



Gus Baha's online preaching culture in Islam and media ethnography perspectives

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Abstract: Islam in media communication, examining its representation on platforms such as Instagram. The emergence of media ethnography, particularly in the context of digital media, and its relevance in studying diverse cultural artifacts, including Islamic content. The purpose of this study is to explain in general the principles and relationship between ethnographic media and Islamic cultural phenomena portrayed. As a research methodology, media ethnographic views all elements that are important in the digital world. Because communication can be interpreted with various symbols or symbols. Symbols can be in verbal and non-verbal forms, including Islamics ones. K.H. Ahmad Bahaiddin Nursalim's ngaji online program is the case focused on in this study. The results first show that the principles of media ethnography in the online world can facilitate the interaction process. Second, in the context of virtual communication, media ethnography methods encourage the creation of effects on society, so that it can influence people's culture and communication behavior in the virtual world. Third, Gus Baha, through his ngaji online, exemplifies the attitudes and behaviors of pesantren and Javanese culture, through the kitab kuning and Javanese language represented in his lectures. Fourth, the characteristics of his da'wah represent exactly the soul of Ki Ageng Suryomentaram.

Keywords: Islam; media ethnography; Javanese culture; online culture

Citation (APA):

Turhamun, T., Basit, A., Riswan, Y. (2023). Gus Baha's online preaching culture in Islam and media ethnography perspectives. *ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, 21(2), 329–348. <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v21i2.9162>

Submitted: Jun 29, 2023

Accepted: Aug 12, 2023

Published: Oct 1, 2023

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A. Introduction

From the perspective of the media, Islam has significant value in the process of transmitting and distributing messages, characterised by the values of openness, honesty and truth (Ghozali, 2022). Accounts on Instagram, such as *nuonline_id*, *sanad_media* and *ngajigusbaha4*, together with *santrimilenialid*, represent various themes and discourses; for example, religious and Islamic ones, as well as ones concerning cultural moderation, the profiles of scholars, the efficacy of prayer, and information about Islamic history (P. S. Pratiwi et al., 2021). That is, Islam has become an active object, or in Gadamer's (2000) terms, fusion of horizon, sublimating and reflecting religion in the public domain.

In the Qur'an Surah Ali-Imran, verse 104, Allah states: "And let there be among you a class of people who call for goodness, command (do) the accrued, and prevent the unfortunate. And they are the lucky ones." In another verse, Allah explains: "Call (people) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good teaching and argue with them in a good way. Indeed, your Lord, it is He who knows better who is lost in His ways, and He knows better who is instructed" (Enjang AS & Rustandi, 2022).

Both verses, in Tafsir al-Misbah by Quraish Shihab, explain that in Islam it is not obligatory to force people to believe in Allah Almighty. Muslims are only required to preach. Whether they are allowed to proselytise or not is the concern of Allah Almighty (Shihab, 2006). In other words, not only is feedback urgent, but its methodology and messaging tools also determine the success of *da'wah*.

As an active object and subject, the initiation of Islamic content in social media must start with Muslims in order to anticipate the increasingly widespread consumerism and capitalistic attitudes in the digital era. Therefore, idealism remains the main spirit in *da'wah* (Alfani, 2017; Kushendrawati, 2006). In addition, the active role of Muslims in countering global radicalism is also important. Radicalism is currently developing through social media transmissions. That is, Muslims must have control over counteracting such ideologies (Senaharjanta, 2018).

As an ideology, message and value, Islam is not devoid of analysis and criticism. Islamic content visualised in social media also reflects the cultural behaviour of the Islamic community itself. Within the ethnographic paradigm of media, Islam must be positioned critically. This is because, if it provides content in a social media account, Islam becomes part of the public domain and freely interpreted (Nasrullah, 2017; Wahidin et al., 2015). In the author's view, ethnography is both a paradigm and an ideal approach to seeing Islam as a reality in social media. In this way, Islam can be examined critically and productively.

In summary, to distinguish ethnography from other data collection techniques, ethnography cannot be used arbitrarily because there are differences of opinion; for example, about what deserves silence or not. Ethnography is a style of research that has a special character and involves ethnographers' participation as observers, both openly and secretly, of what happens in people's daily lives (Achmad & Ida, 2018; Khelsea et al., 2021).

