THE PRACTICE OF DIGITAL CAPITALISM AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF THE SALAFI COMMUNITY ON INSTAGRAM RODJATV

[1]Makroen SANJAYA, [2]Andi Faisal BAKTI, [3]Ridzki Rinanto SIGID, [4]Rulli NASRULLAH

[1]Graduate School of Communication Science Doctoral Program, Universitas Sahid Jakarta
[2,4]Faculty of Da'wah and Communication Studies, UIN Jakarta
[3]Graduate School, Universitas Sahid Jakarta
Corresponding author: Makroen SANJAYA
E-mail: makroensanjaya242@gmail.com

Abstract:
The Salafi community is known as a group of Islamic conservatism that seeks to preserve the rules of the Prophet Muhammad. Salafists, in general, seek to purify the teachings of Islam by rejecting modernity. However, Salafi media, Rodja, instead of utilized advances in modern communication technology to spread conservative ideology. Through Instagram, Salafi virtual communities practice digital capitalism. Therefore, the study aims to reveal how Salafi media Rodja utilizes features on Rodjatv's Instagram social media to attract followers and gain financial benefits through the practice of digital capitalism virtually. Using new media analysis in a qualitative approach to virtual ethnographic methods, the study explained how two characteristics of new media, namely interactivity and digital capitalism, could drive the participation of Salafi virtual communities. The results uncovered that religious content uploaded on Rodjatv's Instagram became a means of aggregation of Salafism followers, which were then employed to accumulate capital in media business activity. This practice of digital capitalism by Salafism later became an inspiration for other da'wah groups. On the other hand, communication and informatics authorities, together with legislative institutions, need to make clear regulations regarding the use of social media for the benefit of religious da'wah, because in addition to legal loopholes from the economic side, such as taxes and others, social media used by certain ideological groups tend to invite socio-political insecurity in the long term exclusively.

Keywords: Digital Capitalism, Salafists, Virtual Communities, Social Media, Instagram.

INTRODUCTION

Salafist communities are an Islamic group that requires Muslims to return to the Qur'an and as-Sunnah according to the methods of the first three generations of Islam (Jawas, 2020), also known as conservative groups because they oppose innovation in the field of worship and Aqedah, as a movement rooted in the teachings of Ibn Taimiyah (Basya, 2020). Indicators of conservative religious understanding include rejecting modernism, liberalism, or progressivism in explaining religious teachings and making hadith (words, behaviors, and tirkah of the Prophet) the main reference that must be duplicated literally (Halimatusa'diyah et al., 2020). Because of this religious way, Salafists are often accused of spreading radical-fundamental seeds, among others, because they have the principle of al-wara' wal al-bara' (following and departing) and avoiding hizbiyyah preaching or grouping and organizing (Chozin, 2013).

The stamp as "Wahhabi" is also attached to Salafists because their understanding has the same religious character and orientation as Wahhabism, which is puritanical and conservative, considered harsh (Wahid & Makruf, 2017). Another reason is that one of the Salafist elements in Indonesia once established a paramilitary movement, such as Laskar Jihad (Jihadi Warriors) (Hasan & Abubakar, 2011), a group involved in the interfaith conflict in Maluku in 1999.

In addition, Salafists exclusively and meticulously imitate al-salaf al-salih (the previous generation of salih) and reject all influence from other sources (Othman Alkaff & Jani, 2021). However, not all Salafists oppose innovation and reject modernism. Some contemporary Salafists actually utilize modern communication technology products, namely mass media such as radio and technology and even social media. One of them is the Salafi community from Cileungsi, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia, which appeared existentially since 2005, enlivening Indonesia through Radio Rodja, Rodja TV, and Instagram social media with the Rodjatv account.

The utilization of communication media as a means of da'wah by Salafi Cileungsi is proof that Salafi media Rodja is a civil society organization that has followed the Islamic communication model for civil society discourse (Bakti, 2018). In particular, Radio Rodja, a radio that preaches Salafism in Indonesia, is considered a pioneer of da'wah radio because it purely broadcasts religious content, according to Salaf Manhaj (Tasman, 2018). Furthermore, the digital presence, which is a term in the marketing area to indicate an online business (Moyers, 2020), was carried out by Salafi in 2007 through www.radiorodja.com and continued until 2014 through Rodjatv's Instagram account.

