

Pop-Tafsir on Indonesian YouTube Channel: Emergence, Discourses, and Contestations

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Abstract. Since its emergence, the digital era has been influenced every side of human life such as religious practices, intellectual traditions, etc. These phenomena also happen in Moslem societies. This article analyzes the Indonesian Moslems' new tradition that appears in the digital era: pop-tafsir on YouTube Channel. Pop-tafsir means a popular form of Qur'anic commentaries or exegesis produced in the digital era and spreader through social media instead of printed books. The analyses is going to focus on the emergence of Indonesian pop-tafsir on YouTube channels, its contestations and discourses lay behind. The sociological approach will be applied in analyzing when, why and how does pop-tafsir emerge on the Indonesian YouTube channel, and also the contestations run among channels to promote their own ideologies. In using Bourdieu's habitus theory, this article concludes: the Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir habitus built upon two main *doxas* are at cross purposes each other (back to Qur'an and Sunnah and Islam mercy for all creation—*rahmatan li al-'ālamīn*). The first *doxa* leads the exclusive habitus, while the second one to the inclusive. Each *habitus* based on its own capitals of culture, social, symbolic and economic which are intertwining each other.

Keywords: Pop-Tafsir, Contemporary Islam, *Habitus*, *Doxa*, Youtube, Inclusive, Exclusive.

1 Introduction

Thousands of years ago, humans recognized only oral communication in his life. Over time, oral communication developed into writing communication marked by the presence of the alphabet followed by printing technologies [1, p. 9] and then the internet which is coming in the 1900s [2, p. 74]. This phenomenon proves that one of human nature is having engagement with new media and always obsessed with newness [3, p. 1]. That fact happens in all aspects of human life, especially in their culture and knowledge. As part of these human cultures and knowledge products, Qur'anic exegesis and its commentaries are not excluded. In several parts of the Moslem world such as in the Middle East, South-Eastern Asia, India, Bosnia or even Africa, oral Qur'anic commentaries or exegesis always exist before those written form [4, p. 74]. Specifically in Indonesia, oral Qur'anic commentaries and exegesis (also known as oral *tafsir*) delivered by one generation to another since the 600s at *meunasah*,

rangkang and *dayah* [5, p. 20], [6, p. 20], while the eldest manuscript form (written *tafsir*) just produced around the 1600s [7, p. 112], [8, p. 124].

Tafsir grows along with the growth of human culture. When radio came and television run behind printing technologies in the nineteenth century, tafsir has new faces. It was appeared in newspapers or broadcasted on radio and television [9, p. 485]. Afterward, internet births and begun shaping new trends of tafsir [10, p. 81]. In the next era, tafsir was not restricted only in oral or written forms. It was also manifested in many various new shapes as digital books, Facebook statuses, Twitter chirp stories, WhatsApp broadcasts, or even videos spreader over Youtube channels, Metacafe, Yahoo! Screen, Metatube, etc. These new faces of tafsir are named a pop-tafsir (popular tafsir). As a new kind of tafsir, pop-tafsir has not been well studied. This is a reason to take it as the main subject of this current study.

There are some previous studies analyzed similar pop-tafsir on social media. The first of them is written by Nadirsyah Hosen in his book *Tafsir Al-Qur'an di Medsos Mengaji Makna dan Rahasia Ayat Suci di Era Medsos*. Hosen's book originated from his short reflections of Qur'anic meanings and posted on social media. This tafsir was written in pop-language and discusses the viral issues around pupils at that time. Most of these articles were posted on his Facebook wall [11]. Second book is written by Johanna Pink: *Muslim Qur'anic Interpretation Today Media, Genealogies and Interpretive Communities*. Pink analyses the evolution of tafsir since its first emergence till digital era. She also discusses the pop-Tafsir on YouTube channel, but focuses on the videos of Hasan al-Mālikī which interprets al-Fātiḥah [10], while my current study examines the pop-tafsir appear on Indonesian YouTube channels.