In another sense, Hobbs (2006), for example, defines ethnography as a methodological cocktail that assumes that personal involvement (by researchers) with subjects (those studied) is key to understanding a particular social or cultural setting. Participating in observation is the most common component of ethnographic methodology (Ariesta, 2018).

In addition, Bryman (2012) defines ethnography as a research method in which researchers immerse themselves in the social environment under study over a long period; make regular observations of the behaviour of members of the environment; listen and engage in daily conversation; interview informants on issues that may or may not be directly related to the observation; collect documents about the group being studied; develop an understanding of the culture of the group and the behaviour of people in that cultural context; and write a complete report of the social environment observed.

In its development, the field of ethnographic practice has undergone increasingly obvious changes. Ethnography is not adequately defined simply as a data collection method or technique. It is not simply a research discipline based on culture, but a combination of the organisation of concepts from observation and interview techniques to record the dynamics of community behaviour (Mariampolski, 1999; Windiani & Nurul, 2016) That is, ethnography can explore and elaborate every interaction, relationship, and connection in society, including through digital media.

These relationships and sections in the media (digital, virtual) become representations or characteristics of heterogeneous, accelerated and accommodating life. These three elements are markers for the existence of new media, so that life with all kinds of interactions in digital media has characteristics that Kozinets (2002) refers to as ethnography.

While Kozinets mentions netnography, Hine (2011) calls for research on human life in digital media virtual ethnography. In addition, in recent years there have also been new names emerging as equivalents of ethnography and virtual ethnography, such as webnography, digital ethnography, and virtual anthropology (cyber

anthropology). Whatever the name, whether netnography, webnography, or virtual ethnography, it is essentially an observational-participating research method, in which data are collected through online field research, based on ethnographic (qualitative) methods that have been widely accepted (Bakry, 2017).

If ethnography requires the active involvement of researchers in data collection, then digital media become a relatively more affordable subject. This is because data can be obtained virtually, from diverse personalities, and in a heterogeneous form (from various cultures and regions), including in Indonesia, a country with relatively high social media usage.

As an academic phenomenon, media ethnography is an issue that is often discussed. Pratiwi and Madanacaragni (2020), in their research, state that with an ethnographic approach to media, tourism economic behaviour can be widely exposed. Photos, videos, digital posters, and hashtags can be message markers. The presence of information technology greatly affects various aspects of human life, ranging from ways of thinking, how one feels, and how to behave, reflecting the meaning of technology, which comes from the word *tekhne*, which means building human thinking skills.

The way of thinking and behaving by humans in digital media is the domain of (virtual) media ethnography. As a methodological approach, the presence of virtual ethnography provides one of the answers to the methodological concerns of media studies researchers, who have been looking for a "container" of or the legality of human virtual activities. However, considering the complexity of the life, as well as the problems of the virtual world, Arif (2012) stated that:

It's good that new media researchers are not only fixated on this method but need to do a methodological combination to produce more comprehensive and complete research data and answers. Although just status updates on Facebook, Twitter, flicker, and others, it is not impossible that the content of new media concerns issues of media power, gender injustice, ethnicity, marginalization of grassroots groups, all of which are carried out online.

Media ethnography is a new approach (or method) to viewing culture and cultural artefacts in the virtual world. As a method, it reveals how cyberculture is produced, revealing meanings, relationships and patterns, and how it functions through the medium of the internet (Nasrullah, 2017). If the digital phenomenon is viewed through the lens of media ethnography, then the results presented become cyberculture. The characteristics of the virtual world can affect life in the context of cyberspace.

The concept put forward by Hine (2011) proposes that cyberspace can be approached as 'culture' or a 'cultural artifact'. As a culture, in the beginning the internet was a simple communication model compared to the direct communication or face-to-face model. This was because the internet generation was accustomed to messages using text or symbols in the form of writing or emoticons, which can be directly understood by both parties.

As an ethnographic media phenomenon, Islam is integrated with several research approaches, including the ethnography of virtual media on Facebook and Instagram (Saputra et al., 2021; Septiawan, 2022); the integrated approach of *da'wah* programs and the virtual ethnography of Islamic memes (Achmad & Ida, 2018; Alamsyah & Nasrullah, 2018). In addition, the narrative of the commodification of *da'wah* and Islamic *da'wah* through YouTube, and the issue of cyber *da'wah* have also become a new phenomenon in the Islamic world (Sugiyartati et al., 2020).

