CyberOrient, Vol. 15, Iss. 1, 2021, pp. 5-32

Ambivalence, Discontent, and Divides in Southeast Asia's Islamic Digital Realms: An Introduction

Martin Slama
Austrian Academy of Sciences
James Bourk Hoesterey
Emory University

Corresponding author: Martin Slama, Institute for Social Anthropology, AAS, Hollandstrasse 11-13, Vienna, Austria. E: martin.slama@oeaw.ac.at

Abstract:

This introductory article to the special issue Ambivalence, Discontent, and Divides in Southeast Asia's Islamic Digital Realms *discusses the latest transformations in the field of Islam in Southeast Asia with a particular focus on digital media. It introduces the three key themes – ambivalence, discontent, divides – through which the special issue approaches contemporary socioreligious phenomena in Islamic Southeast Asia as they find their expressions online, often in close relation with offline dynamics. This approach allows this special issue to uncover the possibilities and predicaments afforded by engagement with digital and social media across Islamic Southeast Asia, understanding the latter as the locus of complex contestations, unanticipated affect, and poignant uncertainty. This introduction points to such un- or underexplored phenomena that considerably add to our understanding of religious and sociopolitical developments in contemporary Southeast Asia. The articles are introduced by highlighting how they contribute to our understanding of a broad mosaic of Islamic digital realms and how the latter have become sites of ambivalence, discontent, and divides. From Sufis to Salafis, masculinities to queer identities, and serious theologies to ludic critique, the case studies of this special issue devote special attention to the ambiguity, uneasiness, and division that marks Muslim engagement with digital domains across Southeast Asia.*

Keywords:

Islam, Southeast Asia, Social Media, Divides

Muslims in Southeast Asia have embraced a range of digital realms and online worlds that have become sites of religious expression, connection, and community. At the same time, the production, engagement, and circulation of Islamic online spheres are also marked by ambivalence, discontent, and divides. For this special issue, we asked scholars working across a broad range of Islamic media to reflect on these latter keywords – ambivalence, discontent, and divides – as a thematic approach to understand how Muslim engagement with digital and social media reflects broader trends in religious authority, practice, and politics. This thematic emphasis builds on theoretical developments in the study of Islam and media and offers a different vantage point than approaches to Islam structured solely around ideological, political, or organizational differences.

Together, these articles cover a wide range of social, political, and religious ground, attending to the possibilities and predicaments afforded by engagement with digital and social media across Southeast Asia. Muslims take to social media to speak of the miraculous deeds of Sufi saints, yet these very digital realms are also where others sharply criticize saint veneration and grave visitation as innovation (*bid'a*). Similarly, influential Islamic organizations cross swords online, making the case for the specific theological outlook of their respective movements, from the tensions between traditionalists and modernists to the cultural wars pitting Islamic preachers against an increasingly self-conscious Muslim LGBTQ movement. The articles consider Islamic texts as they are cited, circulated, and debated; yet, they also go well beyond orthodox texts to consider how digital romance novels and Instagram pages of celebrity Muslim converts reflect the complex connections between Islam and gender, power and patriarchy, public piety and sincere consumption.

Furthermore, the articles pay attention to visual representations of pious Islamic lives online and the debates they can elicit between and within Islamic movements. Online spaces such as YouTube sermons, for example, certainly provide a platform for conservative critiques of growing claims to the rights of gender and sexual minorities, yet Muslim women and sexual minorities also display a keen sense of how to navigate these voices as they build their own moral worlds, whether as active agents in *halal* online dating, prayer groups assembling their own theological education, or queer Muslims turning to humor as one way to respond to the theologies of their conservative detractors. Such articulations and practices are further complicated in constellations where Muslims constitute a minority with any accentuation of divides in the community being particularly sensitive and perhaps even more disconcerting if expressed in digital realms. Moreover, within both minority and majority contexts, the latter might themselves be a source of discontent regarding different access to the digital due to socioeconomic inequality among Muslims, which can be consequential for religious practice and community formation. The digital divide thus adds to other divides in Southeast Asia's Islamic landscape.

As these opening paragraphs indicate, the articles of this special issue explore Southeast Asia's Islamic digital realms from particular angles. They deal with aspects of the digital that have ambiguous, dissociating, or disturbing effects on the religiosity of Southeast Asian Muslims. However, they do so by going beyond topics that are frequently referred to in discussions about the implications of the rise of social media, such as the spread of "fake news" and forms of cyberbullying in which religious actors sometimes play significant roles; not to mention the specters of phenomena that observers like to grasp with terms like "Islamic fundamentalism," "radicalism," or "extremism" that also haunt today's social media. Without disputing that these topics can be part of a fruitful research agenda (see e.g., Nuraniyah 2017), this collection of articles demonstrates that there is more to discover than the widely cited adversities of digital platforms by understanding them as the locus of complex contestations, unanticipated affect, and poignant uncertainty. And there is indeed a lot to take into account given the proliferation of online religiosity among Southeast Asian Muslims with not only social media usage at large but particularly their religious uses having become part of everyday life (Slama 2017; Jones and Slama 2017; Slama and Barendregt 2018).

As with the practice of religion itself, the uses of digital media have become constitutive for the formation and expression of Islamic subjectivities and collective identities that are manifest in both offline space and digital realms (Anderson 2013). Emphasizing these close entanglements between offline and online spheres does not mean to conflate the two or to render the distinction between them irrelevant, since it is often the peculiarities of their connection that can give rise to the phenomena that this special issue discusses. In other words, they would not exist in their respective manifestations without the existence of digital realms that provide space for the expression of ambivalence, discontent, and divides and at the same time can function as the very locus of their production. In today's Southeast Asia, we therefore assert, these discomforting aspects of Islamic digital realms that can give rise to profound anxieties but also to unprecedented commitment and creativity should not be ignored if one seeks to understand the highly dynamic developments in the region's Islamic landscape.