Through digital presence, Salafists utilize two of the 20 characteristics of new media: interactivity and digital capitalism. Salafi, through Instagram, Rodjatv, can also show its existence as a modern Islamic da'wah group and competently utilizes the good side of social media. Through Rodjatv's Instagram account, Salafi managed to gain a large number of followers, namely 493,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/., Saturday, May 14, 2022), superior to the Instagram TVMuhammadiyah account with 90,500 followers only (https://www.instagram.com/tvmuhammadiyah/., Sabtu, 14 Mei 2022). In fact, the Instagram account of TVMuhammadiyah belongs to the modern Islamic organization Muhammadiyah. In addition to excelling in terms of followers compared to social media that bring Islamic organizational entities, Salafists, through the Rodjatv account, also practice digital capital accumulation by getting financial benefits. This study wanted to test how Instagram's social media aggregates Salafism followers to form virtual communities and analyze how Salafist practices interactivity and digital capitalism against virtual communities through Rodjatv's Instagram account.

Channel of the Qur'an and Islamic Studies. A critical paradigm with a qualitative approach as a conceptual methodology in this study was used to analyze Rodjatv's Instagram from the perspective of the Tilawah and Islamic Studies Channel in three different ways: First, Rodja TV's Instagram is only used as a medium of da'wah, namely as a channel to disseminate the content or reading (tilawah) and interpretation of the Qur'an as a revelation, including the interpretation of the Qur'anic verse, hadith (the rules quoted from the Prophet Muhammad), and the interpretation of Salafus Shalih (three generations after the life of Prophet Muhammad). The channel here means the frequency band (radio and television) or intermediary (Ministry of National Education, 2008), interpreted as a means or medium. Meanwhile, diction tilawah means a way to "read the Qur'an with readings that show the letters and in a careful way, making it easier to understand the meaning contained in it. The phrase "Channel of the Tilawah Qur'an and Islamic Studies" means that Rodjatv's account on Instagram is only utilized to teach the values contained in the Qur'an and as a means of learning Islam of Salafus Shalih manhaj alone. All content uploaded on Rodjatv's

Instagram refers to verses of the Qur'an, hadith, namely words, behavior, and tirkah or relics of the Prophet and interpretation of Salafus Shalih.

The characteristics of Salafism da'wah through Rodjatv's Instagram with the tagline as the Channel of the Tilawah Qur'an and Islamic Studies is to invite followers to tawhid toward God, stay away from mystical things (superstitions), and imitate (ittiba') completely the way of life and worship of the Prophet Muhammad and Salafus Shalih, by leaving things that have no reason in worship (bid'ah/heresy). The confirmation of Rodjatv's position as the Channel of the Tilawah Qur'an and Islamic Studies is stated in the bio or social media identity profile of Rodjatv's account on Instagram.

Figure 1. Rodjatv Instagram's Bio Account as "Channel of the Tilawah Qur'an and Islamic Studies"

Second, the interactivity between the preacher and Rodjatv's Instagram followers uses sacred terms (non-profane) to identify values, morality, and interpretation of Salafus Shalih Manhaj. The sacred language is also used in everyday conversations among the Salafism community. Oral communication between ustaz (religious teachers) or imams (worship leaders) with followers or disciples (jama'ah) uses a lot of diction, idioms, expressions, and terminology in specific Arabic languages, such as afwan (you are welcome or sorry), antum (plural you), na'am (yes, right), jazakumullahu khairan (may Allah repay with kindness), barokallahu fikum (may Allah bless you), akhwat (female friends), ikhwan (male friends), akhi (men), ukhti (women), and others. The language commonly spoken in study forums becomes the language of association between them. It is, for example, not found in other Islamic communities, such as Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama (N.U.) people, except specifically in forums to learn the grammar and form of words (nahwu sharaf).

Third, the use of non-profane idioms is specifically pinned to donors who contribute to Rodja media operational costs. Muhsinin means "good man, benefactor" (Abdullah & Alkhalil, 2013). The invitation to become a muhsinin appears in various uploads, especially in the description feature under the narrative of the study material. In the last sentence, it is mentioned that every donation from the muhsinin will help the continuity of the preaching of tawhid (one God) and sunnah (religious rules quoted from the Prophet Muhammad).

Followers, Virtual Brotherhood. As Howard Rheingold described in the Virtual Community, homesteading on the electronic frontier about the phenomenon of virtual communities was created through WELL (Whole Earth's Lectronic Link), a computer conferencing system that allows people from different parts of the world to talk and exchange information. WELL feels like an authentic community because it is grounded in the physical world. What people do in the real world also happens to virtual communities. The virtual community also allows

everyone from worldwide to participate without even having met physically (Rheingold, 1993). In the context of Salafi da'wah, through Instagram social media, the same character is also shown. Rodjatv's account on Instagram brings a collection of communities in what is referred to as followers, i.e., virtual audiences and participants. Suppose the community is interpreted as "a group of individuals (people and others) that live and interact with each other" (Ministry of National Education, 2008). In that case, it is the same as the Salafism community, a group of virtual followers, which in Salafi terminology on Instagram is referred to as ikhwan (brothers, plural). Although not meeting each other physically, interactive communication between Rodja account admins and ikhwan is done through a comment feature symbolled ( ).

