



## THE DETERRITORIALIZATION CULTURE OF ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS: A NETNOGRAPHY STUDY OF LIVE STREAMING USERS OF KULIAH IHYA' TEMATIK AND NGARIKSA ON FACEBOOK

**Nurul Khotimah\***

Universitas Islam Negeri Prof. K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, Indonesia  
Correspondence author's email: [nurulkhotimah@uinsaizu.ac.id](mailto:nurulkhotimah@uinsaizu.ac.id)

**Abdul Basit**

Universitas Islam Negeri Prof. K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, Indonesia

**Mukhammad Khoiru Tamam**

Universitas Islam Negeri Prof. K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, Indonesia

**Pandika Adi Putra**

Universitas Islam Negeri Prof. K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, Indonesia

### **Abstract**

**Keywords:**  
detrterritorialization of Islamic boarding schools; Kuliah Ihya' Tematik (Ihya' Thematic Lectures); netnography; Ngariksa; online recitation

*The teaching tradition of Islamic boarding schools has encountered detrterritorialization. Islamic boarding schools that used to be distinguished by traditionality have transformed the management, financial, and learning traditions following digital developments. This article aims to examine the substantial shift in Islamic boarding school intellectual traditions from traditional to digital, which will then be called 'online recitation', through live Facebook streaming content of Kuliah Ihya' Tematik (Ihya' Thematic Lectures) and Ngariksa (Questioning). The data were collected through documentation, surveys, and in-depth interviews involving kyai, production teams, and online santri (student) of two Facebook accounts: Ulil Abshar Abdalla (Ihya' Thematic Lectures) and Oman Fathurahman (Ngariksa). Data was analyzed using netnography through investigation, interaction, immersion, integration, and incarnation stages. The results showed values, rituals, heroes, and symbols in the detrterritorialization culture of Islamic boarding schools. Followers of the online recitation get a social experience (becoming more sensitive to social issues) and a ritual experience (calmness in living life) after participating in the Ngaji online through live streaming or recorded playback. Research contributes to the development of Islamic communication science, where Islamic boarding schools, as the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, can communicate with the broader community about learning activities in Islamic boarding schools through social media, which is of great interest to the public.*

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<b>Abstrak</b>	
<b>Kata kunci:</b> deteritorialisasi pesantren; Kuliah Ihya' Tematik; netnografi; Ngariksa; ngaji daring	Tradisi pengajaran pesantren telah mengalami deteritorialisasi. Pesantren yang pada awalnya identik dengan tradisionalitasnya kini mulai bertransformasi, baik dari segi manajemen pengelolaan, manajemen keuangan, hingga tradisi pembelajaran yang kini mengikuti perkembangan digital. Tulisan ini bertujuan menunjukkan sesuatu yang berbeda dengan melihat pergeseran tradisi intelektual pesantren dari tradisional ke digital secara substantial yang selanjutnya disebut ngaji daring melalui <i>live streaming</i> Facebook konten Kuliah Ihya' Tematik dan Ngariksa. Data penelitian ini berasal dari dokumentasi, survei, dan wawancara mendalam yang melibatkan kiai, tim produksi dan santri daring dari dua akun Facebook Ulil Abshar Abdalla (Kuliah Ihya' Tematik) dan Oman Fathurahman (Ngariksa). Data dianalisis menggunakan netnografi melalui tahapan investigasi, interaksi, imersi, integrasi dan inkarnasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya nilai, ritual, pahlawan, dan simbol dalam budaya deteritorialisasi pesantren. Pengikut ngaji daring mendapatkan pengalaman social (menjadi lebih sensitif dalam permasalahan social) dan pengalaman ritual (ketenangan dalam menjalani hidup) setelah mengikuti ngaji daring secara <i>live streaming</i> maupun recorded playback. Penelitian memberikan kontribusi dalam pengembangan keilmuan komunikasi Islam dimana pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan Islam tertua di Indonesia dapat dikomunikasikan kepada masyarakat luas tentang kegiatan-kegiatan pembelajaran yang ada di pondok pesantren melalui media social yang banyak diminati masyarakat.

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**INTRODUCTION**

***Background Of The Study***

Nowadays, Islamic boarding school traditions, e.g., *sorogan* and *bandongan*, are found in conventional Islamic boarding schools and various digital platforms. In the end, Islamic boarding schools, which initially functioned as a base for seeking knowledge and

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ulama, must adapt to the latest technology to continue cultivating religious knowledge through social media for later dissemination (Siregar, 2018). The shift in the paradigm of Islamic boarding school intellectual traditions from traditional to digital (Kardi, Basri, Suhartini, & Meliani, 2023; Nikmatullah, Wahyudin, Tarihoran, & Fauzi, 2023) is an interesting phenomenon and has been studied by many researchers (Hana, Nengrum, & Yusuf, 2021; Maula, 2020; Musthofa, Asy'ari, & Rahman, 2021; Qudsy, 2019).

The existence of virtual or online media has blurred physical and cultural boundaries, which Appadurai (1996, 1997) called "deterritorialization". The word deterritorialization comes from the word deterritorial which, according to Deleuze (1925-1955) quoted by Fahmi Marh and Selvi Kasman means movement away from territory (Marh & Kasman, 2021). These changes in movement are not only physical but also in aspects of meanings, habits, values, and even ideology. Therefore, Deleuze means deterritorialization as a strategy, both in the context of business, military, and cultural strategy (Munro & Thanem, 2018). Communication and media networks are vehicles or tools capable of operating deterritorialization strategies. The network's more intense and skillful use will lead to more meaningful changes.

Deterritorialization will develop transnational culture, bring cultural diversity to localities, reinterpret new cultural standards, and create a new world with relative territorial boundaries and values (Pieterse, 2019; Munro & Thanem, 2018; Yudatama et al. , 2015). Deterritorialization has hit the private, public, and even institutions. Islamic boarding schools are Islamic educational institutions that adhere strongly to Islamic values and culture and cannot be separated from the process of deterritorialization (Abdul-Jabbar, 2024).