Islam in Southeast Asia is a field driven by transformations, and media have played – and continue to play – a salient role in these processes. Media have created new publics in Southeast Asia that are filled with a variety of cultural and religious products (Millie 2016; Hasan 2017; Baulch 2020). Especially the rise of private television in the 1990s had enduring effects on the Southeast Asian Islamic landscape with celebrity preachers having become a fixed institution in the field of Islam of the region by challenging long-established players (Hoesterey 2016). Similarly, the internet and social media evolved into sites where contests for Islamic authority are staged (Schmidt 2018; Postill and Epafras 2018). These platforms constitute realms where dominant forms of Islam can be reinforced or heterodoxies can find a niche for expressing their views (Varisco 2010, 163). We might also note that online religiosity often has a tense relationship with orthodoxy and religious dogma, especially if orthodoxy is defined and upheld by the state bureaucracy as is often the case in Southeast Asia (Müller and Steiner 2018). Moreover, and equally important, these platforms afford the (re)invention and (re)contextualization of Islamic practices (Barendregt 2012; Slama 2017; Husein and Slama 2018; see also Hegazy 2020), the emergence of new Islamic movements (Nisa 2018), novel forms of audiovisual proselytization (Hew 2018), and the construction of gender, especially female Muslim subjectivities, through mediated piety (Beta 2014; Baulch and Pramiyanti 2018). In other words, the so-called Islamic resurgence in Southeast Asia went hand in hand with a surge of media outlets and digital platforms. What we encounter here are entangled developments and mutually constitutive phenomena of religiosity and mediation.

These developments were accompanied by profound changes in the class structure of Southeast Asian Islamic societies, mainly due to the rise of a Muslim middle class being able to engage in conspicuous acts of consumption that comprise not only secular but also religious practices (Rudnyckyj 2015; Jones 2018). Changes in media technology thus met societal transformations that also resulted in increasing social inequality and in divides concerning access to and uses of these technologies (Baulch 2020). These emerging class differences had ramifications in Southeast Asia's mediascape that, in turn, affected the region's Islamic landscape. Unsurprisingly, this destabilizing constellation of growing inequality and the rapid introduction of media technologies that created new publics provided ample room for the emergence and articulation of ambivalence, discontent, and divides – to which the articles of this special issue relate in multiple ways. Yet before we introduce the articles in more detail, in the following sections we will briefly discuss these three concepts and explore how they inform Southeast Asia's Islamic digital realms.

Ambivalence

Ever since Talal Asad's seminal 1986 essay on the idea of an anthropology of Islam, the social scientific study of Islam (and religion more broadly) has been especially influenced by Asad's formulation of Islam as a "discursive tradition" that "consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history" (1986, 14). Asad's students and interlocutors, especially in the work of Saba Mahmood (2005) and Charles Hirschkind (2006), built on his understanding of discursive tradition and orthopraxy to offer important understandings about religious revival, specifically the forms of ethical cultivation of non-secular and non-liberal selves. Crucial to religious revival was the ways in which Islam provided embodied sensibilities and affective attunements that made a pious life possible.

This focus on ethical perfection, and its reliance on a relatively narrow understanding of what counts as Islamic tradition, still left many questions unanswered. A body of scholarship in the anthropology of Islam began to tell more complicated stories about Muslim lives beyond ethical formation and Islamic publics. In a particularly insightful and influential essay, Samuli Schielke argues that Mahmood and Hirschkind's approach to ethical cultivation failed to acknowledge or address "the ambivalence, the inconsistencies and the openness of people's lives that never fit into the framework of a single tradition. In short, there is too much Islam in the anthropology of Islam" (2010, 1; see also Marsden 2005; Soares and Osella 2009). More in line with the existentialist anthropology of Michael Jackson (2013), Schielke addresses the difficulties of leading a pious life, in particular the ways in which doubt and moral failure are also important dimensions of everyday ethical life in Egypt (Schielke 2010; see also Schielke 2015). By looking for ethical life in sources and places beyond classical Islamic texts, devotional practices, and elite institutions – such as music, soccer, and romantic novels – Schielke argues compellingly that "the ideals and aspirations people express and the everyday lives they live are characterized by complexity, ambiguity, reflectivity, openness, frustration and tragedy. They argue for discipline at times and for freedom at others, but often live lives that lack both" (2010, 3). Such an approach refuses the totalizing logic of an Islamic studies that locates subjects solely within Islamic disciplinary regimes and discursive traditions.

This attention to the everyday – especially the focus on ambivalence, incongruity, and contradiction – refuses neat ethical categories and casts into doubt the convenient historical genealogies of Islamic texts and practices that undergirded a general Asadian approach to the anthropology of Islam. For Schielke, the focus should be more on Muslim lives (perhaps even just human lives) than Islam per se. As the pendulum swung towards this study of the everyday, others argued that such an approach should complement, not replace, attention to ethical cultivation. As David Kloos and Dan Beekers (2018) argue, scholars would do well to keep both analytical frames in mind. People's understandings of their own moral failures might be part of a complex, everyday religious practice, yet the specific ethical frames of failure cannot be separated from the religious foundation of such ideals. Privileging the everyday over the religious, they caution, "risks artificially placing experiences and incoherence outside the domain of religious experience 'proper,' rather than examining the dynamic and productive interactions between the two" (2018, 2). In this reckoning, ambivalence, doubt, and the everyday can also be understood as part of religious ethics, not separate from it (2018, 14). Likewise, the authors in this special issue attend to the ambivalence, ambiguity, and predicaments of piety without losing sight of how Muslims in Southeast Asia still nonetheless draw from Islamic resources (if only as one of several ethical registers) and at least aspire towards a certain moral fortitude (if not coherence).

Such an existentialist–phenomenological approach, however, does not preclude attention to the important relationship between ambivalence and materiality. As Carla Jones (2010) observes with respect to the Islamic fashion industry in Indonesia, the material manifestation and public performance of Islamic piety generate their own anxieties and suspicions regarding capitalist consumption as it relates to Islamic ethics of sincerity and intent. Jones cogently argues that "connecting the commodification of dress with the failure to change one's behavior in line with adopting Islamic dress, trendy piety generates its own ambivalence" (2010, 625). Moral ambivalence is thus not simply a matter of interior affect, but also of intersubjective relationships and ethical appraisals of who embodies the "real," authentic Islam.