Apart from using the comment feature to interact, some of Rodja's uploaded content on Instagram also features a lot of virtual donations or philanthropic activities. Various philanthropic activities, ranging from social assistance for victims of natural disasters, social assistance for victims of the COVID-19 pandemic, the construction of Al-Barkah Mosque, which is the center of Salafi activities in Cileungsi, Bogor, and the development or expansion of radio Rodja broadcast networks in Bandung and Majalengka, West Java, and rodja operational media costs, are obtained from donations from followers. Each type of donation or philanthropy provides a special account at the bank as channelization for allocating donations or philanthropy. Rodjatv's account page on Instagram is also a media reporting to muhsinin (good people, philanthropists) for all donations or philanthropic activities. Thus, Rodjatv's account on Instagram facilitates social communication activities, as happens in real life. It also illustrates that the Ikhwan and muhsinin are virtual subjects that play an important role in creating the continuity of Salafus Shalih da'wah through Rodja media.

METHODS

The study used virtual ethnographic methods focused on groups with the same culture. Ethnography is also a qualitative design whose researchers describe and interpret the same patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and languages of a group of the same culture. "As a process, ethnography involves extensive observation of the group, often through participant observation, namely 'immersing themselves' in people's daily lives, observing and interviewing participants in the group. In addition, ethnographers study the meaning of the behavior, language, and interaction of members of these cultures" (Creswell, 2015: 125). Through virtual ethnography in this study, data collection methods were carried out in four ways, namely:

1. Observations and capturing of culture and cultural artifacts virtually on the research object were carried out on texts on social media, specifically Rodjatv's account on Instagram. Rodjatv's uploads that were the object of this study included 385 posts through the Feed, I.G. T.V., then changed to Reels, and Video features, from January 1, 2020, to August 31, 2021. Observations were also made directly in the field, visiting the Al-Barkah Mosque complex, Radio Rodja studio, Rodja TV, and the Information Technology (I.T.) Division, managing Rodja's social media accounts. Field observations occurred seven times from August 27, 2021, to December 24, 2021.

2. Archival and historical research on Rodja's account uploads on Instagram was conducted. Based on the type of content displayed by Rodjatv's Instagram from January 1, 2020, to August 31, 2021, 395 posts were categorized into six themes: tawhid, Aqedah, manhaj, muamalah, philanthropy, and donations of Rodja media development. Meanwhile, the text about the invitation to become a donor (muhsinin) and "Rodja Parabola Outlet" was 62 times embedded in various posts among 395 Rodjatv's Instagram posts. The content categorization based on the theme was performed to facilitate the analysis of the uploaded content.

3. Interviews were conducted with informants involved in digital communication through Rodja's Instagram account. To obtain the data validity obtained from observation, capturing, and historical archival research, deepening and confirmation were carried out by conducting interviews with informants. At least 14 informants had been interviewed with the quality of valid information that could be accounted for.

4. Literature was carried out by reading books of references to Salafi media Rodja and books of study of Salafism and Wahhabism from various experts. The literature on the issues of Salafism and Wahhabism was enriched with books and journals on Salafism and Wahhabism, research on Rodja media, and theoretical references related to ideology, mediatization, and social media and virtual communities.

Table 1. Qualification and quantification of data collection methods in this study

Data Collection & Analysis Methods	Quality	Quantity
Observation	1. Observe *rodjatv and Rodja* TV's digital culture and digital artifacts on YouTube 2. Seven field observations at *Al-Barkah* and *Rodja* headquarters in Cileungsi	1. 395 feed uploads, IGTV/Reels & Video 2. Upload period: January 1, 2020-August 31, 2021
Archive Research	Categorize uploads by theme: -*Tawhid* and sunnah -*Faith* -*Manhaj* -Muamalah -Humanitarian philanthropy -*Donation Rodja* media development -*Rodja* and Parabola Operational Donation	-*Tawhid* and sunnah*:* 45 -*Aqidah:* 61 -*Manhaj:* 55 -Muamalah: 162 -Humanitarian Philanthropy: 63 -*Rodja* media development donations: 9 -Donation *(Muhsinin)*= 47 -*Rodja* Parabola Outlet= 16
Interview	-Five key informants -Nine informants	1. Founder/Director of *Rodja*: 1 2. Elder of Al-Barkah:2 3. Social media admin & design: 2 4. *Jama'ah* & media practitioner: 1 5. Followers/donors: 5 6. H. Bakri family: 2 7. KPI Chairman: 1
Libraries	1. Books and journals: -Salafism dan Wahhabism -Ideology & Critical Theory -Media & social media -Digital & virtual communication 2. Official website & social media account 3. Capturing *Rodjatv* uploads	Books: 27 Journals: 41 Websites: 11 Official social media accounts: 11 Capturing uploads: 15 folders