The Islamic boarding school learning process is usually presented directly by the *kyai* or ustaz to the students who live in the Islamic boarding school and are housed in the boarding school area, either a mosque or a place of study (Maduningtias, Ulfiah, Hanafiah, & Rostini, 2022). Now this culture is developing by utilizing virtual information media so that students who take part in *kyai* or ustaz recitations are not just students who live in Islamic boarding schools, but netizens who have an interest in studies conducted by *kyai* or ustaz from various circles and from various regions. This

shift has implications for a new community with a new culture that goes beyond the cottage area and values that are diverse and relative.

### ***Research Gap***

Even though studies on deterritorialization have been conducted (Munro & Thanem, 2018; Yudatama et al., 2015; Zarkasi, 2015), the culture of deterritorialization of Islamic boarding schools has yet to be discussed. The development of virtual Islamic boarding school activities is evidence of a shift in Islamic boarding school traditions in Indonesia (Mukhibat & Ghafar, 2019; Musthofa et al., 2021; Rahmawati, 2018). Therefore, this research completed a gap that has yet to be the attention of previous research, i.e., the study of community culture in online kitab recitation conducted by Islamic boarding schools *kyai* or *ustaz*. An interesting deterritory occurs where book studies, usually carried out in Islamic boarding school environments, are still maintained in online studies. Apart from that, deterritory occurs in the main character in the online study using a book reading system and is the key in the online study. In this research, the researcher conducted a cultural study of followers joining online recitation communities, later called "*online santri*" (online students), of two parties. They are the *online santri* of Ulil Absar Abdalla (Gus Ulil), who examines the *Ihya' Ulumuddin* kitab using thematic methods known as *Kuliah Ihya' Tematik*, and the *online santri* of Oman Fathurahman (Kang Oman) who examines old manuscripts of the Indonesian archipelago known as *Ngariksa*.

The two studies that will be the object of this research are online studies that have experienced deterritorialization. Islamic boarding school culture is no longer in its conventional territory, and online teaching can be done anywhere, within a considerable distance from the audience. Kang Oman and Gus Ulil are some of the *kyai* who has been around for a long time conducting online studies and have many online student followers. Apart from that, the two figures are individuals who are steeped in Islamic boarding school culture because they have educational backgrounds and are descendants of previous Islamic boarding school figures. The deterritorial process of this study was started directly by these two figures with the help of family such as Gus Ulil, who was assisted by his wife, and Kang Oman with his three children so that these

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figures became strong enough to be researched because they clashed with the technical process and the study process.

Since thousands of people attended these online recitations, it has indirectly formed a community of various traditions, backgrounds, and cultures. Therefore, it is intriguing to study further the culture of the online recitation communities of Gus Ulil and Kang Oman on Facebook and how they interact and respond to the online recitation. The literature review used in this research is related to culture, the deterritorialization of Islamic boarding schools, and netnography.

Tylor compiled the fundamental basis for the concept of culture, defined as "*culture that complex which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and many other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*" (Schmitt, 2019; Tylor, 1889). Likewise, the meaning of culture is interpreted differently by experts according to their respective points of view in interpreting the dynamics of human life (Kistanto, 2017). There are three elements of culture, according to Koentjaraningrat (1993), including 1) as ideas, values, norms, regulations, and so on (Fouilleux & Loconto, 2017); 2) as a patterned behavioral activity of humans in a community; and 3) as objects made by humans (Sumarto, 2019).

This research will focus on the second element of these three cultural elements. In this case, researchers observed various patterns (rituals, habits, repetitive behavior, and so on) from Kang Oman and Gus Ulil's online recitation community that are expressed through language or activities (Eriyanto, 2021). The definition of culture in this research refers to Hofstede's opinion (Erdman, 2018; Tonbul & Ceylan, 2021) that culture examines behavior, habits, and values comprehended by a particular community (Beugelsdijk, Kostova, & Roth, 2017).

Deterritorialization is not only experienced by private, public, and even institutions. In this context, the conventional traditions of Islamic boarding schools have fled from original to digital traditions. The Islamic boarding school learning process is usually delivered directly by the *kyai* or *ustaz* to the students living in the boarding school or the surrounding areas, either a mosque or a place of study. Now, this culture is evolving by utilizing virtual media so that students who join the recitations are not limited to students who live in Islamic boarding schools but also netizens from various

circles and regions who are interested (Nisa, 2018a, 2018b). This shift has implications for a new community with a new culture beyond the boarding school area with diverse and relative values.

### ***Novelty Of The Research***

Unlike previous research, this research focuses on the culture of Islamic boarding school overflow or the culture of deterritorialization of Islamic boarding schools, which is carried out online on Facebook. There are similarities regarding deterritorialization studies from previous research, such as Marh & Kasman (2021); Munro & Thanem (2018); Yudatama et al. (2015), and Zarkasi (2015), only these researchers did not conduct cultural studies deterritorialization of Islamic boarding schools. The novelty in this research can be seen from the more complex components studied, including culture, segmentation, communication patterns between reviewers and *mad'u*, and the substance of online communication.

Theoretically, this research contributes to the development of Islamic communication science, where Islamic boarding schools, the oldest Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, can communicate to the broader community about learning activities in Islamic boarding schools through social media, which is of great interest to the public. Other educational institutions can also utilize this Islamic boarding school communication pattern in communicating their institutions to the community. Apart from that, this research also provides benefits for knowing the culture that develops among virtual communities. By understanding this culture, virtual communities can be empowered to increase the benefit of the ummah and nation.

### ***Purposes Of The Study***

This article aims to complement the shortcomings of previous studies regarding Islamic boarding school culture, relations between kiai - *santri*, da'wah - Islamic boarding school, and online Islamic boarding school activities. This study wants explicitly to show that the deterritorialization culture of Islamic boarding schools is carried out online on Facebook. In line with this, four questions will be answered: 1) How is the participation of live-streaming users of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik and Kang Oman's Ngariksa

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on Facebook? 2) How is the experience of live-streaming users of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik and Kang Oman's Ngariksa on Facebook? 3) How is the culture of live-streaming users of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik and Kang Oman's Ngariksa on Facebook?