As the articles in this volume suggest, much of this cultural work of intersubjective, ethical appraisals has become an important part of the digital worlds – and divides – among Muslims in Southeast Asia. Similar to Beekers and Kloos, we understand ambivalence as deeply connected with both the everyday and the religious, the online–offline spaces where religious authority and authenticity are claimed and contested. These online–offline worlds do not resemble the Habermasian coffee shop, with its rational debate among (elite, white, European) men. Instead, the emphasis on ambivalence in these essays emphasizes the affective realms of religiosity and religious argumentation (both its assents and refusals). Taken together, the articles of this special issue demonstrate that ambivalence is not simply the result of ethical anxieties, but that ambivalence itself is generative of new religious sentiments and practices.

Discontent

Digital realms are often understood as the locale of occurrences that provoke discontent among its participants. Users might encounter various content or engage in interactions online that are disturbing or make them feel uneasy. Religious digital realms are certainly not an exception to this and reveal specific ways that discontent can be generated. One is theological debate that might be welcomed by some believers but rejected by others if such discussion questions long-held convictions or the dogmas of orthodoxy. Conversely, digital realms can become the site where the followers of minority faiths or heterodox versions of established religions come under attack, causing worries and discontent among the latter. Islamic digital realms in Southeast Asia have evolved into such publics of debate, doubt, and offense where phenomena of discontent can be observed (see e.g. Schäfer 2018). Spoken and written words on today's social media platforms are both prone to affect Islamic sensibilities, not only if they comprise theological debate but also if they touch on issues of personal piety and the online representation of pious selves. Especially in the latter case discourse often does not stand alone or speak for itself but is accompanied by a repertoire of sensuous mediation that today's social media afford.

This leads us to the prominence of the visual in generating discontent in Islamic digital realms. Not just since the rise of social media have images circulated and touched people's feelings. They "move *around* and […] move *us*," as Patricia Spyer and Mary Steedly (2013, 8) have aptly pointed out. Yet with the increasing use of social media, the moving character of images has grown in both quantity and speed affording innumerable possibilities for disgruntlement to come about. In the Islamic context, images of the Prophet Muhammed are prominent examples of discontent on the personal and collective levels, especially if they become subject to geopolitical contestation and identity politics (Flood 2013), which is an example of how publics are also "formed in relation to images in circulation" (Spyer and Steedly 2013, 29). This particular visual genre of offensive images is prone to inform social media publics that are (at least partly) religiously defined (Meyer, Kruse and Korte 2018), including Islamic digital realms. Today, taking offense and the discontent that follows from it is thus often not less an online than an offline affair elicited as much by the circulation of images as the spreading of words.

Discontent due to particular and often visual content on social media is, however, only one aspect; another, equally important, but less explored one is discontent that arises due to mediated practices. Since social media can be utilized to practice Islam, for example, to read the Qur'an, to recite prayers, to preach, et cetera, and since these practices often become visible to a (bigger or smaller) spectatorship, concerns can arise about the public nature of one's piety. When Islamic practices go hand in hand with media practices that can be recognized by others in digital realms, and piety becomes part of mediations that entail basically uncontrollable circulations and significations, discontent may arise on both ends of the platform, the acting person and the beholder. Discontent may relate to the correct Islamic performance, but also the pious act and its mediation as such. In the latter case, mediated Islamic practice online can elicit discomfort due to particular theological concepts, such as *riya'* – the showing off of one's piety – that is strongly discouraged by Islamic orthodoxy and regarded as sinful behavior, that is the exact opposite of pious practice (Hoesterey 2016; Husein and Slama 2018). Thus, in Islamic digital realms, there is a thin line between the practice of Islam through social media as a pious act and the latter's interpretation as showing off. This is particularly relevant in the Southeast Asian context where neoliberal informed ideas of transparency have gained considerable currency generating an intricate relationship with the visual (Strassler 2020, 30). However, translated into Islamic digital realms, these ideals of transparent visibility can turn into a major source of discontent.

When digital realms become Islamic, pious sociality finds its expression online as well, being coupled with particular ideas of how Muslims should socialize on today's social media that are often rooted in offline conventions. In fact, one can observe discontent concerning the question of whether one should get in contact and communicate with other persons at all in online fora. These worries reflect norms and values that seek to determine gender relations by restricting interaction between non-related men and women. Similarly, the ways how one approaches other people online can generate considerable uneasiness, especially if the other person is an acknowledged religious authority. For example, in Sufi circles, discontent can be provoked by the question of whether the Twitter account of a Sufi *murshid* should also follow the accounts of his disciples, as this would be a reversal of the clear hierarchy that defines the teacher–student relationship in Sufism (Alatas 2017). Moreover, the sensitive issue of how to address an Islamic authority using appropriate language retains its relevance in digital realms that are known for their more informal forms of communication. Not paying sufficient respect in the (semi)public spaces of social media cannot only cause the discomfort of the addressed person but also discontent among a larger group of people who have become the witnesses of one's online interactions.

This leads us again to the option of foregoing social media if only for this particular purpose of communicating with Islamic authorities, that is when the uneasiness of using a particular technology for interaction instead of face-to-face encounters cannot be overcome. However, in Southeast Asian Islamic digital realms this seems to be the case only among some groups of Muslims, such as in Sufi communities and among less tech-savvy lower-class Muslims, whereas especially in middle-class circles social media have evolved into the preferred platforms through which Islamic preachers are approached by often ignoring offline etiquette (Slama 2017). The rancor and vitriol often found in online exchanges also mark a departure from offline cultural and religious etiquette that values emotional restraint and discourages direct confrontation. These online moments of contestation and discontent often shed light on broader religious, political, and ideological divides.

Divides

In their now-classic book *Muslim Politics*, Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori (1996) observe what they describe as the increasing "fragmentation" of religious authority across Muslim-majority societies, where the religious authority of more conventional religious figures and institutions was being partially eclipsed by new voices claiming to speak for Islam. Building on these insights, Eickelman and Anderson (2003) examine the role of new media in this process, particularly the ways in which media offer models of religiosity and citizenship. They argue that new media in the Muslim world encourages an awareness of Islamic values that "feeds into new senses of a public space that is discursive, performative, and participative, and not confined to formal institutions recognized by state authorities" (2003, 2). Whereas subsequent events during the Arab Uprising would challenge the errant view that Islamic media were beyond state reach, the point is well taken that the rise of digital media (and shortly after that volume was published, social media) has led to a pluralization of voices of religious authority as well as amplification and "*contestive* pluralization" of religiopolitical divides (Hefner 2005, 10).