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Salafism Media Da'wah Without Political Content. Recognizing the power of the media in influencing imagination, practice, and religious authority, the Cileungsi Salafi community, spearheaded by Badru Salam in 2005, pioneered the establishment of Radio Rodja media. Rodja is etymologically derived from Arabic, meaning "hope, expect." Rodja is also an acronym of "Radio Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah." Rodjatv's Instagram, as on Radio Rodja, every day all the time only refutes the content of Salaf lectures and studies, the recitation of the Qur'an through the

interpretation of Salaf scholars delivered by preachers, and the Prophet's hadith. Not once did the content on Rodjatv, Radio Rodja, and Rodjatv allude to political issues.

Rodjatv in Performing Functions as an Information Medium. Rodjatv's Instagram post material, in addition to philanthropy, is entirely convergence content from Radio Rodja or Rodja TV. From the audio (radio) and audio-visual (television) media, then sampled in the form of audio-visual and written narration to be uploaded on Rodjatv's Instagram, with various philanthropic content. By only broadcasting lectures or studies sourced from the Qur'an, hadith texts, and fatwas of Salaf scholars, aside from expanding the reach of Salafism da'wah geographically and demographically, Rodjatv Salafism can attract followers in large numbers. Salafi's digital presence on social media is even more measurable. By using the follower parameter, Rodjatv's number of Instagram followers can be known for real, including its growth. On October 2, 2020, Rodjatv followers were 435,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/). On May 15, 2022, Rodjatv's Instagram followers became 493,000, or for 19 months, the number of followers increased by 58,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/. May 15, 2022). Before appearing in the media, Salafis from Cileungsi were often accused of being a cult Islamist, hardline or radical group, and even being part of a terrorist group.

However, since the preaching of Salafism was aired on Radio Rodja and Rodja TV and converged to Instagram social media, the public slowly realized that Salafis are not among the cults, radicals, or terrorist parts as previously alleged (Interview #2: Agus Hasanuddin, October 22, 2021). Rodjatv becomes part of a media product that can correct misperceptions. In this context, Rodja media, including Instagram Rodjatv, successfully carries out its function as an information medium. As Fischer-Nielsen (2012) emphasized, in the context of religious mediatization in Denmark in 2009, it was discovered that new Internet-based media has become an effective means of providing "clear and correct information to church members." Similarly, as it happens on Rodjatv's Instagram, it has performed the correct information function about the existence of Rodja Salafists, not including Salafi jihadists or Salafists who struggle to enforce Islamic law in the statehood system. Rodjatv's Instagram, along with Radio Rodja and Rodja TV, has confirmed that the Salafists of Cileungsi are Salafi da'wahists or Salafi Aqidah, who move to build the religious diversity of Indonesian Muslims according to the Qur'an and hadith.

Language as the Identity of the Salafism Community. Expressions in the language will indicate a certain ideology (Rusadi, 2015). From Stuart Hall's perspective, ideology is a mental framework of language, concepts, categories, thought imaging, and representation systems, used by various classes and social groups to understand, define, find out, and understand how society works (Hall, 1996). In this context, to show the group's identity as a representation of adherents of the conservative ideology Salafus Shalih, the Salafism community has its characteristics in using language when interacting. The communication pattern between Salafi ustaz and its audience uses dictions in Arabic, which are also commonly used in interpersonal communication. Diction afwan is used to ask a problem, "sorry" or "thank you." At the end of each question or the post, the invitation for donations on social media is also always expressed with Syukron jazakumullahu khairan, which means "thank you, may Allah reply with kindness." There is dictions ana (me), antum (you), or refer to "someone or male friend" as ikhwan, while "someone or a female friend" is called ukhti.

