸ Additionally, South Kalimantan biographer Muhammad Bulkini documents an incident illustrating Guru Sekumpul's kindness towards a non-Muslim Dayak guest, who had been separated from his brother for years and sought help from him. Guru Sekumpul welcomed this guest with the same warmth and hospitality he extended to Muslim visitors.¹⁹

YOUTUBERS VIS-A-VIS BANJARESE ISLAMIC SCHOLARS

Guru Sekumpul's disciples also carry similar appeal online and offline. Guru Zuhdi (who passed in 2020) and Guru Kapuh (who passed in 2021), were both students of Guru Sekumpul and were considered his successors in Kota Banjarmasin and Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Selatan. They promoted strict self-control over traits deemed undesirable in religion, such as anger, vengeance, negative thoughts about others, pride, envy, greed and stinginess. While their religious messages do not explicitly address respect for diversity, they serve to calm the community and offer guidance for handling everyday challenges.

These elites continue to make their presence online after their passing, as their messages are apolitical and more spiritual in nature. In a recording of a sermon at Masjid Jami Sungai Jingah, one of the largest mosques in Banjarmasin, Guru Zuhdi emphasised the importance of thinking positively by providing everyday examples, such as situations on the road and in public restrooms.²⁰ In this sermon, which has been re-uploaded on several YouTube channels and watched tens of thousands of times, Guru Zuhdi also taught the importance of not belittling those who had sinned. "What is important is to seek forgiveness from Allah for ourselves and others. Never belittle those who sin; in the afterlife, they might enter heaven if they receive divine intercession (*syafaat*), which is spiritual help that can be received by anyone, while we could end up in hell," he said. In this and many other occasions, Guru Zuhdi advocated for avoiding quick judgments, seeking to understand and forgive people's mistakes and creating a more understanding and harmonious environment.

Guru Kapuh also offers his followers advice on doing good in the world and on how to face a difference of opinions. He was instrumental in providing a calming voice when the world was confronted with Covid-19.²¹ When he educated his followers through an online lecture about avoiding Friday prayers at mosques during the height of the pandemic, he said, "When there are differences among scholars or between schools of thought, we should not blame each other. It is up to us to choose. You may say, I feel that this opinion is stronger, and I wish to follow it. We should do this without blaming others."²²

In conclusion, Guru Zuhdi and Guru Kapuh provided essential guidance on self-control, compassion, and thoughtful action that are crucial for living harmoniously in a diverse society. Such views contrast with the politicisation of religion in Java and Sumatera. Guru Zuhdi's teachings on positive thinking and forgiveness promote empathy and patience, essential for navigating and respecting different viewpoints. Similarly, Guru Kapuh's emphasis on genuine generosity and adhering to well-informed religious guidance underscores the importance of understanding and accommodating diverse perspectives. Together, their teachings encourage individuals to foster personal growth and community harmony, embracing diversity with respect and thoughtful, informed decisions.

(THE LACK OF) FEMALE BANJARESE PREACHERS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

In South Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan, Banjarese female Islamic scholars are relatively unknown compared to their male counterparts. There are no female equivalents to Guru Sekumpul, Guru Bakhiet, Guru Zuhdi, Guru Kapuh, Guru Bahran Jamil, and Guru Yanor. This does not imply that there are no Banjarese women capable of leading religious gatherings or

delivering Islamic sermons. The very few studies on Banjarese “*ulama*” do highlight the life stories of female religious scholars and teachers from Islamic boarding schools and state Islamic university in South Kalimantan and beyond. However, public recognition of these remains significantly lower than that of male scholars. This disparity is apparent in religious gatherings for female audiences in South Kalimantan, where male religious teachers are predominantly invited.

The lack of prominent female Banjarese scholars is also evident online, which contrasts with the broader trend that female YouTubers are more numerous than their male counterparts. No female Banjarese content creators were identified specifically as religious preachers. As will be discussed shortly, the most popular among them are gamers, entertainers, and entrepreneurs. In my sample, the closest one to a religious preacher is Amel Kodel, known for her frequent singing of Arabic songs that include praises to Allah and expressions of longing for Prophet Muhammad. Social media frees her from having any direct interaction with sometimes aggressive male audience when performing on stage, who would attempt to dance with her. But on her online platforms, she does not really discuss religious teachings, making her known more as a young singer than a preacher. This observation underscores the scarcity of female Banjar figures in social media platforms focusing on religious discourse.