In Southeast Asia, such divides have taken many forms. In Cambodia, Islamic contestation occurs within a national context where Muslims are a minority and their histories detached from the origin story of the modern nation-state (Bruckmayr 2019). In Malaysia, religiopolitical divides have deep histories in British colonial administration and the conflation of Malay and Muslim identity (Peletz 2020). The figure of the Malay Muslim is often seen at odds, and in unfair competition with, ethnic Chinese and Tamil Hindus, the latter of which migrated as laborers during colonial rule. In the case of Indonesia, religious rifts cut across both modern Islamic organizations as well as the state-society divide, where the argument about authentic Islam is at once a conversation about Indonesian Islam (Hoesterey 2018; Slama 2020).

Religious divides in contemporary Indonesia, which we discuss in more detail here as an example of the complex dynamics in Southeast Asia’s religiopolitical landscape, operate at global, national, and local levels. For centuries, Southeast Asian Muslims (known as *Jawi*) have gone back and forth between the archipelago and various holy cities and places of learning across the Middle East, North Africa, Central, South, and Southeast Asia (Bradley 2015). Over the last couple of centuries, reformist thought has created sustained theological and political cleavages manifest in the modern Indonesian organizations of *Muhammadiyah* (founded in 1912) and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (founded in 1926). Points of difference include reformist critiques of grave visitation, belief in saintly intercession, and commemorations of the Prophet Muhammad as innovation (*bid’a*). Whereas traditionalist religious education emphasizes classical Islamic scholars, modernist religious education prioritizes the Qur’an and tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, privileging independent reasoning (*ijtihad*). Not only have these organizations espoused different interpretations of theology (and theological reasoning itself), but they have also taken differing approaches to navigating Indonesia’s national politics from late colonial rule through independence, authoritarian rule, and democratic transition and consolidation.

Whereas Julia Day Howell (2001, 703) argued that traditionalist–modernist divides were beginning to soften in post-authoritarian Indonesia, recently these divisions have (at least partly) resurfaced with competing visions for Indonesian Islam and relatively distinct allegiances to particular political figures. For example, in 2015 Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah each held their national congress (*muktamar*), with Nahdlatul Ulama promoting the idea of “Islam of the Archipelago” (*Islam Nusantara*) and Muhammadiyah promoting the concept of “Progressive Islam” (*Islam Berkemajuan*). During the run-up to the 2019 presidential election, it became clear that a large majority of Nahdlatul Ulama members supported Joko Widodo, popularly known as Jokowi, and his Nahdlatul Ulama running mate, Ma’aruf Amin, whereas Muhammadiyah members mostly fell in line with presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. Online arguments were tense and many found themselves unfriended in their online communities. This divide still lingers two years into Jokowi's final term.

Beyond these organizations whose influence is largely confined to western and central Indonesia, Islamic organizations such as *Nahdlatul Wathan* in Lombok (founded in 1953) have also proved formidable players in religion and politics, especially the recent rise to the national political stage of former West Nusa Tenggara governor Muhammad Zainul Majdi, affectionately known as Tuan Guru Bajang, or TGB. From another vantage point, after the fall of Suharto in 1998 Islamist leaders who were previously imprisoned or living in exile now had the political freedom to organize and participate in the public sphere and electoral politics. Paramilitary organizations such as *Laskar Jihad* stoked ethnoreligious tensions in eastern Indonesia during the late 1990s and early 2000s (Hasan 2006); organizations such as *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* began openly campaigning for an Islamic state (Muhtadi 2009); Muslim Brotherhood-inspired prayer groups, civic organizations, and political parties became popular among the aspiring middle and upper-middle classes (Machmudi 2008; Bruinessen 2013); Salafist organizations eschewed formal politics but took on causes for female modesty and sharia banking (Chaplin 2021); and, hardliner militant groups such as the *Islamic Defenders Front* (FPI) viewed themselves as moral police, conducting raids on various bars, brothels, and discotheques (Wilson 2015). Clearly, the landscape of theological and political divides in Indonesia goes beyond historical clashes between ulama and folk Islam or dichotomies between Islamists and secular states.

These divides play out in the mosques, on the streets, and in the courtroom, congress, and presidential palace. But all the more so, the various arguments, forms of evidence, and atmospheres of affect are created, shared, promoted, critiqued, refigured, and reimagined across a wide range of platforms of digital and social media. Religiopolitical cleavages not only reflect various strands of Islamization per se but these divides can also be understood as "global assemblages" of sorts that reflect multiple ontologies that connect the sacred and profane (Ong and Collier 2005; Peletz 2020). At times, these divides have long, complicated histories, yet occasional moments of political (if not theological) unity also reveal the shallow and politically expedient nature of some of these temporary alliances, as with the "defend Islam" movement that united a motley bunch of Muslims to protest the supposed blasphemy of former Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and influence the outcome of the 2017 gubernatorial election (Fealy 2016). Many Muslims in Indonesia defend their positions within these divisions, as Muslims in Southeast Asia generally do in their respective (trans)national contexts, seeking like-minded online allies and recirculating news articles, memes, and online sermons that support their argument. Digital infrastructures, with their own algorithms of circulation, thus do not simply reveal divides; instead, they help to create and subsequently thrive on such divisions.

The Articles

The articles in this special issue are all based on original research, often tethered to larger intellectual projects about Islam, media, and public ethics in Southeast Asia. The impressive range of topics that the authors explore indicates the vast field of online production and consumption across religiopolitical lifeworlds and points to the futility of sweeping generalizations. Each article contributes to our understanding of a broad mosaic, still unfinished, of Islamic digital realms and how they have become sites of ambivalence, discontent, and divides. They indicate how the digital in tandem with the religious deeply inform the everyday lives of Southeast Asian Muslims. And they demonstrate the vast variety of how this connection between going online and being Muslim can manifest itself, again by pointing to the ambiguity, uneasiness, and division that engagements with digital realms can imply or generate. As will become apparent in the next paragraphs that briefly introduce the contributions, this special issue invites us to think about the digital in Islamic contexts in new ways by directing our attention to hitherto un- or underexplored phenomena that considerably add to our understanding of religious and sociopolitical developments in contemporary Southeast Asia.