The Arabic dictions were obtained by jama'ah from the ustaz when participating in the study, which eventually became habituation in everyday conversation (Interview #1: Agus Hasanuddin, August 27, 2021). In addition to being a means of learning Arabic for community members (jama'ah), the use of diction, idioms, or expressions in Arabic becomes group identification, which is the way the media connects messages and builds communicative relationships between the sender of the message (communicator), content, and the recipient of the message (audience). In addition, Rodja

jama'ah is required to learn Arabic because the Qur'an is revealed in Arabic, and it is the right way to follow in the footsteps of Salafus Shalih. If they do not learn Arabic, followers are considered not to get knowledge and follow in the footsteps of Salafus Shalih perfectly (Jawas, 2020). As is the case in Denmark, in the mediatization of religion over the Internet, new media, including social media, serve as "a source of knowledge and inspiration for faith, service, prayer, parties, and private events" (Fischer-Nielsen, 2012).

Source: (https://www.instagram.com/p/CHwSsSyHjyO/. November 19, 2020)

Figure 2. Rodjatv's Instagram content featuring speaker Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, which among other things, requires Salafi followers to learn Arabic and invites interaction from followers, among others, with the Arabic phrase "Barokallahu fiik," which means "May Allah bless you"

Rodjatv's followers on Instagram are always involved in the interaction, either liking (like) study material, commenting (comment) on a material, asking for information or sharing (share) Rodjatv Instagram content with others. All content uploads always get like up to thousands. Comments range in the number of units, dozens, to tens under 100. Sharing Rodjatv's content on Instagram even involves key opinion leader (KOL) volunteers and unpaid influencers.

Muhsinin Label as a Practice of Digital Capitalism. Capitalistic economics forces anyone involved in the market system relations to conform to the rules of capitalistic action. Manufacturers who go against these norms will inevitably be eliminated from the economic stage as workers unwilling to adjust will be thrown onto the streets without jobs (Weber, 2001). Likewise, Salafists from Cileungsi, known as puritanical Islamic groups, distribute information content (da'wah by method or Salafus Shalih manhaj) through the content convergence system of Radio Rodja and Rodja TV in communication technology networks, which use computing systems in the form of social media. For Salafists, using social media is not haram because using social media is not an activity in the category of worship. In worship, all its activities are arranged textually through the Qur'an and hadith (the rules derived from the Prophet Muhammad). Although social media is a product and belongs to even Jews, using it is allowed. It is because, according to Salaf scholars (three generations of Islam after the life of Prophet Muhammad), Muslims are allowed to do muamalah (social affairs such as business, getting along, and other civil affairs) with Jews (Interview #3: Agus Hasanuddin, November 19, 2021). Salafists have the principle that "all muamalah (social relations) affairs are allowed, except those prohibited." Meanwhile, in the system of worship, "all worship is forbidden, except those ordered."

Through Rodjatv's social media on Instagram, Salafi targets the youth --- the majority of social media users as followers who follow in the footsteps of Salafus Shalih. As of May 15, 2022, Rodjatv's Instagram followers have reached 493,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/). In addition, the

new economy is the digital economy, where information takes the form of digital, i.e., Bit. When information becomes digital and is communicated over a digital network, it opens a new world (Tapscott, 2015).

Most of whom are young people, Instagram users are targeted by Salafists as a "new world," providing financial benefits and new followers. Conservative Salafists are involved in the mediatization of religion in the new media system and the Internet revolution, which marks the rise of digital capitalism utilizing the production dimensions of religious life. In the practice of digital capitalism by Salafists in accumulating ad-based capital, they targeted specifically Rodjatv followers on Instagram, which numbered 493,000, by persuasion, the invitation to "supports the preaching of tawhid (One Allah) and sunnah (the rule of quoted from the Prophet) and labels those who donate money as muhsinin (good people or benefactors).