There are also some previous articles discussed the new media of Qur'anic exegesis. Ulya Fikriyati wrote: *Reinterpretation of Qur'anic Text: An Analysis of Tafsir in the Facebook Status of Hanan Lahham* which is focusing on Facebook pop-tafsir written by Hannan Lahham, one of the Syrian female Qur'anic interpreter figure. The main subject of her study is the dynamical discourses, development form, and position of Lahham's pop-tafsir among other interpreters in contemporary Islam [12]. Fadhli Lukman's article: *Digital Hermeneutics and a New Face of the Qur'an Commentary* investigated the character of the Qur'an commentary presented in Indonesian's Facebook and emphasized the coming of a democratic era in interpreting the Qur'an which rises the challenge of authority [13]. Both of these articles based on some pop-tafsir appear on Facebook, while this current article based on different media. So this article provides a new sight of the pop-tafsir spreader over Indonesian YouTube channel which has not been well studied.

For optimizing the discussion, this article focuses to investigate three main subjects: a) When does pop-tafsir emerge on the Indonesian YouTube channel; b) Why does the Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir appear, and c) How does the construct of Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir?

2 Method

This research is designed as virtual field research. The prime data gained from digital videos uploaded on the Indonesian YouTube channel which is similar to a digital library. But it can't be called as ordinary library research, either full-field research. The researcher observes the videos which are originated from a real tafsir club hold by several communities somewhere, then uploaded by people or organizations on YouTube channel. At the same time, the observer may directly interact with the other watchers or even the channel owner via comment columns. Mostly, the virtual pop-tafsirs form a new community beyond their first

community in real life that so-called virtual communities. The existence of virtual communities compels us to accept a new kind of field research named virtual field research. The qualitative method is used to conclude the final remark that would be written in narration instead of a numeric explanation.

The prime sources of this research are gained from pop-tafsirs spreader on Indonesian YouTube channels in the 2010s. While the secondary data are obtained from books, journal articles, interviews, and others linked to this subject. There are three main steps for obtaining qualitative research: data reduction, data display and conclusion[14, p. 30], [15, pp. 15–6]. To gain data reduction I would like to apply three steps of coding offered by W. Lawrence Neuman: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding[16, p. 333]. Open coding step applied by collecting related videos of pop-tafsir uploaded between 2010 and 2019. These videos collected and categorized by their dominant characteristics. Each collection and category used to determine new links and connections of *doxa*, *habitus*, and capital to the field (YouTube). Not all of these videos will be taken as data. This research applies a random sampling method during data reduction. Some videos were taken and some others ignored in this process. The selection based on relation and unique characters found in open coding and axial coding steps.

The sociological approach applied in this paper based on the habitus theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus is a translation of Latin word *hexis* meant a condition that determines the individual personality or character[17, p. 2]. Habitus is produced by the structures of a particular type of environment and also structuring the environment structures[18, p. 72]. Habitus is a cultural product but habitus also produces the culture itself and be an integral part of the second nature of individual behavior in that environment. It functions to mediate and organize the perceptions, actions, and interactions of the said individual within her/his social environment. The habitus theory applied in analyzing the discourse and contestation of Indonesian YouTube Pop-tafsir.

3 Result and Discussion

Pop-Tafsiron Indonesian Youtube Channel: A Resonance of the Digital Age

Wheeler said in her paper that the Moslem world has been one of the slowest sectors of global civil society to transition to the information age because of less internet access [19, p. 19]. Indonesia was the exception of this conclusion. Indonesia which is known as the most populous Moslem nation in the world also known as a country that has made the world take notice in ways of using digital technologies in daily life[20, p. 1]. According to Hootsuite's digital report, 56% of Indonesian are using the internet. This amount has grown about 13% in a year (January 2018 - January 2019)[21, p. 16; 21].

Since it's first coming to Indonesia (the early 1900s), the internet was influencing many life aspects of Indonesian. Internet access was not limited in urban communities, but also available for villagers who stay in 13.000 spread islands of Indonesia[20]. The young villagers climbing trees or other high places to get 4G signal reception is not a peculiarity. Digital life is the "second life" of Indonesian nations, especially for millennials. Seventy percent of millennials accessing digital media to obtain the most current news about everything. Their main reason for choosing digital media is its easy access, speed in getting information and multitasking[22, p. 21].

All the above circumstances affect Indonesian life, including the way of Moslems' interaction with their Qur'an and its interpretation. This fact leads many *mufassir* and also Islamic scholars, in general, to open the broad and find new effective ways of understanding

the sacred text. They begin to reshape the ordinary tafsir into pop-tafsir which is published on various digital media. They hope the Millennials found this pop-tafsir among other digital content on the internet.