A further search on YouTube with the keyword “Banjarere Preachers” also comes back with a list of well-known male scholars and preachers, further confirming the near absence of prominent female figures. According to existing literature, most of the recorded female Banjar scholars are senior *ustazahs* who teach at major *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in South Kalimantan.²³ While these *ustazahs* are active in teaching female students and leading specific religious gatherings for women outside the walls of their *pesantren*, none of them have a significant online presence or share their sermon videos on YouTube.

Despite the many female religious teachers and lecturers in South Kalimantan working in schools and universities, male scholars still dominate the religious preaching realm in the Banjarese communities, both online and offline. This indicates a gap that needs to be addressed to better recognise and appreciate the contributions and roles of female scholars.

ONLINE PLATFORMS WHERE YOUNG BANJARESE WOMEN DOMINATES

The dearth of women venturing into religious online content, unlike their Javanese counterparts, could be explained by the vast opportunities other sectors offer beyond the already saturated religious market online. With around 75% of Indonesian internet users active on social media,²⁴ platforms like YouTube have become lucrative for creators who join the YouTube Partner Program to monetise their content. Popularity on social media is crucial for creators, as it signifies their potential to earn income through partnerships and endorsements. Especially mega influencers, those with over a million subscribers, attract businesses for endorsements, leveraging their popularity for trustworthiness. A study revealed that 62% of Indonesian social media users make purchases based on influencer endorsements.²⁵ This trend has made roles like YouTuber, TikToker, and Selebgram highly desirable professions, including among the Banjarese community.

Take, for instance, Soibah Dee, a TikTok sensation from Samarinda, East Kalimantan, born in 2004. With an impressive following of 13.4 million and 416.4 million likes on her TikTok account (@sbhdee_), she has amassed over 2,100 videos. The TikTok Money Calculator by Exolyte estimates her earnings per video between USD 1,506 and USD 3,767 as of May 2024. To put this into perspective, the minimum figure roughly equates to 5-6 months' base salary of a civil servant in the upper-middle rank (III). Expanding her success, Soibah launched her YouTube channel (@soibah) in March 2021, which has since garnered 2.02 million subscribers in three years. Her YouTube content enjoys significant popularity, averaging 1.36 million views per video.²⁶ Soibah's estimated monthly earnings from YouTube, as reported by Social Blade, have tripled over three years, increasing from USD 1,000 to USD 16,600 in May 2021 to USD 3,000 to USD 47,300 in May 2024.²⁷ This remarkable growth enables her to assemble a team and afford to build a house at the age of 20.²⁸

Another example is Eybel Channel which stands out as a prominent platform among Banjarese YouTubers, focusing on family-oriented content. The channel features videos of Eybel and family engaging in various activities, such as toy reviews and sampling of different ice cream flavours. To date, @eybelchannel boasts 3.48 million subscribers and has published over 1.4 thousand videos since its launch in September 2017, amassing an impressive total of 1.88 trillion views. With estimated monthly earnings ranging from USD 3,700 to USD 59,900 as of mid-June 2024, the channel's success is undeniable.

In fact, female YouTubers dominate the top ranks in terms of subscription levels and average viewership among Banjarese content creators. Idang Nia, a gaming enthusiast from Kandungan, South Kalimantan, exemplifies Banjarese women's success on YouTube; she transitioned from a low-level teaching job to amassing over 1.7 million subscribers through gaming content. Soibah Dee, a TikTok star from Samarinda, East Kalimantan, boasts over 2 million YouTube subscribers and 1.36 million average views per video, showcasing her journey from TikTok to YouTube fame. Amel Kodel, known as Amell Ofc, represents a different niche, focusing on singing Arabic love songs and religious chants. Despite her fewer uploads, Amel garners high viewership, indicating her appeal as a modest Muslim content creator. While Soibah and Idang Nia epitomise mega influencers, Amel remains a macro influencer.

Banjarese YouTubers primarily consist of Millennials and Generation Zs. Among the sampled creators, age diversity is evident. Paman Anum, alias Young Uncle, represents the older generation with a youthful spirit; his name is Hasan Zainuddin, a retired journalist, embodies this spirit through his travel and environmental content, despite likely being in his sixties. Conversely, the younger contributors, Aim and Abel from Generation Alpha, epitomise the youthful energy of elementary school students, focusing on videos about eating and playing at tourist attractions. Despite their age difference, both creators have found a degree of success on YouTube, with Aim and Abel's channel boasting a significantly higher average viewership compared to Paman Anum's.

CONCLUSION

The expansion of internet connectivity and the rise of social media in Kalimantan have profoundly transformed the landscape for Banjarese content creators. This has enabled a

diverse range of voices and content types to emerge, from educational and religious material to entertainment and culinary showcases. Notably, while female Banjarese content creators have achieved significant success in areas such as gaming and entertainment, their presence in religious discourse remains notably limited compared to their male counterparts.