As Ismail Fajrie Alatas' article *Digital Theology: Saintly Marvels and God-talks on Facebook* makes clear, online worlds create digital infrastructures of theology. A social media platform like Facebook thus can be turned into an Islamic digital realm by its users. In such an online environment Muslims extend versions of God-talk, assent to certain theological positions, and contest others. Devoting special attention to online stories of miracles and saint veneration (and their doubters and detractors), Alatas shows not only how theological arguments extend into online worlds but also how the very digital infrastructure of online networks provides the opportunity for some intra-religious dialogue and debate that do not occur in the same way during offline interaction. The digital theology of saint veneration Alatas is focusing on makes visible divides in the Muslim community regarding particular theological issues as well as demonstrates how Muslims explore new ways to articulate their positions within these divides. Discussions about saintly marvels that have a long history in Islam, and in Islamic circles in Indonesia in particular, thus take on new dynamics as they enter Indonesian digital realms of a globally operating platform.

Digital and social media make possible the convergence of the most unlikely of discourses, as demonstrated in Amirah Fadhlina's article *Humor, Piety, and Masculinity: The Role of Digital Platforms in Aiding "Conversations" Between Islamic Preachers and* Waria *in Indonesia*. It is concerned with popular preachers, idealized types of heteronormative Muslim masculinity, and how gender nonconforming *waria* wade in on gendered and sexualized religious discourse. Building on what she refers to as "carpool *dakwah* (preaching; propagation)," Fadhlina observes how popular preachers such as Ustad Abdul Somad and Felix Siauw pathologize LGBTQ communities on social media platforms by making *waria* the butts of jokes that are laden in transphobic religious language. Well aware of these demeaning discourses, Fadhlina notes, "*waria* are also adopting humor as a response by reclaiming slurs used against them and returning to their religious communities to advocate for their agency as Muslims." In this reckoning, humor plays an important role in a broader affective politics of the divide between so-called pious masculinities and their nonbinary others that can be observed in Indonesia's Islamic digital realms and can take place in this form only there. Whereas the doctrinal position of the preachers that rests on a grave social devaluation of LGBTQ communities prevents a dialogue between the two sides, social media brings them nevertheless in "conversation," as Fadhlina asserts, expressed through rather different types of humor. Whereas popular preachers can use humor to further entrench pietistic divides and discontents, James Bourk Hoesterey's article *Nahdlatul Ulama's "Funny Brigade:" Piety, Satire, and Indonesian Online Divides* examines how netizens also deploy humor to mitigate online vitriol and even try to suture various social, political, and theological divides. Tracing the rise of the online "Funny Brigade" (*Garis Lucu*) of the traditionalist Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama, Hoesterey attends to "the affective force of satire, particularly how it summons, amuses, confuses, inspires, and even angers diverse viewers in online encounters." More than just online play, Nahdlatul Ulama Funny Brigade administrators espouse religious sensibilities of humility and sincerity by humorously pointing out the hypocrisies and ethical shortcomings of those Indonesian Muslims who show off their piety (*riya'*) and accuse others of being infidels. The article not only provides deep insights into the employment of humor in intra-Islamic contestations and their online circulation in Indonesia but also gives an account of how discontent and divide are negotiated within the country's traditionalist camp of Islam. It thus contributes to the study of how important Islamic players are positioning themselves in the field of Islam in Indonesia and shows that Islamic digital realms – having evolved into the major sites of these contestations – cannot be ignored anymore in this regard.

Plenty of popular preachers on both local and national stages fit the image of the self-assured conservative preacher convinced of his own righteousness. Yet preachers do not go wherever they please; they must be invited to preach. Fatimah Husein's article *Negotiating Salafism: Women Prayer Groups and their Preachers in Indonesia's Islamic Digital Mediascapes* shows how the online world of digital *dakwah* is informed by anxieties about what constitutes authentic Islam and ambivalences about which preachers truly embody Islamic virtue. Women's Islamic study groups in Indonesia invest much time and energy deciding on which preachers offer the right balance of practical religious guidance and entertaining delivery without insisting on strict gendered restrictions. As Husein's analysis demonstrates, these women are indeed active agents in the building of a repertoire of religious knowledge and inspiration, especially when it comes to their engagement with Salafi preachers and the negotiation of the latters' preaching content. Moreover, her article reveals that ambivalence not only informs this relationship but has also become part of the preachers' sermons that have to navigate the discrepancy between Salafi doctrine and their audiences' lifestyles as well as the different composition of offline and online publics with the latter consisting also of other Salafi preachers and strict followers of Salafism.

Alicia Izharuddin explores another realm of ambivalence and discontent, that is romantic love, in her article *Reading the Digital Muslim Romance* which provides an incisive understanding of how Malaysian women actively engage the Muslim love stories on the online platform Wattpad. What Izharuddin refers to as an "archive of affect," Wattpad Muslim romance stories are presented in terms of *dakwah* and their female readers are called to perform various forms of affective labor that both reproduce and reformulate offline equivalents. Izharuddin argues that "affordances that allow for the creative and interactive reconstituting of gender relations are contingent upon the act of *working through* emotions and a range of unpaid online labor." In this respect, online worlds can open up new horizons of religious sensibilities, yet they also tend to reproduce gendered dynamics that demand the affective labor of women. Izharuddin concludes that romantic love and the affective registers related to it, such as feelings governed by ambivalence and discontent, are constitutive of the Islamic digital realms that she made into her object of analysis and inform the ways of how not only gender relations but also Islamic authority is constructed in Malaysia today, that is "necessarily social, emotive, and intimate."