The first pop-tafsir on Indonesian Youtube channel appeared on January 10, 2011. It contains the exegesis of chapter Al-Baqarah [2]: 248, delivered by Buya Hamka in the statical picture on Syahwiza Dean's channel. It was originated from RRI broadcast. RRI is the state radio network of Indonesia. This is why it's only seen in the monochromatic and not looks like a common video that shows a moving picture. The picture of Hamka in sitting position is the only picture can be seen on this pop-tafsir. It takes about fifty-one minutes and sixteen seconds (51:16)[23].

Second pop-tafsir uploaded on May 1, 2012, on Yufid TV channel, delivered by Abdullah Zaen, talked about surah al-Kāfirūnat the great mosque of Darussalam Purbalingga. It's looked unclear, even has a good sound setting. Zaen's pop-tafsir published continuously by Yufid TV channel on YouTube every week. Since its first post till May 20, 2019, Zaen's pop-tafsir reach about 257 videos [24]. This brought us to conclude that nine of ten earliest pop-tafsir posted on Indonesian YouTube channel are his pop-tafsir. But due to data variation, only Zaen's first pop-tafsir will be recorded in the list of the ten earliest.

The third pop-tafsir uploaded by Tafaqquh video on May 23, 2012. This pop-tafsir explains the verse of the throne (*Āyat al-Kursī*). It's delivered by Musthafa Umar and spent 47 minutes 42 seconds. According to several data, the Tafaqquh video channel affiliated to Tafaqquh Study Club in Pekanbaru Riau. Their teachings close to NU traditions[25].

The fourth pop-tafsir delivered by Abdullah Shaleh Al Hadrami and uploaded in Hati Bening Channel on October 29, 2012[26]. The fifth pop-tafsir uploaded on Baitul Qur'an channel on April 30, 2013 and took Muslih Abdul Karim as *mufasssir* figure [27].

Tabel. 1: Ten Earliest Pop-Tafsir on Indonesian Youtube Channel

No.	Date of 1 st Upload	Figure of Pop-Tafsir	Object	Youtube Channel	Ideological Affiliation
1.	2011, Jan 10	Buya Hamka	QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 245	Syahwiza Dean	Moderate (Muhammadiyah)
2.	2012, May 1	Abdullah Zaen	QS. Al-Kāfirūn [109]: 1-6	Yufid.TV	<i>Salafi</i>
3.	2012, May 23	Musthafa Umar	Ayat Kursi	Tafaqquh Video	Moderate (NU)
4.	2012, Oct 29	Abdullah Shaleh Al Hadrami	QS. Al-Fātihah [1]: 1-7	Hati Bening	<i>Salafi</i>
5.	2012, Nov 26	Ahmadi	QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 185	MTATV	Puritant
6.	2013, Apr 30	Muslih Abdul Karim	QS. Al-Ra'd [13]: 6-7	Baitul Quran	<i>Ikhwāni</i>

7.	2013, May 24	Habib Taufiq Assegaf	QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 1	Sunniah Salafiyah	Moderate (NU)
8.	2013, Oct 9	Habib Rizieq Shihab	QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30	Sunniah Salafiyah	Moderate shifted to <i>Salafi</i> (figure), Moderate (institution-[NU])
9.	2013, Dec 22	M. Quraish Shihab	QS. Al-Nahl [16]: 90	Simpan Sehat	Moderate
10.	2014, March 31	Firanda Andirja	QS. Al-Ghāshiyah [88]: 1-26	Yufid.TV	<i>Salafi</i>

The data explain that these ten earliest pop-tafsirs on the Indonesian Youtube channel was uploaded by several channels. Three of them uploaded by an individual channel which is Syahwiza Dean, Hati Bening, and Simpan Sehat, three others by Islamic boarding school (*pesantran*) channel: Baitul Qur'an, MTA and Sunniah Salafiyah, and the others by independent organization channel: Yufid TV and Tafaqquh Video.

Discourses and Contestations of Indonesian YouTube Pop-Tafsir

According to previous data, most of pop-tafsir uploaded on Indonesian YouTube channels originated from local tafsir learning group attended by a certain community. It's often held in mosques[28], boarding schools [29] or even TV studios[30]. The function of these places near to the function of school in Bourdieu's theory: to transform the collective heritage into an individual and common unconscious [31, p. 428]. In about 2010s these real "schools" reshaped to virtual school and still do their role in thought inculcation of tafsir.