## METHODS

The current research examined two Facebook accounts to understand the shift of Islamic boarding school intellectual culture. Facebook Ulil Abshar Abdalla was the first to initiate online recitation of Kuliah Ihya' Tematik. Meanwhile, Oman Fathurahman is a well-known philologist who recites the old manuscripts of Nusantara, often called Ngariksa. This research is a digital field research whose primary data was from the Facebook accounts of Gus Ulil and Kang Oman. Nevertheless, researchers strengthened the data using surveys and in-depth interviews with online *santri* (netizens) who were followers of Gus Ulil and Kang Oman.

Survey data was used to build in-depth interview questions. The required data includes 1) background or motives for following Gus Ulil and Kang Oman's Facebook accounts; 2) cultural indicators of deterritorialization related to values; 3) cultural indicators of deterritorialization related to ritual; 4) cultural indicators of deterritorialization related to heroes; 5) cultural indicators of deterritorialization related to symbols; 6) experience of taking part in the Kuliah Ihya Tematik and Ngariksa; 7) online *santri*'s suggestions and input for Kuliah Ihya Tematik and Ngariksa.

The urgency of studying netnography derives from the onslaught of giant data (big data) we face due to the existence of social media (Eriyanto, 2021; Kaoukaou, 2021; Kozinets, 2009, 2019). Thus, netnography methods are needed to find the essence of big data in large numbers of netizen conversations. This method is a qualitative approach to understanding the culture of social media users. Netnography can explore past data stored in online media, while ethnography only examines current situations. In recent developments, netnography research has led to the study of the interactions among social media users (Kozinets, 2019). In this research, the researcher focuses on studying the culture, experiences, and interactions of Facebook users in the online recitation forum of Gus Ulil and Kang Oman.

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The research object was the deterritorialization culture of Islamic boarding schools on the Facebook accounts of Gus Ulil (Kuliah Ihya Tematik) and Kang Oman (Ngariksa). Meanwhile, the subjects in this research were Gus Ulil and Kang Oman as the key figures, the team involved in their accounts, and the community audience (online *santri*) who intensively follow Gus Ulil and Kang Oman's online recitations on Facebook, then adjusted to the segmentation of ideological preferences, behavioral typology, culture, and religious models.

Documentation, surveys, and interviews were used to collect data for this research. The researchers documented several comments from online *santri* following the live streaming of Kuliah Ihya Tematik and Ngariksa content. Meanwhile, the survey was conducted in conjunction with in-depth interviews from May to July 2023 by sending a link via Google Formula to online *santri* who actively comment while live streaming the online recitation. Further, the interview was conducted directly with the Kuliah Ihya' Tematik and Ngariksa production team. The interviews took several times to complete any data that needed to be improved. Observations were also done by reviewing the number of viewers, likes, and reposts on each Facebook post. In this research, the researcher met three sources, including one primary source, Kang Oman, and two observer sources, Kyai Ghofir and Wahyu Budiantoro, as students of Gus Ulil. The interview aims to deepen and verify the data obtained independently by the researcher.

During the research, researchers positioned themselves as outsiders and insiders in the field to bridge the gap between online students as those being researched and researchers. As an outsider, the researcher becomes a non-participant observer to observe how kiai teach religious knowledge virtually. The researchers had permission to record data during the research process. As an insider, the researcher played the role of a student participating in the religious study process.

Data was processed using the netnography method: investigation, interaction, immersion, integration, and incarnation (Kozinets, 2009, 2019). Data collected through investigation and interaction were reduced into a summary based on thematic and narrative stories from respondents. The article contained data from interview quotes, images, and thematic narratives from data immersion. The data was then analyzed through two stages. First, integration: a restatement of the data obtained, mainly through

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interviews, to maintain the authenticity of field data. Description techniques are used to show patterns and trends in the data, both interview and survey data. The second stage was incarnation by interpreting the expressed and implied meanings of the data. All data was read in a contextual framework to analyze the significance of the obtained data (Kozinets, 2009, 2019).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Kuliah Ihya' Tematik (KIT) has been one of Gus Ulil's initiations since 2022. The recitation was broadcast live on his Facebook account, which has 116 thousand followers. The *KIT* uses a thematic system to discuss the Ihya' Ulumuddin, kitab of Islam hujjah Imam Ghazali. Gus Ulil examined Ihya' Ulumuddin according to the themes from volumes 1 to 4. The *KIT* is an improvisation by Gus Ulil after he held a recitation of Ihya' Ulumuddin by reading the text sequentially. The main difference between the usual recitation of Ihya' Ulumuddin from the *KIT* is in the starting volume of the Ihya book to be recited, in which the usual recitation started from volume 3 to volume 4.

Ngariksa is an acronym for *Ngaji Manuskrip Kuno Nusantara*, which means Reciting Old Manuscript of Nusantara. It was initiated by Prof. Oman Fathurrahman, familiarly called Kang Oman. Linguistically, Ngariksa is a Sundanese word which means guarding. Ngariksa was born from an idea in a community specializing in Philology, LFC (Lingkar Filologi Ciputat). After many discussion forums at LFC, many people requested that the manuscript lectures be broadcast online. Kang Oman hopes the Ngariksa live streaming will be watched and valuable for all social media users (borderless).

Ngariksa has successfully attracted people abroad, such as in Europe and America, to research and study the old manuscript of Nusantara. Kang Oman presented the teaching material to Sobat Ngariksa (nickname for Ngariksa's audience) so that The manuscripts he owns, physically or non-physically, were displayed on a projector screen containing PowerPoint slides. Thus, it is easier for netizens to see the manuscript text. Technically, Kang Oman reads texts written in various languages, such as Arabic, Javanese (Pegon), and Sundanese. Then, he translated the texts in the manuscript into Indonesian so that the audience would understand his explanation.

### ***Involvement Of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik Followers And Kang Oman's Sobat Ngariksa***

The KIT, being live broadcast on Gus Ulil's social media, received responses from its followers. Besides listening to the study of the KIT, they also give comments. One of them is on Facebook, of the three online platforms used, i.e. Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook. On Facebook, the KIT online *santri* are allowed to give comments during the live event, such as asking Gus Ulil questions about things that were not clear during the recitation. Several online *santri* also provided comments in the form of jokes, which were often made during live events.