The teachings of traditional figures like Guru Sekumpul, alongside his predecessors like Guru Zuhdi and Guru Kapuh, emphasise values such as self-control, positive thinking, and compassion. These values are crucial for maintaining harmony in a diverse society.

However, the lack of prominent female religious scholars online highlights a gap that needs addressing. Recognising and supporting female scholars could enrich the community and provide a more balanced representation. As we navigate the digital age, promoting diverse voices and ensuring inclusivity will be key to fostering a more comprehensive and unified religious dialogue.

As the local election approaches and with several women announcing their candidacies, online discussions have begun to question women's political leadership, occasionally citing an old video of Guru Sekumpul's sermon.²⁹ It is crucial for local intellectuals, including women, to actively participate in this discourse and clarify why candidates should be evaluated based on their qualifications, track records and proposed policies, rather than their gender.

ENDNOTES

¹ In South Kalimantan, for example, 99% of the villages and kelurahan have received internet signals, the majority with 4G technology. The figure for the other Kalimantan provinces varies: 95% in East Kalimantan, 91% in Central Kalimantan, 87% in West Kalimantan, and 70% in the youngest province on the island, North Kalimantan. BPS Kalimantan Timur, *Kalimantan Timur dalam Angka 2024* (Samarinda BPS Kalimantan Timur, 2024), 599. BPS Kalimantan Tengah, *Kalimantan Tengah dalam Angka 2024* (Palangkaraya: BPS Kalimantan Tengah, 2024), 714. BPS Kalimantan Barat, *Kalimantan Barat dalam Angka 2024* (Pontianak: BPS Kalimantan Barat, 2024), 601. BPS Kalimantan Utara, *Kalimantan Utara dalam Angka 2024* (Tanjung Selor: BPS Kalimantan Utara, 2024), 565.

² In 2013, the number of internet users in West Kalimantan was estimated at 17.8%. The figure for Central Kalimantan was 23.2%, for South Kalimantan was 23.8%, and for East Kalimantan that used to include today's North Kalimantan was 23.3%. See APJII & BPS, *Penggunaan Internet Sektor Bisnis 2013*, APJII (Indonesia, 2013), 35. A recalculation for all Kalimantan provinces indicates that internet users in 2013 were only about 21.7% of the island's population. The data for 2024 can be found in Asosiasi Penyedia Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII), "Press Conference: Hasil Survei Penetrasi Internet Indonesia 2024," YouTube, 13 Februari 2024, accessed 27 April 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4o6ZyBhZug>

³ We Are Social, *Digital 2024: 5 Billion Social Media Users* (31 Jan 2024), <https://wearesocial.com/id/blog/2024/01/digital-2024-5-billion-social-media-users/>.

⁴ On average, Indonesians gave the score of 3.35 of 4 for the reason to use the Internet. The wording for the option was "using the internet to access Facebook/ Whatsapp/ Telegram/ Line/ Twitter/ YouTube/ Instagram/ etc." The exception to the rule is North Kalimantan, where the samples used the internet, first, to facilitate the work and study; and second, to access public services. Only after these two do the samples put accessing social media as the reason to use the internet. APJII, *Profil Internet Indonesia 2022*, 86.

⁵ A short note on methodology is necessary. YouTube accounts are not generally marked by ethnic identities. In order to know that an account is owned by Banjarese, it is necessary to check a few samples from the contents. Ethnic identity will be apparent from the language used, places shown in the videos, and things rather specific to Banjarese being mentioned by the creators. Background checks via internet searches were done to verify if certain YouTubers are really Banjarese. Also employed is YouTube search of well-known Banjarese to see if they have accounts. The samples are, therefore, not representative of the population of Banjarese YouTubers. For one, the population concerned is unknown, and so a randomised and systematic sampling cannot be done.

⁶ They made up 26.2% of Kalimantan's population. This numerical superiority probably persists until now, and certainly, they continue to be the major ethnic group on the island. In 2010, four largest ethnic groups in Kalimantan were Banjarese (3.6 million), Dayaks (3 million), Javanese (2.5 million), and Malay (close to 1.6 million). Other sizeable ethnic groups were below 1 million each, such as Buginese (991,932) and Madurese (417,362). Aris Ananta et al., *Demography of Indonesia's Ethnicity* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015), 139, 51, 63, 79, 89, 205. Data for Indonesian population in Kalimantan is from BPS 2010 census. "Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Status Kewarganegaraan, Indonesia, Tahun 2010," Sensus 2010, Badan Pusat Statistik, accessed 16 August, 2023, <https://sensus.bps.go.id/topik/tabular/sp2010/14/91622/0>.