In general, Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir schools able to categorized into two types. Each school has its own schema views built upon special *doxa* (an unquestioned belief, universal point of view, and self-evident dominant) [18], *capitals*(cultural, social, symbolic and economic)[32, p. 907]and *habitus*. These three main elements inculcate the unconscious views of the individual stands by each school. The following paragraphs will discuss the *doxas*, *capitals*, and also *habitus* of both Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir schools.

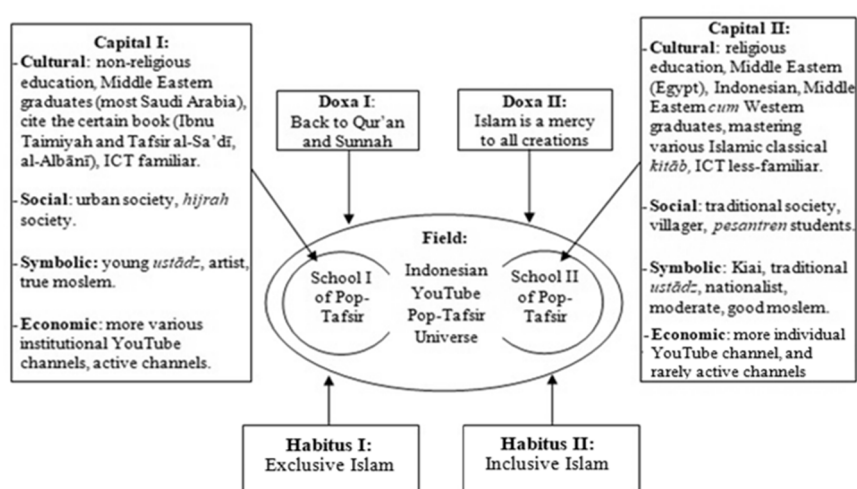
As explained before, the *doxa* means the unquestioned belief ingrained in an individual's view. The research found two prime *doxas* in Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir which is underlying the schools structure. *First*, "Back to Qur'an and Sunnah". The slogan itself doesn't contain any bad things, but it was manipulated to label others as heresy and claim the private truth. It sounds like: "*Kalimāt al-ḥaqq yurādu bihā al-bāṭil*" (the right words but meant by falsely). This first *doxa* forms the first habitus: exclusive Islam in Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir school. The exclusive habitus has four important capitals:

The capitals possessed by the first school can be detailed in four elements: cultural, social, symbolic and economic. The cultural capital of the first school contains some points:

- a) This school is dominated by people with common education. The word "common" is used to distinguish religious education in boarding school, *madrassa* and another. An evidence is an answer: "none" of the question: "Who did memorize the whole *juz 'Amma*?" in a published pop-tafsir [33]. Even though memorizing these last parts of the Qur'an counted as a fundamental tradition in most of the Islamic boarding school in Indonesia [5].

- b) Familiar with activities involve technology and internet access. This capital is related to previous cultural capital. Commonly, people live outside the *pesantren* are more familiar with the technologies and internet access than those who live inside it. This fact rationalizes why the first school channels gained more views and subscribers compared to the second school. They gained about 11.000-7.294.763 views and 3.900 to 1.326.740 subscribers [34], [35] while the second school only reached about 2.672-2.518.323 views and 3.292-54.695 subscribers [36], [37].
- c) Often cite books of Ibnu Taimiyah, Tafsir al-Sa'dī, and al-Albānī, etc [28].

Fig. 1: Construct of Indonesian YouTube Pop-Tafsir (schema by Ulya Fikriyati):



In the social aspect, they have two important capitals: urban societies and *Hijrah* communities. Some characters of these societies are anonymity, social distance, speed, tension, and mobility. Accessing the Internet including pop-tafsir becomes the most speedy way in understanding and knowing everything. It is also suits their mobility character which is pop-tafsir is accessible where ever they are. But the new problem arises when they found different views or opinions that seem against their first understanding of Qur'anic meaning. They begin to confront and label others as *bid'ah*. It could be observed in such an example of its pop-tafsir [28]. Many people who do "*hijrah*" in this term have a lot of spirit in doing Islamic teaching but rarely accompanied by the ability or willingness to explore the mother sources of Islam. The current facts frequently related due to "over drunk" of partial Islamic teachings.