These jokes are often called "jokes". Joking on the comments page makes followers feel closer and more familiar with other followers. Even though they do not know each other, Facebook is their intermediary. The followers got closer when they mentioned their city of origin so that conversations emerged after the online recitation finished, such as the comment: "Kalimantan is here". Then they also mentioned other areas of the KIT followers held every week. It brings those who come from various places closer. Apart from providing comments and jokes, the online *santri* also appreciated and praised Gus Ulil, gave hope for KIT's progress and hope for Gus Ulil and his family. The comments of KIT's online *santri* showed that there is involvement from online ngaji followers when it takes place.

Unlike KIT's online ngaji followers, Kang Oman's manuscript recitation also received appreciation from Sobat Ngariksa. Ngariksa was carried out live streaming on Facebook. Kang Oman can be watched live from his residence in the South Tangerang area from various worldwide. Through Facebook, Kang Oman shared knowledge through reciting manuscripts called Ngariksa. During the manuscript recitation, the Facebook comments column contained questions about the city where the followers come from, and manuscript followers also made jokes. Appreciation was also given through emojis on Facebook.

Table 1.

Involvement Of Online *Santri* In Kuliah Ihya' Tematik (KIT) And Ngariksa

Asking questions	Presence	Appreciation	Hope/vision (future)	Jokes
Definition: Facebook comments that ask questions at Gus Ulil and Kang Oman.	Definition: Facebook comments convey their virtual presence by mentioning the location.	Definition: Facebook comments that praise and appreciate the Ngaji online.	Definition: Facebook comments containing prayers or expectations regarding Ngaji online reading.	Definition: comments on Facebook containing humorous statements from SO (online students), as if they were in a face-to-face assembly.
This comment was made when KIT and Ngariksa took place on social media. Comment example:  What remembrances are included in other al-Makasari books, and what are the kaifiyyah?	This comment was made when KIT and Ngariksa took place on social media. Comment example:  Samarinda Kaltim attended, Prof.	This comment was made when KIT and Ngariksa took place on social media. Comment example:  Thank you for the explanation, which is quite complete and clear so that you understand this material, Top Markotop.	This comment was made when KIT and Ngariksa took place on social media. Comment example:  We hope that you online students and your families will be given good health and safety.	This comment was made when KIT and Ngariksa took place on social media. Comment example:  It's time for breakfast, Gus, please.



Figure 1. Picture Comment Of Asking Questions In Kuliah Ihya' Tematik



Figure 2. Picture Comment Of Presence In Kuliah Ihya' Tematik



Figure 3. Picture Comment Appreciation



Figure 4. Picture Comment Of Hope/Vision (Future) In Kuliah Ihya' Tematik



Figure 5. Picture Comment Jokes In  
Kuliah Ihya' Tematik

### ***Experiences Of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik Followers And Kang Oman's Sobat Ngariksa***

Experience can be defined as something that has been gained, lived, or felt long ago or recently (Acampado, 2019; Hohr, 2013). An experience is an event captured by the five senses and stored in memory (Samatan, 2017). Experience can be gained or felt when an event has just occurred or has been going on for a long time (Evelina, 2019). Whatever enters and is noticed by the senses will be stored in memory and used as a reference for responding to new things. In this research, the core experiences are social experiences and ritual experiences.

Social experience is an experience felt by someone after experiencing or getting something new after doing it (Hidayat & Noeraida, 2020). Social experiences are closer to social life, which differs from ritual experiences. Ritual experience is an experience that, in reality, cannot be rationalized or reasoned through logically in its entirety, meaning that several superficial parts sometimes break an individual's logic, so no matter how hard someone tries to examine it, it will ultimately fail because there are areas that logic will not reach. It is because the ritual experience is closely related to the

individual's mental or inner self (Lang, Krátký, & Xygalatas, 2020; Xygalatas et al., 2019), which is not touched through rationality, and some even place it at a level of inferiority.

### ***Social Experience Of Kuliah Ihya' Tematik Participants***

After taking part in KIT, Gus Ulil's online students had different experiences from each other. Social experience is more about socializing with other people without feeling jealous of someone's achievements. KIT online students have become more careful in speaking because they are worried about offending other people's feelings and when people fight during meetings at the Islamic boarding school, as felt by Muhammad Zidan, one of Gus Ulil's online students who gained social experience.

"That in life, we are not alone, as social creatures, humans need interaction with other people, in interacting we must respect each other's differences, tolerate and respect each other" (Muhammad Zidan).

Living a life that is not alone teaches that life is not always about one's success to be pursued. Still, that one also needs to have a high sense of tolerance to appreciate one's achievements so that one is not jealous or envious, as taught by Gus Ulil in the thematic Ihya' lectures which are held every Sunday morning.

### ***Social Experience Of Ngariksa Followers***

Followers of Ngariksa Kang Oman, better known as Buddy Ngariksa feel that following live on Facebook makes their time more useful than using it for unnecessary things. Time should not be wasted on less valuable things; it should be used to seek knowledge through Ngariksa Kang Oman. Friends of Ngariksa felt this after regularly attending Ngariksa several times. They have developed a greater sense of tolerance towards themselves. Not only that, but through social media, such as Facebook, you can also connect with various corners of Indonesia, as informant ND (initial) felt that knowledge could come from anywhere.

"Being able to learn a lot of knowledge even though I wasn't present directly at the assembly, I know that Kang Oman has many friends in various worlds, so that makes me motivated that knowledge can also come from friends." (informant ND - initial)

Social experience leads to understanding the interactions between employers and job recipients, differences between groups and communities, historical context, and individual choices (between force and opportunity). This was felt by several Ngariksa friends who felt that after regularly participating in the Ngariksa, their sense of tolerance grew towards themselves.