Media ethnography views all sorts of issues presented in the media as cultural artefacts, with the focus on how to think and behave on social media. That is, Islam and Muslims, along with their intellectual, cultural and educational products on social media, become cultural artefacts that are not free of interpretation. Their behaviour and way of thinking can be studied using various approaches, including *da'wah* activities on social media (Verolyna & Syaputri, 2021).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to identify, assess and explain the principles and implementation of media ethnography in raising Islamic issues, especially online recitation supervised by KH. Ahmad Bahauddin Nursalim (Gus Baha). Media ethnography can be used as an analysis tool to observe the phenomenon of Islamic culture in the cyber world (Rachman, 2017).

B. Methods

The research applies a qualitative approach using descriptive methods. According to Sugiyono, descriptive research is conducted to examine independent variables and does not compare them with other variables. In this case, descriptive methods are used to describe and explain Islamic phenomena on the social media stage (Sugiyono, 2012).

Data collection was made through documentation methods by identifying studies related to media ethnography, virtual ethnography, and research related to Islam from an ethnographic perspective. In addition, the data analysis involved media ethnography, with the main elements being culture and online/digital

footprints. Data were collected from several Instagram accounts, such as: @santri gayeng, @Ngaji Ben Aji Official, @Ngaji Kiai, @Santri Kalong, @Kumparan Dakwah, @Santri Kalong Virtual, @Kalam – Kajian Islam, and @gayengco.

C. Results and Discussion

Principles of Media Ethnography

In summary, to distinguish ethnography from other data collection techniques, it cannot be used arbitrarily because there exist differences in opinion; for example about what is worth observing and what is not (Kautsarina, 2018). Ethnography is typically research that involves ethnographers participating as observers, either overtly or secretly, to observe what happens in people's daily lives (Nugraha et al., 2015). In its development, the field of ethnographic practice underwent increasingly obvious changes. Ethnography is not adequately defined simply as a method or data collection technique.

It is not simply a research discipline based on culture, but also a combination of the organisation of concepts between observation and interview techniques to record the dynamics of community behaviour (Briliana & Destiwati, 2019). Therefore, ethnography can explore digital relationships; research that explores the digital world is termed netnography. Netnography is the latest research into communication and consumer behaviour using computer media, contributing to the debate over the definition of ethnography on the internet (Oktaviana et al., 2021).

Ethnography in cyberspace aims to provide a distinctive understanding of the significance and implications of internet use and is termed virtual ethnography (Nasrullah, 2017). According to Nasrullah (2017), if the socio-cultural anthropology method is applied appropriately, it can provide theoretical understanding and help determine the smooth dynamics of relationships in the online world. Ethnography on the internet is a concise method which distinguishes it from other data collection techniques (Achmad & Ida, 2018).

Ethnography, commonly characterized as a research method, entails the active engagement of ethnographers as observers, whether openly or covertly, in order to scrutinize the occurrences within individuals' everyday lives (Ariawan, 2017). In its development, the field of ethnographic practice underwent increasingly obvious changes. Ethnography is not adequately defined simply as a method or technique of data collection. Not just as a research discipline based on culture, but as a combination of organizing concepts between observation and interview techniques to record the dynamics of community behavior (Maele et al., 2022).

Therefore, ethnography can explore digital relationships. Furthermore, research that explores the digital world is termed netnography (Utami et al., 2016). Netnography is the latest research on communication and consumer behavior using computer media, contributing to the debate about the definition of ethnography on the internet (Manongkot, 2022). Different terms have been proposed by Hine (2011). In Priambada, ethnography in cyberspace aims to provide a distinctive understanding of the significance and implications of internet use and is termed virtual ethnography (Wiranti, 2013).

According to Priambada, sociocultural anthropology methods that are applied appropriately can provide theoretical understanding and help determine the smooth dynamics of relationships in the online world. Internet ethnography represents an emergent qualitative research methodology that incorporates various elements from conventional ethnographic approaches. It is designed to investigate culture and cultural behaviors manifested in text-based interactions facilitated by computer-mediated communication (Anandha, 2013; Sugiyartati et al., 2020).