Persuasion to "support the preaching of tawhid and sunnah" was quite effective in mobilizing about 2,000 donors (muhsinin), from whom the cash was collected around IDR 300 million every month. As one of the muhsinin admitted, he was motivated to donate his money every month because he wanted to participate in the preaching of tawhid and sunnah. "I want to preach sunnah but have not been able to if I have to preach myself. Alhamdulillah, Rodja opened the opportunity of da'wah by becoming muhsinin Rodja" (Anonymous Muhsinin Interview: December 22, 2021). Every beginning or end of the month, Rodja's management sends a chat as a reminder to the muhsinin.
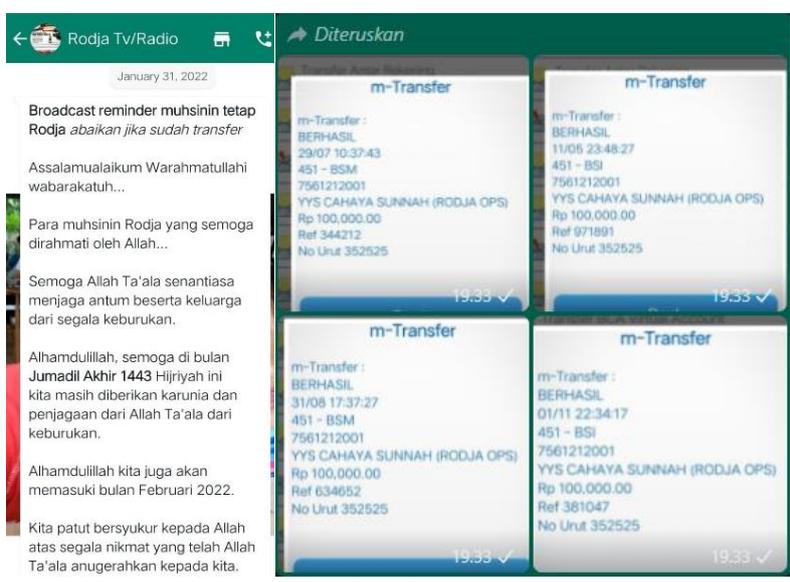
Source: WhatsApp chat screenshot of a muhsinin

Figure 3. WhatsApp reminder chat to muhsinin from Rodja media management (left). Proof of transfer from a muhsinin to help with Rodja's operational costs (right).

Donations for Rodja's media operations are realized through special accounts. They are not mixed with accounts for other activities, such as the construction of mosques and humanitarian assistance activities. The special account for Rodja's operational costs listed on the news sticker/running text on Rodja TV and Rodjatv account on Instagram is Bank Syariah Indonesia (BSI) 7561212001 on behalf of the "Light of Sunnah" Foundation with Bank Code 451. The donation amount from muhsinin is between the lowest IDR 50,000 and IDR 500,000. A minimum of IDR 300 million was raised in one month, more than enough for Rodja media operational costs, ranging from Radio Rodja, Rodja TV, and the website to all accounts on social media. The need for the salary of

35 employees is around IDR 150 million per month. In addition to employee salaries, donation money from muhsinin was also used to pay satellite rent for Rodja TV broadcasts and other administrative needs. Rodja management also provides an honorarium for each ustaz who is a study speaker in Rodja with a range between IDR 500,000 to IDR 1,000,000 every time he finishes a lecture on Radio Rodja or Rodja TV (Interview #2: Agus Hasanuddin, October 22, 2021). In a fully capitalistic society, an individual capitalist enterprise that does not seize its opportunities to make a profit will be destined to go extinct (Weber, 2001).

Reduction of Media Function. Overall, the religious mediatization of the Salafism through Rodja media, ranging from radio, television, and websites to Rodjatv's Instagram social media, has a significant impact on the continuity of Salafism preaching, covering three aspects. (1) Salafist Rodja managed to gain relatively large followers so that their communication mode activities could be considered effective. (2) Creating interactive communication patterns allows social media users to participate actively through feedback and dialogical modes of interaction. (3) Salafist Rodja can continue reproducing its social formation to maintain the status quo as a conservationist of the Salafus Shalih movement because it gets operational cost support from muhsinin (donors). However, the mediatization of religion by Salafi Rodja through new media actually challenges the function of the media.

The functions of the media include as an information source, entertainment sources, persuasion forums, and social adhesives (Vivian, 2008), plus as a function of education, social control and adhesive, economic function, and culture (Law No. 32 of 2002 on Broadcasting), which is reduced only as an educational function, or information function only, for the benefit of da'wah tawhid (One God) and sunnah (the rule of the Prophet) alone. In mediatizing religion through the tagline as "Channel of the Tilawah (Reading) of the Qur'an and Islamic Studies," Rodja media reduces the function of media that is plural, only to carry out two functions: information and education functions only. Other media functions, namely entertainment, social control and adhesive, economic functions, and cultural functions, are eliminated under the pretext of contradicting their ideology. For Salafi Rodja, entertainment products, such as music, including singing the national anthem, animated images resembling living things, and the like, are punishable by haram. In fact, if da'wah is done through song or music, it is still not in accordance with the teachings of Salafus Shalih. Salafi also refused to air commercial advertisements because many displayed human aurat (Interview #2: Agus Hasanuddin, October 22, 2021).