### ***Ritual Experience Of Kuliah Ihya' Tematik Participants***

Ritual experience is something that occurs naturally and cannot be predicted by individuals. Still, according to him, religious experience is also one of the impacts of a special spiritual discipline or what he calls meditation. The ritual experience felt by followers of thematic Ihya' lectures is that they become motivated to be more active in worship and increase their sense of faith after attending thematic Ihya' lectures. Another ritual experience that is also felt by followers of the Ngaji online is that they feel more calm and more careful in doing things. As felt by informant IN (initial) who felt calm and became confident after listening to the thematic Ihya' lectures.

"That worship is not just a routine and a break from obligations; religious values are a guideline in social and national life, and I am more confident and believe that we can achieve what we want according to our own path." (informant IN – initial)

Peace of mind is a quality anyone desires because, with a calm heart, you also get peace from Allah SWT when you walk. The peace that KIT followers get makes them happier and more interested in participating in the Ngaji online. Reciting the Ngaji online is quite a solution for studying the current Yellow Book, so you don't have to study through religious education places such as Islamic boarding schools.

### ***Ritual Experience Of Ngariksa Followers***

Followers of the Ngariksa manuscript recitation also get a ritual experience. Followers of the manuscript Ngariksa, after taking part in Kang Oman's studies, feel closer to God. Apart from that, I felt like I was doing dhikr more often after completing the study of manuscript books presented by Kang Oman, as informant KN (initial) felt.

Even though the ritual experiences are different, most of them lead to getting closer to God.

"I feel closer to God and more productive after attending and listening to the lectures at Ngariksa." (informant KN – initial)

The ritual experience of Ngariksa followers feels closer to the creator who created the world and everything in it. Because the ritual experience is an individual's experience of witnessing supernatural things, this is the impact of what humans do, such as fasting, prayer, zakat, encharist, and singing religious praises. This is felt by individuals in their relationship with the sacred when carrying out all ritual practices. Religious experience which is then called religious experience.

### ***Culture Of Gus Ulil's Kuliah Ihya' Tematik Followers And Kang Oman's Sobat Ngariksa***

The culture in this research refers to Hofstede's opinion (Hofstede, 2011), in which there are four deepest layers to study a culture that requires observation and involvement (Moje & Lewis, 2020) to discover values, rituals, heroes, and symbols:

The first cultural dimension is values. Values in the life of a person or group are significant to guide the actions of a person or group (Olifiansyah, Hidayat, Dianying, & Dzulfiqar, 2020). In this research, the observed values from the survey results of online *santri* were from documents on Facebook comments sections and direct interviews with online *santri*. Online *santri* taking part in KIT started with wanting to study the Ihya' kitab and broaden their knowledge of religious knowledge. Like Fairuz, he admitted to participating in KIT to deepen his religious knowledge. Reciting the Yellow Book (kitab kuning) generally uses Javanese or regional languages. However, Gus Ulil taught his son to use English on social media, which made some of his followers curious, so they looked for Gus Ulil's social media and found that the online recitation was examining Ihya' kitab. After attending the KIT, online *santri* feel the benefits and can apply them in their daily lives, such as tolerance that was taught during KIT.

For Sobat Ngariksa, Kang Oman's online *santri* were motivated to seek knowledge and learn about philology. Some also started it unintentionally while playing on Facebook and saw the Ngariksa online recitation. The benefits felt by Sobat Ngariksa

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were becoming more aware of ancient writings and the science of physiology contained in manuscripts. Furthermore, the knowledge conveyed by Kang Oman can be applied in everyday life because the manuscript teaches about living life by adopting a peaceful heart and not being prejudiced against people. The motivation and benefits felt by Sobat Ngariksa range from initially being curious about manuscript books to getting benefits by increasing knowledge. In modern times, people still continue to circulate ancient books, and more people are motivated and inspired to study manuscripts.

The second cultural dimension is rituals. During the live session, the KIT online recitation followers were focused because they did not want to miss it. Some even catch up on their absence when they did not participate in the online recitation. The activities carried out by Gus Ulil started with opening the online recitation, reciting the kitab, and conveying prayers. Remember to open a dialogue for questions and answers. Questions can be asked via comments during the live event or via the WhatsApp number listed in the post. At KIT, the online recitation administrator was involved, Gus Ulil's wife, Mbak Ienas.

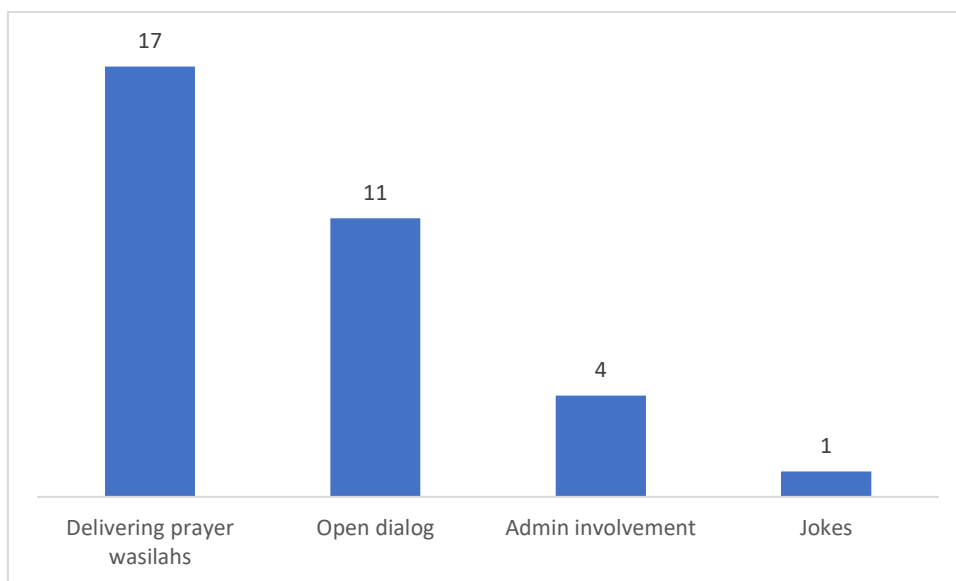


Figure 6. Results of Ritual Questionnaire of Gus Ulil's Online Recitation (KIT)

During Ngariksa recitation, Kang Oman also conveyed his blessings and prayers during live streaming on Facebook. Apart from that, Kang Oman also opened a dialogue with Sobat Ngariksa, who had questions. Many of these two online recitation followers

replay the recitation videos once they cannot attend the lecture or miss some important part to catch up.