Virtual Communication in Ethnographic Studies

Mass communication is the process of delivering messages through mass media (communicating with media) (Chinita & Nuryani, 2020). According to communication experts, mass communication is the process of delivering messages, ideas, or information to many people using certain means (media) to influence or change the behaviour of the message recipients (Samsudain & Omar, 2022). According to Pearce (2009), mass communication is "the process by which a person, group of people, or organization creates a message and transmits it through some type of media to a large, anonymous, and heterogeneous audience."

According to Cangara (2010), mass communication is a form of communication which has significant differences from other types (Arif, 2012). The nature of the message is open to a varied audience, in terms of age, religion, ethnicity, work, and needs. McQuail, cited in Pertiwi, mentions the main characteristics of mass communication in the following terms (Pertiwi, 2020). First, the source: not one person, but a formal organisation, the "sender" is often a professional communicator. Second, messages are diverse, predictable, processed, standardized, and always reproduced; they are products and commodities of value exchange. Third, the sender-receiver relationship is one-way, impersonal, perhaps even regretful, and often non-moral and calculative. Fourth, the recipient is part of a wide audience, and fifth, simultaneous contact between one sender and many recipients (Triyantama & Santoso, 2019).

There are various definitions of social media (P. S. Pratiwi et al., 2021): First, according to Mandibergh (2012), social media accommodate cooperation among users who produce content (user-generated content). Second, according to Shirky (2008), social media and social software are tools which increase the ability of users to share, and cooperate between themselves and to perform collective actions which are outside the institutional and organizational framework. Third, according to Van Dijk (2013), social media is a platform that focuses on users and facilitates their activities and collaboration. Therefore, social media can be seen as an online medium (facilitator) that strengthens relationships between users, as well as being a social bond (Az-Zahra, 2017).

Social media has several characteristics that are not owned by other types of media (Sutikno, 2012); it has unique limits and special characteristics. Some of the characteristics of social media are listed below (Nasrullah, 2017). First, in relation to networking, social media is built from the social structure formed in the network or internet. A characteristic of social media is that it forms a network among its users, so its presence provides a medium for users to connect technologically. Second, with regard to information, this is important in social media because within it there are activities which produce content for interaction based on information (Achmad & Ida, 2018).

The third characteristic concerns archives. For social media users, archives indicate that information has been stored and can be accessed anytime and through any device (Putra, 2010; Yasin & Suroya, 2021). Fourth, in terms of interaction, the basic characteristic of social media is the formation of networks between users. Its function is not simply to expand relationships between friends or increase followers on the internet. Simple forms that occur on social media can be in the form of comments and other features such as likes (Suwendi & Suarni, 2019). Fifth, social simulation: social media is characterized as a medium for the continuation of society in the virtual world. Like a country, social media also has rules and ethics for its users. The interactions that occur on it can describe the reality that occurs, but the interactions that occur are simulations that are sometimes completely different (Widya et al., 2022).

Sixth, as the content is created by users, this shows that it is fully owned and also based on users and account owners (Marhandra, 2020). Content produced by users indicates that on social media audiences not only produce the content, but also consume content produced by other users. The final characteristic refers to deployment. Dissemination is another characteristic of social media, regarding producing and consuming content, but also actively disseminating and developing it by its users (Juwayni & Marlina, 2020).

Gus Baha's Online Recitation Ethnographic Pattern

Netizens or listeners are familiarly known as Gus Baha'. His name is widely known, through his da'wah content, which is widespread on the social media homepages of netizens. Gus Baha', full name, KH. Ahmad Bahauddin Nursalim (51), was born on September 29, 1970, in Narukan Village, Kranggan District, Rembang Regency, Central Java Province. According to the Nahdlatul Ulama organization on the jatim.nu.or.id website, Gus Baha' is the son of KH. Nursalim al-Hafidz; his mother is called Hj. Yuchanidz Nursalim.

His Islamic education began when he was a child. His father was a Hafidz, who taught him the Qur'an until he became a teenager. He then continued his Islamic studies with K.H. Maimoen Zubair; fans call him Mbah Moen. Mbah Moen was a charismatic cleric, known as a kiai, who was not only good at Islam but also at politics. He became Gus Baha's teacher. When Gus Baha' studied at the Al-Anwar Islamic Boarding School in Karangmangu, Rembang, Central Java. Gus Baha's closeness to the kiai in the pesantren, as well as his qualities, stand out, thus making him as an exemplary student. Gus Baha' was Mbah Moen's mainstay student and his successor, continuing his da'wah work after his death, which took place on Tuesday, August 6, 2019, in Mecca. Gus Baha' began to be widely known to the general public. This is of course inseparable from the role and function of social media.