The world of popular online culture is also at the heart of Carla Jones' analysis of Mualaf *Chic: Conversion and Mediation in Indonesian Pious Sociality*. Jones traces the career of a South Korean convert to Islam who became a brand ambassador for *halal* beauty products and Islamic fashion in Indonesia. As goes almost without saying she attained the status of a social media celebrity as well, cultivating her image as an Islamic beauty icon and role model for young Indonesian women who developed a deep interest in Islam and pursuing a pious lifestyle. Jones examines how piety is construed here through the intersecting fields of fashion and religion, paying particular attention to the foreignness of the Korean star. In her analysis, two registers of ambivalence converge, one being connected to how the foreign can (at least partly) be appropriated in Indonesia and the other to the troubled relationship between fashion and piety. In the first instance, the allure of the star, obviously, rests not only upon her conversion to Islam but also upon her being Korean. This tension between representing the foreign and the familiar is displayed on her social media accounts for example by pointing to the difficulties of asserting oneself as a pious Muslim in the non-Islamic environment of South Korean society. At the same time, the piety of the star unfolds in a realm that is perceived by many Muslims as inherently ambiguous, as the world of fashion that lives on visual display (and the circulation of images on today's social media) evokes suspicion about the sincerity of religious commitment.

The question of sincere piety and its mediation is also a dominant theme in Wahyu Kuncoro's article *Ambivalence, Virtual Piety, and Rebranding: Social Media Uses among Tablighi Jama'at in Indonesia*. *Tablighi Jama'at* is known as a reformist proselytization movement that puts particular emphasis on the mobility of their members, who oblige themselves to leave their homes for particular periods of time to spread the word of Islam. This mobile form of proselytizing is based on a concept of missionary work that prioritizes face-to-face encounters over the mediation of Islam by means of modern technologies. Kuncoro points out that the use of social media is generally discouraged among Tablighis, especially when they are on a missionary tour. However, his ethnography reveals that this does not necessarily prevent Tablighis from going online. Kuncoro describes how they deal with the ambivalence that surrounds social media use that is also fueled by the fact that no clear guidelines have been published on the issue by the Indonesian Tablighi Jama'at leadership, and how they manage to reconcile discourses that emphasize the dangers that lurk in these new media for Muslims with their actual social media practices that also comprise the display of their pious deeds on these platforms. Moreover, Kuncoro shows that some Tablighis use social media to counter stereotypes and negative images of Tablighi Jama'at that put them in proximity to terrorist groups, which he interprets as an attempt to rebrand the movement and to position it within the mainstream of Islamic activism in Indonesia.

The issue if one should or should not go online as a pious Muslim is more easily resolved in the case of Eva Nisa's study of *Online* Halal *Dating,* Ta'aruf*, and the Shariatisation of Matchmaking among Malaysian and Indonesian Muslims*. Nisa investigates mobile dating applications and matchmaking platforms that have been developed for an Islamic audience in Malaysia and Indonesia and that have indeed gained some popularity among young Muslims in the two countries. As Nisa shows, these platforms have been established to assist young Muslims to master a major rite de passage in their lives, namely, to marry, which preconditions that one can find a suitable partner. Whereas not so long ago parent-arranged marriages were common in Islamic Southeast Asia, and the agency of women was especially restricted in choosing a spouse, the trend clearly goes towards finding a partner by oneself. One might understand this process in terms of an irrevocable individualization that is accelerated by today's media technologies. However, Nisa points out that this process is much more ambivalent. On the one hand, the platforms afford young women to actively look for a partner providing them with room for action vis-à-vis young men and their parents; on the other, they remodel the matchmaking process into a Sharia-compliant form of learning to know each other (*ta'aruf*) that partly reintroduces gender and generational hierarchies.

Whereas the examples in the articles of this special issue are generally located in Muslim majority contexts, the contribution of Zoltan Pall and Alberto Pérez Pereiro represents an exception in this regard. In *Emerging Islamic Representations in the Cambodian Muslim Social Media Scene: Complex Divides and Muted Debates* they explore the online activities of Cambodian Muslims. Compared to the considerable amount of literature that was published in the last years on social media practices of Indonesian and Malaysian Muslims, they venture into completely new territory with their study. Their article reveals that, unlike in the Southeast Asian Muslim majority societies, social media are much less used for contestation, discussion and debate by Cambodian Muslims. Whereas in Indonesia and Malaysia representatives of different Islamic currents meet and sometimes clash online, in the Cambodian social media scene critique is voiced in muted and camouflaged ways, if it is conveyed at all. Pall and Pérez Pereiro explore this phenomenon by looking at complex offline divides and their deemphasizing online, while they point to the plurality of Cambodia's field of Islam and the strong position of the Cambodian state and its Islamic bureaucracy that is eager to uphold an image of intra-Islamic harmony.

A hitherto rather neglected topic in the study of Islamic uses of social media in Southeast Asia is also pursued by Martin Slama in his article *Tracing Digital Divides in Indonesian Islam: Ambivalences of Media and Class*. He applies the concept of the digital divide to the field of Islam in Indonesia and asks what consequences unequal access to today's social media platforms has for Islamic practice and sociality. His analysis builds on anthropological work that points to the ambivalence inherent in Indonesian constructions of social inequality, especially with regard to questions of belonging to a rapidly developing middle class. Slama sees such manifestations of ambivalence reemerging in Islamic digital realms that can involve renegotiations of class boundaries and uneasiness in approaching Islamic authorities online, while it can also lead to rather unambiguous forms of exclusion of lower-class Muslims from Islamic online socialities. The article argues that with the introduction of social media social divides among Muslims have indeed found new platforms for their expression – through non-religious and religious practices. The question of being or not being online is thus not only a question of how long (if at all) one is able to be online but also whether one can participate in Islamic digital realms to engage in particular Islamic practices and socialities that largely remain a middle-class affair in Indonesia.

Concluding Remarks

Looking at Southeast Asia's Islamic digital realms through the prism of ambivalence, discontent, and divides reveals the multiplicity of how these concepts can be connected. Taken together in their varied constellations they constitute a field of Islamic practice and sociality that considerably influences religious life in Southeast Asia today, as the articles of this special issue attest. They demonstrate how digital platforms provide glimpses into the intricacies of everyday religious life – its ritual worship, ethical frameworks, and emotional valences. In light of this and the dynamics, transformations, and contradictions that characterize the region's Islamic landscape, it does not come as a surprise that Southeast Asian Muslims frequently find themselves in situations that they perceive as ambivalent, especially when they go online, or that can be the result of wider social and religious phenomena fueled by ambivalence. This is especially the case when Islamic digital realms are navigated to deal with or to solve problems in one's private life, that is when ambiguity and discontent lie at the heart of one's Islamic online practices or one's desire for a (more) pious life. However, such dynamics can also occur in reversed form with pious online practices constituting not an escape from but the very reason for ambivalence; or they can be linked, the articles of this special issue also teach us, as one can evolve into the other with the initial solution becoming a source of discontent, if not for oneself, then for one or the other beholder.