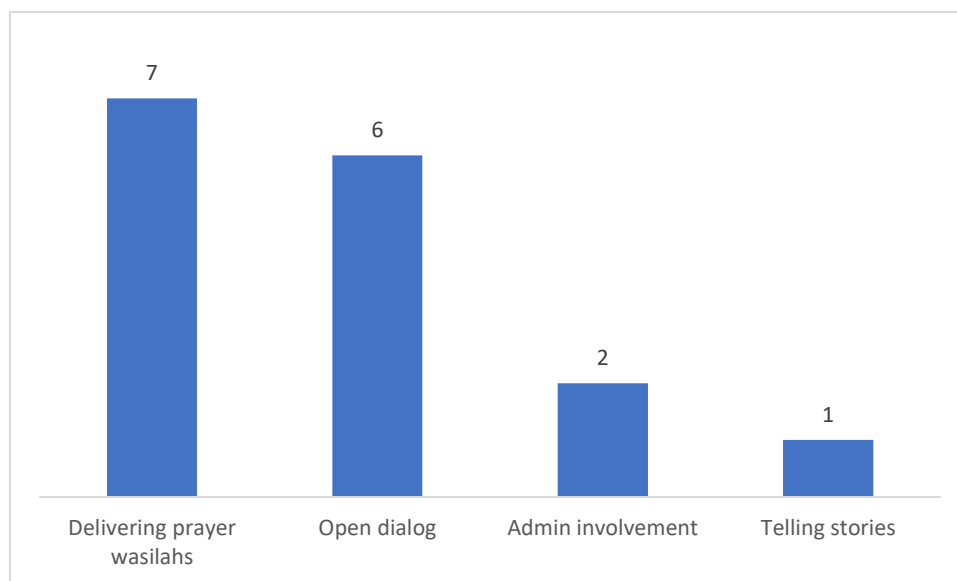


Figure 7. Results Of Ritual Questionnaire Of Kang Oman's Online Recitationn (Ngariksa)

The third cultural dimension is heroes. A hero is a figure who is used as an idol or role model for someone (Huda, 2021). Heroes can be any figure, depending on their respective fields. Of course, everyone has a role model that is different from one another, as is the case with KIT followers. Online *santri* of Gus Ulil has a different idol figure. From the results of respondents who filled out the questionnaire, it was found that the statistics they idolized included Al-Ghazali, Gus Ulil, Mba Ienas, BJ Habibie, Ustaz Adi Hidayat, Ali bin Abi Talib. Choosing an idol figure for someone is certainly not without reason. However, there must be some reasons that make someone idolize a character.

Someone who idolizes Al-Ghazali because Al-Ghazali was a Sufi who wrote prolifically, thus producing many books. His ideas can be studied and used as an additional horizon of knowledge for future people. Second, he is a very obedient figure to good things. Gus Ulil and Mba Ienas are a very inspiring husband and wife couple. In online reciting the KIT, both have an essential role for each other and complement each other so that many idolize this husband and wife couple.

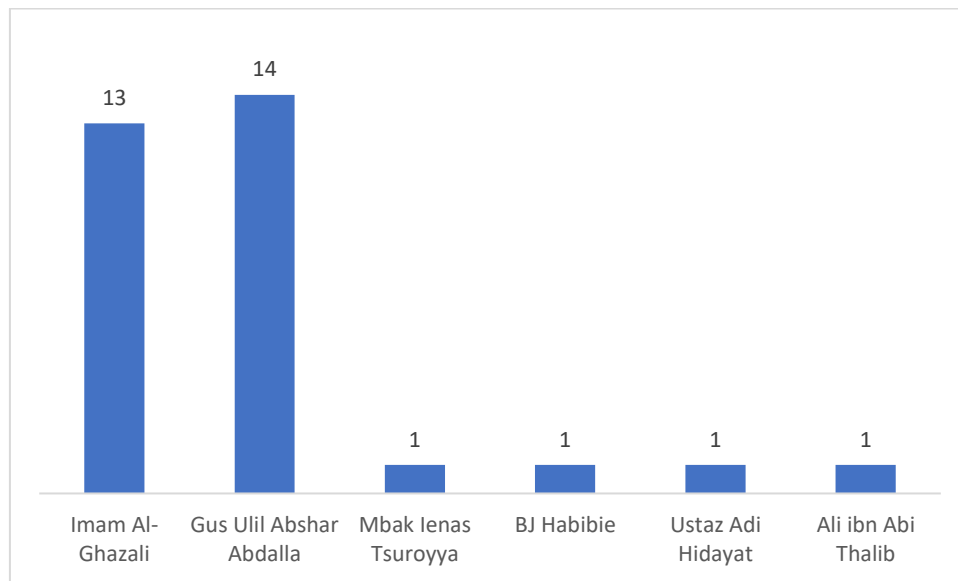


Figure 8. Results Of The Hero Figure Questionnaire Of The KIT *Santri*

Apart from that, KIT followers also have other hero figures, such as the former third president, BJ Habibi, who is honoured because he was a great scientist in Indonesia. Meanwhile, followers of the Ngaji online idolize Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ali Bin Abi Talib because they are both religious figures from different eras. The practice that is carried out and can be applied in the daily life of the hero figures who follow KIT is by applying the knowledge learned.

Kang Oman's Ngariksa followers have several names of idol figures, such as Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassari, a national hero. He was a Sufi cleric, had a significant influence on the development of religion, and was a fighter who fought against the Dutch Company. Also, the book he wrote was once brought by Kang Oman while reciting the Ngaji online on Facebook.