Ahmad Sadzali (2020), stated that the presence of the figure of Gus Baha' through Islamic studies content on social media became an oasis amid the dryness of authoritative scholars. According to Sadzali, many preachers tend to pursue popularity solely through social or conventional media. However, this does not apply to Gus Baha', who possesses a da'wah style that is fresh, flexible, and full of intellectual treasures. Sadzali also stated that Gus Baha was not only fluent in the Ulumul Qur'an, but had also mastered other sciences, such as jurisprudence, *usul fikih*, *hadith*, *sirah*, *sufism* and *philosophy*. His intellectual language style when preaching also emphasised that he could surpass the scholarship of academics. On several occasions, he attended as a keynote speaker at various leading universities in Java.

Furthermore, Gus Baha' began to develop his work in the realm of Islamic education when he moved from Central Java to Yogyakarta, in 2003. With his wife, he started life in Yogyakarta, but without leaving the clerical mandate. He still teaches five students who accompanied him from the Al-Anwar Islamic boarding school. His study became a magnet for the surrounding community, who as a result finally followed Islamic studies. Moreover, Gus Baha also contributed to the field of

Qur'an interpretation in higher education at the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII) Yogyakarta. He is the only person on the National Interpretation Council from outside the campus, even though he is not a formal college academic and does not have an academic degree. This is unique in today's era. It also confirms that Gus Baha' is a qualified representative of scholars, who derives from the original products of pesantren education in Indonesia with a Salafiah style. They is still relevant and not inferior to formal education alumni in general.

Online Recitation Becomes a Culture

Media ethnography, or netnography, like ethnography in general, also studies culture. In the ethnographic sense, culture is the knowledge that people acquire and use to interpret experiences and give birth to social behaviour. Ethnographic discussion points are groups or individuals who have lived in a community for a long time, absorb the value of the community, and have repetitive patterns and behaviours (Creswell, 2015; Eriyanto, 2021).

While ethnography and netnography both examine culture, the difference is that netnography examines people on the basis of their activities on the internet. On the other hand, ethnography concerns the general world of reality (Eriyanto, 2021). Culture, especially in the sense that Hofstede et al. proposed, refers to not only behaviour or habits, but rather the values that are understood and practised. These abstract values can be observed through concrete representations in the form of daily behaviour (Hofstede et al., 2005).

In this study, the author is interested in reviewing Gus Baha's online da'wah, which comes with attractive and fun da'wah packaging. Competitively, Gus Baha's da'wah content remains the choice of many netizens. The most popular social media is currently still represented by three platforms, namely Instagram, Facebook and YouTube. The role of scholars is important to propose the new da'wah model on social media. Another issue of concern is the emergence of phenomenal preachers on social media, who do not spread a message of da'wah that deviates from the Islamic image of rahmatan lil'alam.

Although many moderate preachers have begun to extensively use social media to spread the message of da'wah, conditions after the 2019 political year have created fragmentation or factions of Muslims. Group polarisation of Muslims is occurring, and becoming increasingly marked. Therefore, there needs to be a scholarly figure who can become the idol of many groups, based on da'wah content that can be accepted by many Muslim minds. Currently, the figure of Gus Baha' is considered capable of spreading the message of da'wah to all listener groups.

Gus Baha's recitations on social media appear differently on each platform. Therefore, there are various forms or models of his da'wah in online media, including YouTube, Instagram and Facebook. Uniquely, Gus Baha' admits that he does not have a social media account. Therefore, someone else manages his da'wah studies on social media. Students or fans of Gus Baha' has been airing various da'wah content. Someone who officially broadcasts social media da'wah content on the Youtube platform is @SANTRI GAYENG.

The description of this account explains that it is a media division at Santri Gayeng Nusantara. Pendherek Gus Taj Yasin Maimoen, son of Mbah Moen, is also a United Development Party (PPP) politician, who is currently active as Deputy Governor of Central Java. Although he does not explicitly mention Gus Baha' by name in his description, according to the author, PPP can still be correlated with Gus Baha', considering that he was an important part of Mbah Moen's family.