In Islamic contexts, discontent is often closely related to the display and circulation of images, which also applies to Southeast Asian digital realms where conspicuous representations of piety can lead to suspicion, debate, and agitation. At the same time, the articles of this special issue suggest, discontent not only can be geared towards the visual but also the social as the latter becomes articulated in relationships, socialities, and intimacies online. The degree of closeness between social media users that is regarded as acceptable, especially between male and female users, often remains ambiguous and can lead to resentment when gender orders are suspected to be undermined. Furthermore, and more generally speaking, social media are sites where Islamic ideas of socioreligious hierarchy can easily become contested, not only concerning gender asymmetries but also with regard to hierarchies between generations and concepts of inequality that pervade the construction of Islamic authority. Yet this is not only a question of divergent views of the social world and their articulation in Islamic digital realms, as hierarchies become manifest in and are expressed through online practices. Often it is the latter that are deemed ambivalent or become the sources of discontent, giving rise to new rounds of discussion and contestation.

Given these contentious aspects of Islamic digital realms, we would like to note that not every form of ambivalence and discontent is a sign of a profound divide among Southeast Asian Muslims. The articles of this special issue indicate that they sometimes indeed mirror the broader social upheavals and ideological frictions in Islamic societies, but that they can also reveal minor, yet not less significant fault lines and (still) low tides of discontent. Paying heed to these less pronounced signs of discontent in Islamic digital realms, however, can result in early detection of divides that have the potential to become more significant in the future. And this leads us to another observation that the articles of this special issue allow us to make: while divides might be traceable on social media in their embryonic stage or in suppressed guises, those divides that are already clearly visible might not always become manifest in loud and bitter debates. Moreover, digital platforms can both create and reflect offline divides, yet there is also evidence of how Muslims in Southeast Asia draw on the digital infrastructures of online worlds to mend and to mitigate these divisions, albeit with perhaps limited success. In this regard, humor seems to constitute a central weapon, strategy, and, for minorities, survival kit that can be skillfully applied across different platforms.

Such rather neglected topics in the study of Islam and its digital realms thus can provide important insights into the contemporary dynamics of Southeast Asia's Islamic landscape featuring not only ideological, but also material divides that can become digital through excluding Muslims from participating in particular online socialities and forums of discussion.

And these observations of inequalities and power asymmetries bring us back again to the ambivalence and discontent that the digital can generate – expectedly or much less so – in Southeast Asian Islamic contexts. In light of these intricate entanglements of the digital with phenomena of ambivalence, discontent, and divides, this collection of articles reminds us that our understandings of Islam and Muslim practices and lifeworlds must not only rely on conventional approaches to particular Islamic texts and histories (most often from the Middle East) but should also account for the ideas, theologies, forms of argumentation, affective registers, and audiovisual expressions deployed by Muslims in their everyday online–offline lives. Acknowledging the complexity and variety of Islamic trajectories that cross online and offline realms in sometimes unexpected ways, as the contributions to this special issue inspire us to do, will allow us to recognize new topics of research or approach established themes from novel angles, and to contribute to considerably enriching the picture of the study of Muslim societies.

References

Alatas, Ismail Fajrie. 2017. "Sufi Sociality in Social Media." In *Piety, Celebrity, Sociality: A Forum on Islam and Social Media in Southeast Asia*, edited by Martin Slama and Carla Jones, *American Ethnologist* website, November 8. Accessed [November 8, 2020]. http://americanethnologist.org/features/collections/piety-celebrity-sociality/sufi-sociality-in-social-media.

Anderson, Jon W. 2013. "Online and Offline Continuities, Community and Agency on the Internet." *CyberOrient* 7 (1): 4–33.

Asad, Talal. 1986. "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam." *Occasional Papers Series*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University.

Barendregt, Bart. 2012. "Diverse Digital Worlds." In *Digital Anthropology*, edited by Heather Horst and Daniel Miller, 203–224. London: Berg.

Baulch, Emma, and Alila Pramiyanti. 2018. “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman.” *Social Media + Society* 4 (4): 1–15.

Baulch, Emma. 2020. *Genre Publics: Popular Music, Technologies, and Class in Indonesia*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Beta, Annisa R. 2014. “Hijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia.” *International Communication Gazette* 76 (4–5): 377–389.

Bradley, Francis R. 2015. *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Daud Bin ‘Abd Allah Al-Fatani in Mecca and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.

Bruckmayr, Philipp. 2019. *Cambodia’s Muslims and the Malay World: Malay Language, Jawi Script, and Islamic Factionalism from the 19th Century to the Present*. Leiden: Brill.

Bruinessen, Martin van. 2013. “Overview of Muslim Organizations, Associations and Movements in Indonesia.” In *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the “Conservative Turn,”* edited by Martin van Bruinessen, 21–59. Singapore: ISEAS.

Chaplin, Chris. 2021. *Salafism and the State: Islamic Activism and National Identity in Contemporary Indonesia*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Eickelman, Dale F., and James Piscatori. 1996. *Muslim Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eickelman, Dale F., and Jon W. Anderson, eds. 2003. *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Second edition.

Fealy, Greg. 2016. “Bigger than Ahok: Explaining the 2 December Mass Rally.” *Indonesia at Melbourne* website, December 7. Accessed [December 3, 2020]. http://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/bigger-than-ahok-explaining-jakartas-2-december-mass-rally/.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. 2013. “Inciting Modernity? Images, Alterities and the Contexts of

‘Cartoon Wars.’” In *Images That Move*, edited by Patricia Spyer and Mary Margaret Steedly, 47–72. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Hasan, Noorhaidi. 2006. *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia.* Ithaca, NY: South East Asia Program Publications.