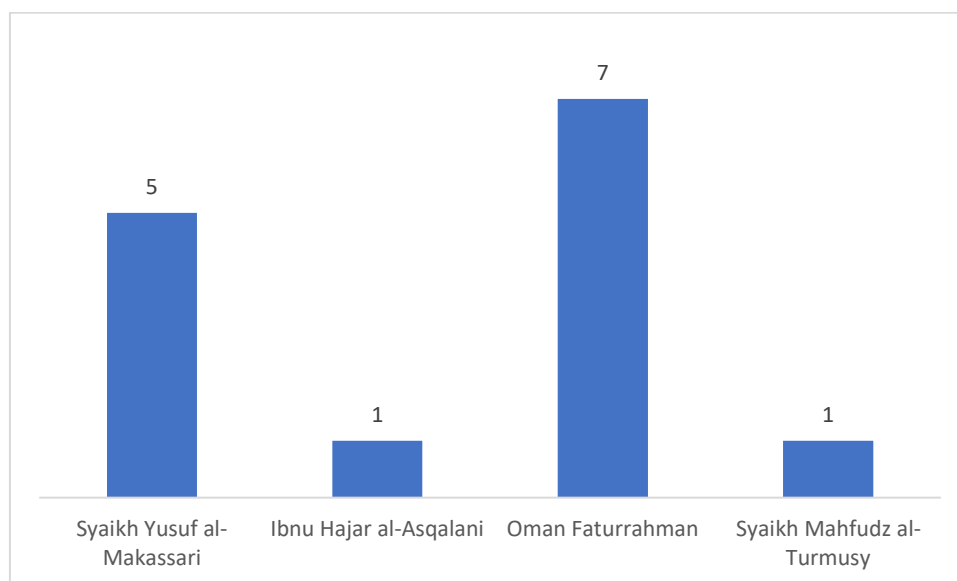


Figure 9. Results Of The Hero Figure Questionnaire Of Sobat Ngariksa

Ibnu Hajar Al Asqalani is a hadith expert. Oman Faturrahman is a lecturer at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta and has a scientific field in physiology. Meanwhile, Sheikh Mahfudz At-Turmusy is an ulama. The followers of Ngariksa idolize these figures because they are scientific figures with broad insight into their fields.

The final cultural value is a symbol. A symbol has meaning, which can be conveyed using something else (Frutiger, 1989; Pramiyanti & Christin, 2014). The material for the KIT delivered by Gus Ulil can be received by online *santri* on live streaming. The language Gus Ulil conveys sometimes feels like some of his followers have added new vocabulary because there are several words and sentences they have never heard before. Gus Ulil used a blank attribute, which indicates that he is someone who comes from Java.

Meanwhile, when reciting the Ngariksa manuscript, the language used was quite understandable because it is close to daily activities. When delivering on live streaming on Facebook and YouTube, which are the platforms used for online recitation, Kang Oman wore the Sundanese iket, a characteristic he wears when reciting the Ngaji online. For Sobat Ngariksa, the Sundanese iket worn by Kang Oman is a characteristic of the Ngariksa because he wears it almost every time a Ngariksa is carried out. It symbolizes the traditions from which Kang Oman originates.

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Table 2.

Cultural Differences In Online Recitation Users

Components	Kuliah Ihya' Tematik (Gus Ulil)	Ngariksa (Kang Oman)
Implementation (Timing)	Every Sunday, 06.00-07.00 WIB (duration one hour)	Every two Fridays, 20.00-21.00 WIB (duration one hour)
Languages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Javanese, Arabic, English, and Indonesian.</li> <li>Simple with lots of foreign vocabulary</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sundanese, Arabic, Javanese, Malay and Indonesian.</li> <li>Simple and Easy to understand</li> </ul>
Source Material	The Book of Ihya' Ulumuddin by Imam Ghazali, volumes 1 to 4.	Manuscripts written by several figures such as Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassari, Sheikh Abdul Rauf Singkel
Platform	Facebook, YouTube, and Space	Facebook dan YouTube
Attributes	Peci/Blangkon, Sarung	Sundanese Iket, Sarung batik, gelas cap Jago
Production Techniques	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Using a cellphone camera, tripod, lighting, and mic</li> <li>Assisted by his wife, Ienas Tsuroyah, as a broadcast technician.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use a cellphone camera, tripod, lighting, and mic.</li> <li>Assisted by his three sons and volunteers from the Ciputat Philology Circle.</li> </ul>
Study Method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thematic (Discussing the main points of the book Ihya' Ulumuddin)</li> <li>Dialogue and question and answer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Material prepared directly by Kang Oman from the manuscript and delivered using PowerPoint</li> <li>Dialogue and questions and answers</li> </ul>
Study Ritual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reading wasilah</li> <li>Discussion of the Ihya' theme.</li> <li>Question and answer dialogue with online students in the comments column.</li> <li>Closing of Thibbil Qulub's prayers.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read wasilah</li> <li>Discussion of material by translating ancient manuscripts.</li> <li>Question and answer dialogue in the comments column and directly.</li> <li>Conclusion reading</li> <li>Closing</li> </ul>
Motivation for online students to take part in studies	Deepen Imam Ghazali's standard of living.	Understand discourses from ancient manuscripts.

Components	Kuliah Ihya’ Tematik (Gus Ulil)	Ngariksa (Kang Oman)
Social Culture	There is a feeling of not being envious of other people's achievements.	Sensitive to problems in the surrounding environment

**Discussion**

This netnographic research focuses on human natural culture in internet networks. Thus, in the research, researchers will load all video data and comments on the KIT and Ngariksa content on Facebook in private cloud storage to make it easy to research. Researchers carry out simplification, where researchers translate abstract topics or research objectives into terms and keywords to find relevant data. Not all comments were included in the study. The research only included statements containing comments based on the classification of viewers' responses, i.e. asking, attendance, appreciation, emoticons, and jokes.

Researchers then read the data (scouting) and carry out data selection. This research used an emotional engagement strategy. Emotional involvement involves understanding the culture of social media users by involving oneself emotionally in user post (Kozinets, 2019). This netnographic research focuses on human natural culture in internet networks. The researchers placed themselves on the side of the research party, expressing their emotions (by giving likes and comments to give appreciation). This form of participation or involvement was chosen because researchers wanted to understand, from the perspective of social media users, why viewers listen to the Ngaji online. Thus, in the research, researchers will load all video data and comments on the KIT and Ngariksa content on Facebook in private cloud storage to make it easy to research. Researchers carry out simplification, where researchers translate abstract topics or research objectives into terms and keywords to find relevant data. Not all comments were included in the study. The research only included statements containing comments based on the classification of viewers' responses, i.e. asking, attendance, appreciation, emoticons, and jokes.