In addition, Gus Baha' is also a role model for students at Pesantren Sarang, Rembang, Central Java, where education upholds the glory of teachers and maintains the quality of scientific sanad. The YouTube account @SANTRI GAYENG, was released on December 26, 2018. The total content has been watched by approximately 43 million netizens. The author found that the five most popular contents all include Gus Baha's da'wah studies.

These contents are first, Gus Baha: Gus Baha: Salat Jangan Kelamaan, Bisa Merusak Islam! (Salat Don't Linger, Can Damage Islam!), which has garnered over a million views. Second, Saya Kira Gus Dur Cuma Guyon (I think Gus Dur is just a joke), followed by Pertemuan: Gus Baha dan Habib Umar bin Hafidz (Meeting: Gus Baha and Habib Umar bin Hafidz). Fourth is Diminta Berdoa Supaya Pandemi Hilang, Begini Jawab Gus Baha (asked to pray for the pandemic to disappear, Gus Baha replied) and fifth, Fenomena Kesalehan, Jidad Hitam Bekas Sujud: Tafsir QS. Al-Ahzab ayat 5-7 (the phenomenon of piety, the black forehead used to bow down: Tafsir QS. al-Ahzab verses 5-7). On average, it was watched in its entirety about 800 times. On the description page, it is revealed that Gus Baha's da'wah content is also integrated with other platforms, such as Instagram and Twitter, and Facebook with the account name SANTRI GAYENG' through the @gayengco.

Other YouTube accounts, @Recite Ben Aji Official, @Recite Kiai, @Student Kalong, @Kumparan Dakwah, @Student Kalong Virtual, @Kalam – Islamic Studies also contain much Gus Baha da'wah content. On its description page, Ben Aji Official's @Recite account states that netizens are expected to like the content.

Netizens are also expected to benefit from the content uploaded. Since this was aired on March 27, 2014, it has garnered 21.8 million views. However, after the

author was traced, Ben Aji Official's @Recite account in fact included other scholars, including Ustadz Ahmad Taufiq, S. Sos. I. This account began to contain Gus Baha' content around the beginning of 2021. The most popular content on this account is Gus Baha's da'wah content, entitled: Gus Baha Alam Kubur. This show has attracted more than 1.2 million views, while other content has fewer than 600,000 views.

In an old description of another Youtube account, @ngajikyai, it is stated that the account is a digital da'wah medium, trying to consistently share Gus Baha's da'wah, and also sharing Islamic studies from other NU scholars. Through its official website, Gus Baha's da'wah study is also disseminated through Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and Tiktok. We appeal to anyone to follow any platform. If netizens want to follow da'wah content on Instagram, then they can visit the @ngajikyai account.

In addition, if netizens follow Facebook accounts, then they can visit the @ngajikyai.id account. If they tend to follow the study via Twitter, they can visit the @ngajikyai address. Note that the platform with the highest number of users in the world, Tiktok, also gave Gus Baha da'wah space. Netizens can simply search for @ngajikyai accounts on Tiktok. The explanation above has strengthened the author's assumption that the dissemination of Gus Baha's da'wah is not only included on the virtual space of YouTube, but also on other popular social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, with some even penetrating Tiktok.

Gus Baha' once revealed that he does not use any social media applications. The social media that packages his da'wah is run by other people, including his sister. Some of these are followers or direct students of Gus Baha', while others recycle content simply as fans, following his confession about not having a social media account during a dialogue session on a virtual broadcast channel via YouTube. These include the Shihab & Shihab shows on the @Najwa Youtube channel entitled Closer to Gus Baha. Exceptionally, the show has attracted more than seven million viewers.

A review of Gus Baha's da'wah channeled through Instagram is now given. Currently, several Instagram accounts are unraveling Gus Baha's proselytising. First, the @ngajigusbaha account has posted at least 1,980 posts and has 668,000 followers. Interestingly, this account is followed by KHAhmad Mustofa Bisri, alias Gus Mus, and Ustadz Yusuf Mansur. As noted, the two scholars are also social media activists promoting Islamic content. The account is also followed by the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), Erick Thohir. The majority of posts are in the form of strings of religious sentences in Indonesian, together with strings of words packed with visual communication design.

The account also shows Islamic studies in the form of creative visual audio. Short-duration videos only show the results of audio recordings with translations of Islamic studies in Indonesian, as the majority of Gus Baha's study recordings are delivered in Javanese. The translations into Indonesian are a wise effort, enabling Baha's Islamic studies to target segments who are not familiar with Javanese. In addition, Indonesian Muslims throughout the country and even abroad can easily digest the studies presented.