By reducing the function of the media, Salafist Rodja from Cileungsi, ranging from Radio Rodja and Rodja TV to Instagram social media Rodjatv avoided the principle of diversity of media content, as embraced by the broadcast media system in Indonesia. Therefore, Rodja TV, for example, is not managed through broadcasting institution entities as required by Law No. 32 of 2002 concerning Broadcasting. Under Law 32 of 2002, broadcast media (radio and television) must be managed through legal entities with five domains of broadcasting institutions: Public Broadcasting Institutions (LPP), Private Broadcasting Institutions (LPS), Subscription Broadcasting Institutions (LPB), Community Broadcasting Institutions (LPK), and Foreign Broadcasting Institutions (LPA). However, Rodja TV is only one of the platforms of the media convergence system through satellite platforms and YouTube only, under the "Light of Sunnah" Foundation (Interview #3: Agus Hasanuddin, November 19, 2021).

According to the Chairman of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), Rodja media entities considered extreme should be regulated by the government. At least, if managed through a Private Broadcasting Institution (LPS) or Community Broadcasting Institution (LPK) entity, it will be bound by the Broadcasting Code of Conduct and broadcast program standards (P3 SPS) made by KPI (Interview: Chairman of KPI Agung Suprio, September 1, 2021). The self-avoidance of state

control and democratization is one form of the historical difference between old media in the first media age and new media in the second media age today (Holmes, 2012). By making Rodjatv on Instagram only as of the "Tilawah Channel" (reading, interpreting) the Qur'an and hadith and medium "Islamic Studies", without variations of other content, such as news, entertainment, and advertising, Rodjatv has applied social media logic strategies and mechanisms, especially to elements of programmability. In the logic of social media in the aspect of programmability, there is an algorithmic character as a form of participatory communication. Social media can be used for social activities mitigated by social institutions and utilized as an advertising strategy, public relations, activism, and other public discourse programs (van Dijck & Poell, 2013).

The content of Rodja Radio and Rodja TV verified to Rodjatv's Instagram social media creates a group of people who formed a community with the same character (jama'ah). Jama'ah's Instagram follower Rodjatv aggregate reached 493,000 as of May 15, 2022. Rodjatv's jama'ah virtual also performs activities like jama'ah in the real world, namely studying, donating, and buying parabolas to access Rodja TV broadcasts on satellite platforms. Since appearing on Rodja TV in 2009 through video streaming and the Rodja TV satellite platform in 2011, Rodja's management also accumulated followers and capital to get financial benefits by selling 100,000 parabolic units to followers. In this way, Salafists maintain Rodja media's sustainability and accumulate Salafism followers in a mode of the commodification of content, audiences, and workers. The content of the preaching of tawhid (One God) and sunnah (quoted rules from the Prophet Muhammad) packaged through the tagline "Channel of the Tilawah (Reading) of the Qur'an and Islamic Studies" attracted the interest of many virtual followers, which then opened up opportunities for Rodja media apparatus to parabola business.

Salafist admitted that the sale of parabolas, which are also promoted through Rodjatv's Instagram, is one of the business models to get profits (Interview #1: Agus Hasanuddin, August 27, 2021). By selling parabolas up to 100,000 units since 2011, Rodja media still exists as the "Channel of the Tilawah (Reading) of the Qur'an and Islamic Studies" on an ongoing basis. It can reach virtual followers who have never even met the speakers who often appear on Rodja TV and Rodjatv's Instagram. As one follower admitted, Dariskan Irananda claimed to have first seen Rodjatv's show at a friend's house and was immediately interested in becoming a virtual jama'ah. "When I went to a friend's house and only saw the first Rodja TV broadcast, I was finally interested in knowing how to access Rodja TV (by buying a parabola). Since then, I inshallah followed what the Prophet exemplified" (Interview: Dariskan Irananda, October 24, 2021). Another experience by Annisa Nurul Izzati, a follower from Padang, West Sumatra, is Rodjatv's Instagram follower and regularly accesses Rodjatv's Instagram social media to find out the latest developments in worship guidance and muamalah from Salafists at the first opportunity. Furthermore, to explore the content of the full study, Nurul Izzati will access Rodja TV through a parabola (Interview: Annisa Nurul Izzati via Direct Message Instagram, December 3, 2021).