Researchers immersed themselves with social media users to understand the audience's response. Immersion was carried out in the form of immersion notes. When watching the KIT and Ngariksa streaming videos and reading user comments, the

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researcher wrote them as notes. There were several that researchers made during the research. The note contained two things. First, a description of what the researcher saw. Second, the researcher's views, feelings, and emotions when viewing the online recitation and reading comments from the users of the Ihya Tematik and Ngariksa lectures.

Recitations conducted online create a cultural deterritorialization of online media users. As found in this research, at least the involvement of online media users naturally occurred in the comments column. The researcher noted that in the comments section on the Facebook live streaming of Gus Ulil's KIT and Kang Oman's Ngariksa, online *santri* like to comment on recitation material in discussions and questions, friendly banter among online *santri* in the form of jokes, introductions to the area where they live. Online attendance involvement, appreciation of initiating figures, and hopes for the continuation of online recitation.

This culture, of course, will not be obtained in direct recitations carried out using classical and conventional methods. This valuable finding proves that this netnographic study contains data about human culture that occurs naturally on the internet. The culture on the internet is not seen as degradation but rather a result of cultural adjustments. This adjustment occurs due to several factors. First, management and technical readiness for implementing the online recitation continues to increase. Second, the readiness of online media can be an intermediary for delivering information or study material from Gus Ulil or Kang Oman to online *santri* taking part in the study. Third, supporting media such as material sources are adequate, such as the Ihya' Ulumuddin taught by Gus Ulil and manuscripts studied by Kang Oman.

### ***Reflection***

This study conducted by Gus Ulil and Kang Oman reveals the reality of human life. Many online *santri* of Gus Ulil and Kang Oman feel a positive impact after participating in the online recitation. Researchers note that these two online recitations generally have social impacts and experiences in life and rituals. Many of Gus Ulil's online *santri* feel that life in the world has Imam Ghazali's high standards, so they are

strongly urged to continue improving their worship. The points of Ihya' conveyed by Gus Ulil reflect that humans should increase the intensity of their faith in Allah SWT.

Kang Oman's study of the Ngariksa manuscript also had a social and ritual impact on his students. The experience felt by many Ngariksa online *santri* is an increase in a person's motivation to continue doing productive things on an ongoing basis. The ritual experience encountered by Ngariksa online *santri* is that they feel the distance between humans and God is getting closer. Ngariksa contains discourses and discussions from the past so that modern people today can learn from events that occurred hundreds of years ago.

Reflections submitted by online *santri* who follow the KIT and Ngariksa reflect that this research can be the beginning of an end because this research reads the reality that has been regulated by specific rules from Ihya' Ulumuddin and ancient manuscripts that apply universally. More profoundly, the results of this study are an integration of concepts, values, and techniques that are used together to increase the validity of a problem and its solution.

### ***Interpretation***

This research includes four essential meanings. First, the learning process requires a sociocultural transformation that allows education to be rooted in the values that apply in society. Second, the spiritual relationship is also driven by the rituals carried out in online recitations. Third, sociocultural experiences can be imitated from hero figures related to the theme of the study. Fourth, symbols create an identity attached to the initiator and the research activities. These four meanings become basic assumptions enforced to describe and colour the interpretation of scientific online activities.

The culture of KIT and Ngariksa's online recitation users is interpreted in four sections: First, values. The value intended by online *santri* is increasing insight because the material presented is meaningful, changing life behaviour to more positive things regarding the highest standard of living according to the book studied. Second, rituals. Rituals can be obtained from repeated habits carried out by Gus Ulil or Kang Oman and can also be studied from the habits of online *santri* in responding to online recitation. Third, heroes. According to KIT online *santri*, the heroes are the leading figures of Ihya'

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Ulumuddin, Al-Ghazali and Gus Ulil. Meanwhile, Ngariksa's online *santri* are Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari, Ibnu Hajar al-Asqalani, Sheikh Mahfudz Turmusyi, and Kang Oman. Fourth, symbols. They are related to the appearance, language, and attributes Gus Ulil and Kang Oman used.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

### ***Conclusion***

Recitations conducted online create cultural deterritorialization or the culture of online media users. This research showed that online media user involvement naturally occurs in the comment sections. The researcher noted that in the comment sections on the Facebook live streaming of Gus Ulil's KIT and Kang Oman's Ngariksa, online *santri* like to comment on recitation material in discussions and questions, friendly banter among online students in the form of jokes, introductions to the area where the student's place of origin. Online attendance involvement, appreciation of initiating figures, and hopes for the continuation of online recitation.

The study conducted by Gus Ulil and Kang Oman was based on a solid motivation to study the treasures of knowledge. The Kitab Ihya' Tematik by Gus Ulil on Facebook aims to understand Imam Ghazali's paradigm in responding to Sufism. Meanwhile, Ngariksa, which Kang Oman initiated on the Facebook and YouTube platforms, aims to open up a discourse that has occurred in the past as a reference for phenomena that are happening now and in the future. Researchers note that these two online recitations generally have social impacts and experiences in life and rituals.

### ***Suggestion***

Research that explores human culture when using online media shows that the first problem in this research is the relationship between activity organizers (subjects) and activity followers (objects). It is very advanced for deconstructing cultural norms and expressions that influence the decisions of the segment or group being studied. The activities on this internet network influence methodical accounts of human culture. This netnographic research focuses on natural human culture in the internet network, in

contrast to research conducted using surveys that avoid degradation to satisfy the surveyor.

This study was limited to a small sample, so comparative analysis was impossible. At least two things need to be developed: adding online studies to be analyzed and increasing the number of informants/respondents involved in the research. A comprehensive analysis is only possible with a comparison. In line with this, researchers suggest the need for a survey that adds diverse components. This way, a complete and in-depth portrait of the experience of participating in online studies on Facebook or other social media can be obtained.

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