In addition, it also accommodates those with disabilities, especially deaf people, enabling them to follow and explore the studies more carefully. Aesthetic elements are also included to attract their attention. For example, the selection of letters in the titles of the studies are interesting, with contrasting colours, and visual images of Gus Baha both in the form of animation and real life. However, the content is also very interesting and includes Indonesian translations or scripts, although the scripts are not all in the video. It does not only show *da'wah bil-lisān* studies, but also *da'wah bil-ḥāl*; for example, students who kiss Gus Baha's hand alternately as a form of tabarruk (seeking the blessings of Allah).

Characteristics of *Kawruh Jiwa Ki Ageng Suryomentaram* in Gus Baha's *Da'wah*

Based on the phenomenon of the online recitation of Gus Baha, with havarious characteristics such as flexibility in building arguments, scientific integration, humour, absence of propaganda, use of Javanese characteristics, and providing a sense of peace to pilgrims. Therefore, the characteristics of Gus Baha's *da'wah* are the same as those of the soul of Ki Ageng Suryomentaram. Gus Baha's *Da'wah* is a taste-processing device that contributes to the development of well-being and quality of life with a taste-based self-analysis model (Yasin & Suroya, 2021).

Gus Baha's preaching clearly makes congregations peaceful at heart. This is the same as the words of the soul of Ki Ageng Suryomentaram with *ngudari reribet* (solve the problems). This knowledge from Ki Ageng was obtained from the development of psychotherapy. In his preaching, Gus Baha always captivates people by seeming to feel the problems of the lives of the congregation. His studies always focus on reason and scientific logic and are delivered from a variety of scientific perspectives. Various forms of scholarly views are put forward. Gus Baha then concludes wisely, takes a moderate position, and does not pass verdicts on one side or another indiscriminately.

Terms borrowed from Ki Ageng include *ngraos* (feel), *ngertos* (understand), and *weruh* (see) (Bonneff, 2012). This ability to reflect on others is possible if people can

put themselves in the shoes of others. The ability is trained in meetings (*junggriangan*) of students. Ki Ageng Suryomentaram, which is often referred to as *jawah kawruh* or *ngudari reribet* (solve the problem) is a search for common meeting points, which observers refer to as psychotherapy (Wicaksono & Priyanggasari, 2016).

Gus Baha seeks to express opinions on and/or explanations of all problems through scientific solutions. Many problems are solved through scientific studies without having to abandon or eliminate the basic point of jurisprudence studies. In addition, integrating with hadith studies, historical studies are sourced from relevant books by previous scholars. The constructivist argument is delivered by not leaving behind the scientific treasures of traditional Indonesian scholars, and by linking them to the local wisdom of each culture in the community. Likewise, Rogers' humanistic understanding of empathy, namely that a person's ability to recognise what is experienced by others, does not seem to be very different from that expressed by Ki Ageng Suryomentaram regarding the ability to live the feelings of others (the fourth measure) (Faisal & Wahyuningrum, 2017).

D. Conclusion

Ethnography in cyberspace aims to provide a distinctive understanding of the significance and implications of internet use and is termed virtual ethnography. The continuation of virtual ethnography results in the virtual communication contained in social media. according to experts or communication experts, mass communication is the process of delivering messages, ideas, or information to many people using certain means (media) to influence or change the behaviour of the message recipients.

Through an ethnographic approach to media, mass communication through social media can be effective. This is because media ethnographic research requires researchers (journalists, scientists, etc.) to be directly involved in news sources/news objects. Therefore, the public can receive a variety of information comprehensively.

In the context of Gus Baha's *ngaji* online, culture, as the main element of media ethnography, is represented by him through his experience as a student and by presenting *da'wah* based on the treasures of the yellow book (*turats*). It is relatively rare for studies in the form of yellow book treasures to be delivered by preachers. However, the phenomenon of Gus Baha and his online recitation has been able to attract considerable interest from Muslims. In his studies, Gus Baha always talks to

pilgrims using Javanese. While regarding the characteristics of his *da'wah*, he has similarities with the characteristics of the *da'wah kawruh* soul Ki Ageng Suryomentaram.

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