Commodification Practices of Virtual Jama'ah: The term da'wah of tawhid (One God) and sunnah (rules quoted from the Prophet Muhammad) for Salafi Cileungsi is not just a form of the claim that they are a group of Salafus Shalih adherents (three generations after the life of Prophet Muhammad) alone. However, it became one of the three tool elements for the practice of commodification. In Vincent Mosco's terminology, commodification is the process of turning valuable things to use into marketable value products. In simple language, commodification is the process of converting a use-value into an exchange rate. Commodification includes and against three aspects: content, audience, and workers (Mosco, 2009). Referring to this commodification definition, it can be analogous that "something that originally could only be used for a specific purpose can be transformed into something of commercial value." The content of da'wah tawhid and sunnah in

Rodjatv, which was originally a message of guidance of worship and muamalah or an invitation to Islamic purification inviting Muslims to return to the teachings of Salafus Shalih supported by activities and skills in production mode by Rodja workers producing audiences or followers in large quantities, it turns into a cashable commodity. In addition to capitalizing on followers such as 2,000 muhsinin, who make IDR 300 million in donations per month, the practice of commodification of Rodjatv is also carried out through the sale of parabolas to access the Rodja TV Satellite platform's broadcast through the description "Rodja Parabola Outlet" on Rodjatv Instagram. Since the Rodja TV satellite platform aired in 2011, Rodja management managed to sell at least 100,000 units of the parabola.

Virtual Jama'ah as Ideological Jama'ah: Since conducting a digital presence in 2007 through the website www.radiorodja.com until 2020 through Rodjatv Instagram and Telegram, a wave of followers continues to grow. On October 6, 2020, the number of followers was in the range of 435,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/. October 6, 2020), but on May 15, 2022, or within 18 months, there was an increase of about 58,000 new Rodjatv followers to 493,000 (https://www.instagram.com/rodjatv/. Saturday, April 15, 2022). The aggregated and solid followers are not only actively involved in interactions through like, comment, and share features but also carry out positive activities like religious communities. As Howard Rheingold's theory defines, virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people have long enough public discussions with human feelings to form a network of personal relationships in cyberspace. The Salafi virtual community also discusses in public spaces through the comment feature on Rodjatv's Instagram to gain knowledge in matters of worship and muamalah. Through the virtual mode of interaction, Rodjatv's followers, who number hundreds of thousands of people, form networks as communities or jama'ah who experience emotional attachment to technological rituals as a form of human feeling, as Rheingold emphasized. Despite simply experiencing attachment to technological rituals to virtually absorb the preaching of tawhid and sunnah, Salafism followers in Rodjatv still show distinction as jama'ah of an ideological, religious group. The majority of virtual interactions are positive. Some comments are even tinged with compliments and prayers such as "Subhanallah. Barokallahu fii kum," which means "Holy God. May Allah blesses you" (https://www.instagram.com/p/CO7q9RONBsd/.). The character of Rodjatv's followers shows that they have absorbed the teachings of Salafus Shalih, who is polite and noble in character, as is the principle of Salafism da'wah.

CONCLUSION

Based on the proposition that "all muamalah (social relations) affairs are allowed except those that are prohibited," including the permissible use of even Jewish product technology, Salafists with conservative ideology are also well utilized new media, namely Instagram social media, which is widely used by young people. Through Rodjatv's account, Salafists gained a large following, which was 493,000 as of May 15, 2022. Instagram users from these young people became the target of reproducing social formations to maintain the status quo as the successor to the teachings of Salafus Shalih (three generations of Islam after the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad). By optimizing two new media characters, namely interactivity and digital capitalism, Salafists succeeded in carrying out "advertising-based capital accumulation based on social media (digital capitalism)."

The accumulation of capital is in the form of regular donations from muhsinin (kind people, philanthropists) amounting to about 2,000 people who were netted through calls on Rodja TV's news sticker/running text and descriptions on Rodjatv's account on Instagram and raised IDR 300 million per month, more than enough for Rodja's media operating expenses. In total, it includes hiring about 35 employees. With rodja's operational costs guaranteed, Salafists can sustainably reproduce social

formations to maintain the status quo. Salafists also carry out the practice of commodification, which is the process of turning things of value into products that can be marketed to content, workers, and audiences (followers) through "Rodja Parabola Outlet." With the sale of parabola reaching a volume of 100,000 units, it not only expanded the reach of followers but also brought financial beneficiaries for the sustainability of Rodja religious mediatization.

This practice of digital capitalism by Salafism later became an inspiration for other da'wah groups. To uncover the reality of the volume of financial gain and map the overall actors of digital capitalism by religious groups, it is necessary to follow up through more comprehensive research. On the other hand, communication and informatics authorities, together with legislative institutions, need to make clear regulations regarding the use of social media for the benefit of religious da'wah. Because in addition to legal loopholes from the economic side, such as taxes and others, social media used by certain ideological groups tend to invite socio-political insecurity in the long term exclusively.

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