⁷ Ananta et al., *Demography of Indonesia's Ethnicity*, 190.

⁸ Ananta et al., *Demography of Indonesia's Ethnicity*, 190.

⁹ The oldest YouTube account in the sample was created in 2007 and the most recent one was in 2022, covering a period of 16 years. About 80 percent of the samples are from the second half of the period (2015 to 2022). This is probably part of a wider pattern where the number of Indonesian YouTubers grew significantly after the launch of a localised domain for Indonesia (YouTube.co.id) in mid-2012. The composition of personal to non-personal accounts in the samples is 52 : 50. Of all individual accounts in the samples, male YouTubers are the majority.

¹⁰ In total, 37 of 102 samples are identified as Islamic proselytization YouTube channels. Only 7 of them belong to individuals, while the rest are categorised as non-individuals. It is worth noting the samples not only include those that are based in South Kalimantan, but also examples from Central and East Kalimantan. This is to account for the migration pattern of Banjarese to the two provinces. There are small Shia and LDII communities in South Kalimantan but they keep to themselves. This is probably why we could not find their YouTube channels.

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/@ArRaudhahTVOOfficial/videos>

¹² This observation is very common among many social and cultural researchers who have gone to South Kalimantan. Journalists and local students sometimes also document this practice of displaying the pictures of Guru Sekumpul. Examples include "Ulama Banjar Ini, Fotonya Pun Dipajang di Warung Makan," NU Online, 26 April 2018, accessed 29 July, 2024, <https://nu.or.id/nasional/ulama-banjar-ini-fotonya-pun-dipajang-di-warung-makan-NDiuW>. Hasanuddin, "Persepsi Ulama Banjarmasin terhadap Pemajangan Foto Guru Sekumpul di Warung Makan" (Undergraduate UIN Antasari, 2021), <https://idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/15652/>; "Viral Pajang Foto Guru Sekumpul, Toko Ini Tak Tersentuh Api dalam Kebakaran Hebat," OkeZone.com, 22 Juli 2024, accessed 29 July, 2024, <https://travel.okezone.com/read/2024/07/22/406/3037936/viral-pajang-foto-guru-sekumpul-toko-ini-tak-tersentuh-api-dalam-kebakaran-hebat?page=all>.

¹³ "Presiden Jokowi Hadiri Haul Abah Guru Sekumpul ke-13 di Martapura, Kalsel," <https://setkab.go.id/>, 25 Maret 2018, accessed 29 Juli, 2024, <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-hadiri-haul-abah-guru-sekumpul-ke-13-di-martapura-kalsel/>. "Sandiaga Hadiri Haul Ulama Besar Kalsel sebagai Bentuk Silaturahmi," YouTube, 11 Maret 2019, accessed 29 Juli, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7jw8WzadQs>.

¹⁴ Triogi Wulandari et al., "Pengaruh Haul Abah Guru Sekumpul serta Keteladanannya bagi Masyarakat Kalimantan Selatan," *JAMPARING: Jurnal Akuntansi Manajemen Pariwisata dan Pembelajaran Konseling* 1, no. 2 (2023).

¹⁵ Examples of the *haul* in different places include <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddre6IPKz5A> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nwcS4nvqMYA> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3UTLbUAR2Ag> ; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38RBx_TdZMM.

¹⁶ The graps can be found in the following links:

https://trends.google.co.id/trends/explore?date=all_2008&geo=ID-KT&gprop=youtube&q=%2Fg%2F12176fw_,Gus%20baha,%2Fg%2F11h07vg57k,%2Fg%2F11gbk2vqm5&hl=en-GB;

https://trends.google.co.id/trends/explore?date=all_2008&geo=ID-KS&gprop=youtube&q=%2Fg%2F12176fw_,Gus%20baha,%2Fg%2F11h07vg57k,%2Fg%2F11gbk2vqm5&hl=en-GB;

https://trends.google.co.id/trends/explore?date=all&geo=ID-KT&q=%2Fg%2F12176fw_,Gus%20baha,%2Fg%2F11h07vg57k,%2Fg%2F11gbk2vqm5&hl=en-GB;

https://trends.google.co.id/trends/explore?date=all&geo=ID-KS&q=%2Fg%2F12176fw_,Gus%20baha,%2Fg%2F11h07vg57k,%2Fg%2F11gbk2vqm5&hl=en-GB.

¹⁷ "Mengenang Bertemu Gus Dur dan Guru Ijai, Mengharukan...", JPPN, 25 Desember 2016, accessed 27 Juli, 2024, <https://www.jpnn.com/news/mengenang-bertemu-gus-dur-dan-guru-ijai-mata-berkaca-k?page=2>.