Hasan, Noorhaidi. 2017. *Public Islam in Indonesia: Piety, Politics, and Identity*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Hefner, Robert W. 2005. “Introduction: Modernity and the Remaking of Muslim Politics.” In *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 1–36. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hegazy, Wael. 2020. “Muslim Online Prayer in a Sociocultural Context.” *CyberOrient* 14 (2): 64–84.

Hew, Wai Weng. 2018. “The Art of Dakwah: Social Media, Visual Persuasion and the Islamist Propagation of Felix Siauw.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46 (134): 61–79.

Hirschkind, Charles. 2006. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counter-Publics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hoesterey, James Bourk. 2016. *Rebranding Islam: Piety, Prosperity, and a Self-Help Guru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hoesterey, James Bourk. 2018. “Public Diplomacy and the Global Dissemination of ‘Moderate Islam.’” In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 406–416. London: Routledge.

Howell, Julia Day. 2001. “Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60 (3): 701–729.

Husein, Fatimah, and Martin Slama. 2018. “Online Piety and its Discontent: Revisiting Islamic Anxieties on Indonesian Social Media.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46 (134): 80–93.

Jackson, Michael D. 2013. *Lifeworlds: Essays in Existential Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, Carla. 2010. “Materializing piety: Gendered Anxieties about Faithful Consumption in Contemporary Urban Indonesia.” American Ethnologist 37 (4): 617–637.

Jones, Carla. 2018. “Consumption and the New Middle Classes.” In The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 187–196. London: Routledge.

Jones, Carla, and Martin Slama. 2017. “Introduction: Piety, Celebrity, Sociality.” In Piety, Celebrity, Sociality: A Forum on Islam and Social Media in Southeast Asia, edited by Martin Slama and Carla Jones. American Ethnologist website, November 8. Accessed [September 24, 2020]. http://americanethnologist.org/features/collections/piety-celebrity-sociality/introduction.

Kloos, David, and Dan Beekers. 2018. “Introduction: The Productive Potential of Moral Failure in Lived Islam and Christianity.” In *Straying from the Straight Path: How Senses of Failure Invigorate Lived Religion*, edited by Daan Beekers and David Kloos, 1–19. New York: Berghahn.

Machmudi, Yon. 2008. *Islamising Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. Canberra: ANU Press.

Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of Piety: the Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Marsden, Magnus. 2005. *Living Islam. Muslim Religious Experience in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meyer, Birgit, Christiane Kruse, and Anne-Marie Korte. 2018. “Introduction.” In *Taking Offense: Religion, Art, and Visual Culture in Plural Configurations*, edited by Christiane Kruse, Birgit Meyer, and Anne-Marie Korte, 9–16. Leiden: Brill.

Millie, Julian. 2016. “Re-embedding Media Trajectories of the Islamic Resurgence.” In *Contemporary Culture and Media in Asia*, edited by Daniel Black, Olivia Khoo, and Koichi Iwabuchi, 111–121. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Muhtadi, Burhanuddin. 2009. “The Quest for Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 37 (4): 623–645.

Müller, Dominik M., and Kerstin Steiner. 2018. “The Bureaucratisation of Islam in Southeast Asia: Transdisciplinary Perspectives.” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 37 (1): 3–26.

Nisa, Eva F. 2018. “Social Media and the Birth of an Islamic Social Movement: ODOJ (One Day One Juz) in Contemporary Indonesia.” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46 (134): 24–43.

Nuraniyah, Nava. 2017. “Online Extremism: The Advent of Encrypted Private Chat Groups.” In *Digital Indonesia: Connectivity and Divergence*, edited by Ross Tapsell and Edwin Jurriens, 163–185. Singapore: ISEAS.

Ong, Aihwa, and Stephen J. Collier, eds. 2004. *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Peletz, Michael G. 2020. *Sharia Transformations: Cultural Politics and the Rebranding of an Islamic Judiciary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Postill, John, and Leonard Chrysostomos Epafras. 2018. “Indonesian Religion as a Hybrid Media Space: Social Dramas in a Contested Realm.” *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5 (1–2): 100–123.

Rudnyckyj, Daromir. 2015. “Religion and Asia’s Middle Classes.” In *Routledge Handbook of Religions in Asia*, edited by Bryan S. Turner and Oscar Salemink, 329–342. London: Routledge.

Schäfer, Saskia. 2018. “Islam in the Echo Chamber: Ahmadiyya and Shi’a Identities in Indonesian and Malaysian Online Discourses.” *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5 (1–2): 124–158.

Schielke, Samuli. 2010. “Second Thoughts about the Anthropology of Islam, or How to Make Sense of Grand Schemes in Everyday Life.” *ZMO Working Papers* 2: 1–16.

Schielke, Samuli. 2015. *Egypt in the Future Tense: Hope, Frustration, and Ambivalence Before and After 2011*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Schmidt, Leonie. 2018. “Cyberwarriors and Counterstars: Contesting Religious Radicalism and

Violence on Indonesian Social Media.” *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5 (1–2): 32–67.

Slama, Martin. 2017. “Social Media and Islamic Practice: Indonesian Ways of Being Digitally Pious.” In Digital Indonesia: Connectivity and Divergence, edited by Ross Tapsell and Edwin Jurriens, 146–162. Singapore: ISEAS.

Slama, Martin. 2020. “Imagining Indonesian Islam as a Centre: New Mediations and Old Concepts of Power.” Archiv Orientalni Supplementa XII: 273–300.

Slama, Martin, and Bart Barendregt. 2018. “Online Publics in Muslim Southeast Asia: In Between Religious Politics and Popular Pious Practices.” Asiascape: Digital Asia 5 (1–2): 3–31.

Soares, Benjamin, and Filippo Osella. 2009. “Islam, Politics, Anthropology.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (s1): S1–S23.

Spyer, Patricia, and Mary Margaret Steedly. 2013. “Introduction.” In *Images That Move*, edited by Patricia Spyer and Mary Margaret Steedly, 3–39. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Strassler, Karen. 2020. *Demanding Images: Democracy, Mediation, and the Image-Event in Indonesia*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Varisco, Daniel. 2010. “Muslims and the Media in the Blogosphere.” *Contemporary Islam* 4 (1): 157–177.

Wilson, Ian. 2015. *The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia: Coercive Capital, Authority and Street Politics*. London: Routledge.