The symbolic capitals of theirs are "fresh" *ustadz*, artist, holistic Moslem (*muslim kaffah*), and true followers of the Prophet. While their economic capitals are many institutional channels on YouTube start years earlier and a donation from anonymous volunteers. They inform to all viewers to donate through several bank accounts written on the screen as "Donasi Dakwah" in their almost pop-tafsir [38].

For the aim of back to the Qur'an and Sunnah, this school much more focused on delivering exegesis of short *sūrah* (chapter) of the Qur'an which is located in the last few parts of the Qur'an (*juz* 28, 29, or 30). These parts were known as *Mufaṣṣal* (having many separators). In Qur'anic sciences, all of *mufaṣṣal* are categorized as Meccan except few surahs [39, p. Vol.1: 70]. According to al-Jābirī, Meccan parts of the Qur'an were talking about six

main points: prophethood and divinity, resurrection, doomsday and afterlife court, rejection of polytheism and idolatry, open preaching and contacting with the tribes, siege of the Prophet, his people and Moslem migration to Abyssinia, post-siege era: re-contacting the tribes and preparing migration to Medina[40, Vols. 1 & 2]. Among the six points, the first school of Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir seems obsessed by point two and three (resurrection, doomsday, afterlife court and rejection of polytheism/idolatry) and pay a little bit attention to the point one (prophethood and divinity) in some unbalanced way. They blow the verses talked about Allah's punishment up to encourage people to do Islamic teaching, instead of longing for Allah's pleasures. This unbalanced way in introducing the Qur'anic contains and excessive focus on some certain points impacts on appearing a deep feeling of "divine-fear" which grows the concept of afterlife "success" and "failure". This concept pushes people indirectly to construct identities that enable them to fit in and avoid marginalization or bullying [41, p. 47], but bully others easily.

The second school of Indonesian Youtube pop-tafsir built on *doxa* Islam is a mercy to all creations (*Islām rahmat li al-‘ālamīn*). As a mercy to all creation, Islam ought to be preached in an *ihsān* way. This *doxa* constructs the inclusive pop-tafsir. This school's cultural capitals are:

- a) The religious education means most of the audiences of second pop-tafsir are *santri* or students have ever studied in Islamic institutional schools such as *pesantren* or *madrasa*. Most of them can read Arabic, *Pegon* or *Jawi* alphabets. They are "half-full" people and not the "totally empty" of Islamic teachings. This is a reason why most of the second school-based their pop-tafsir on certain classic exegesis *kitāb* [29], [42].



Fig.2 : Each participant of Qur'anic exegesis Club Reads The *Pegon* tafsir book Discussed by Gus Musin his Own Youtube Channel [43].

- b) Mastering various *kitāb* of Islamic sources. They much more familiar to real *kitāb* than internet Google's sources.

The second school's social capitals are the traditional community contains common villager and *santri*. They live in "offline" life more often than the "online". It was the reason why the second school achieves fewer views and subscribers than the first school. Its also difficult to find sharp words in their communication styles through comment columns against another school. The second school inclined to accommodate neither to confront.

The symbolic capitals of the second school are *Kiai*, *santri*, ordinary people, and good Moslem[43]. The word “good Moslem” shows the humble perspective of being the Moslem, on the contrary of the phrase “true Moslem” which is known as first school symbolic capital.

The economic capitals of the second school come in the form of individual properties. It is related to the fact that most of second school published their pop-tafsir through individual channel except few channel, such as NU or Muhammadiyah channel [44], [45].

4 Conclusion

The pop-tafsir appears quite late in 2011 on the Indonesian YouTube channel compared to the birth of the internet in the 1900s. The Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir categorized into two main schools. The first school promotes the pure theocentric view forms the “selfish” people and exclusive group, while the second school chooses to preach the theo-anthropocentric view build the “social” pupils, who treat others as equal fellow man. They yield the philosophical words: “No one is worthy of judging and labeling others, but Allah”.

The contestation appears on Indonesian YouTube pop-tafsir laid on multidimensional interest and multilayered ideologies. Its never be a single religious interest or others, but they're always be intertwined aspects influence each other.

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