¹⁸ "Haul Guru Sekumpul, Tokoh Hindu: Cerminan Toleransi Indonesia," Bakabar.com, 26 Januari 2023, accessed 27 July, 2024, <https://bakabar.com/post/haul-guru-sekumpul-tokoh-hindu-cerminan-toleransi-indonesia-ldcnfzfk>.

¹⁹ Muhammad Bulkini, *Guru Sekumpul dalam Kenangan* (Banjarmasin: Tahura Media, 2018), 64.

²⁰ He explains that when someone suddenly cuts in front of us on the road, we often get angry without considering that the person might be in an emergency, such as needing to use the restroom urgently or having a sick family member. Similarly, if you are in a public restroom and someone enters rudely, he or she might have mistakenly thought the restroom was available because the door was not perfectly closed. It is better to stay calm and not worsen the situation.

"Guru Zuhdi - Berprasangka baik terhadap manusia," YouTube, 13 April 2020, accessed 1 August, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_2sP4YXdzJA&t=407s.

²¹ If we give away food that we no longer want to eat, which has been reheated multiple times and is unwanted by anyone at home, this does not prove that we are good people. Such an act is almost akin to throwing away trash. Similarly, donating clothes that have been used for a long time is not truly an act of generosity. You cannot be considered a truly good person (*al-abrar*) until you are able to give away what you genuinely love. In fact, reaching the level of *abrar*—which represents a level of goodness, but not the highest—is just the beginning. There is still a higher level above *abrar*, namely that of *muqarrabin* (those who are close to Allah)"Ceramah Guru Kapuh," YouTube, 26 Feb 2022, accessed 1 August, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/shorts/VaxvWuLBg>.

²² ""LIVE" Guru Kapuh - Kitab Al-Hikam - Malam Jum'at, 09 April 2020," YouTuber, 9 April 2020, accessed 1 August, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lx70vZhZXcw>.

²³ In her thesis written to accomplish Doctoral Program at UIN Antasari Banjarmasin in examined in 2022, Ria Susanti tells stories of several female religious teachers, including, Siti Fatimah, the wife of the founding scholar of Pesantren Rasyidiyah Khalidiyah (Rakha) Amuntai, Nor Asikin, an alumnus of Rakha who establishes a pesantren in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, Habibah, an alumnus of Al-Falah Banjarbaru who runs a school to memorise Al-Qur'an, and Siti Ramlah, the head of the female branch Pesantren Al-Falah Banjarbaru. "Disertasi Ria Susanti, Kenalkan Ulama-ulama Perempuan Banua," UIN Antasari, 2022, accessed 29 Juli, 2024, <https://www.uin-antasari.ac.id/en/disertasi-ria-susanti-kenalkan-ulama-ulama-perempuan-banua/>.

²⁴ "Digital 2024: Indonesia," We Are Social, 21 Feb 2024, 27 April, 2024, <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-indonesia>.

²⁵ "Market share of social media platforms Indonesia 2023," Statista.com, 15 Feb 2024, accessed 12 May, 2024.

²⁶ Many of the Soibah Dee's short videos uploaded in her YouTube channel are Tik Tok typical, in which she dances with DJ music in the background while exposing her sexy-ness. But whenever she is with her parents in a video, making comedy of daily life, she tends to wear something more modest. There are also videos of her playing pranks, cooking, and travelling with her family and team members. Recently, she uploads videos from a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (*umrah*) in which she put on sharia complied dresses.

²⁷ The estimation from 2021 is recorded in "Gaji Soibah Dari YouTube Setiap Bulan Berapa ya..?," YouTube, 15 Juni 2021, accessed 11 May, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9IAIstUIXQ>. The estimation from 2024 is from "User Summary for Soibah Dee's YouTube channel," Social Blade, 11 May 2024, accessed 11 May, 2024, <https://socialblade.com/youtube/c/soibahdeechannel>.

²⁸ "Alhamdulillah Akhirnya Soibah Bangun Rumah Baru," YouTube, 3 September 2022, accessed 1 May, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqnvo3LSJEo>.

²⁹ An example would be "Abah Guru Sekumpul || larangan keras wanita jadi pemimpin," YouTube, 23 April 2024, accessed 1 August, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yGlfMmMXi6M>. The same video has been reuploaded by different YouTube channels. See a search result: "Guru Sekumpul tentang Pemimpin Perempuan," YouTube, 2024, accessed 1 August, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=guru+sekumpul+pemimpin+perempuan.

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