

Negotiation of Salafi *Da'wah* Discourse in the Digital Sphere: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Rumaysho.com

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Abstract: Digital transformation in religious communication has triggered significant changes in Islamic *da'wah* strategies and narratives, including among ideologically recognized groups such as Salafi. This study aims to examine how Salafi *da'wah* discourse is negotiated, adapted, and represented in digital spaces through *Rumaysho.com*, a popular *da'wah* platform managed by *Ustaz* Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal. Using a qualitative approach and Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method, this research analyzes 30 articles on creed (*'aqidah*), worship (*'ibadah*), and contemporary issues published between 2024 and mid 2025. The analysis follows Fairclough's three dimensions, namely textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice, to reveal how ideological messages are recontextualized to align with the participatory and plural characteristics of digital public spaces. The findings show that *Rumaysho.com* represents a shift in Salafi *da'wah* discourse, where textual orthodoxy is strategically adapted through communicative, aesthetic, and symbolic approaches, thereby maintaining ideological authority while reaching a broader public sphere. This study contributes a framework for understanding how theologically rigid groups strategically adapt their communicative repertoire in digital environments without doctrinal compromise.

Keywords: Digital *da'wah*, Salafism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Religious Authority.

Abstrak: Transformasi digital dalam komunikasi keagamaan telah memicu perubahan signifikan dalam strategi dan narasi dakwah Islam, termasuk pada kelompok yang dikenal ideologis seperti Salafi. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengkaji bagaimana wacana dakwah Salafi dinegosiasikan, diadaptasi, dan direpresentasikan di ruang digital melalui situs *Rumaysho.com*, sebuah platform dakwah populer yang dikelola oleh *Ustaz* Muhammad

Abduh Tuasikal. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif dan metode Analisis Wacana Kritis (*Critical Discourse Analysis*) Norman Fairclough, penelitian ini menganalisis artikel-artikel bertema aqidah, ibadah, dan isu-isu kontemporer yang berjumlah 30 buah dan dipublikasikan antara tahun 2024 hingga pertengahan 2025. Analisis mengikuti tiga dimensi Fairclough, yaitu analisis teks, praktik wacana, dan praktik sosial, untuk mengungkap bagaimana pesan-pesan ideologis direkontekstualisasi agar selaras dengan karakter publik digital yang partisipatif dan plural. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *Rumaysho.com* merepresentasikan pergeseran wacana dakwah Salafi, di mana ortodoksi tekstual diadaptasi secara strategis melalui pendekatan komunikatif, estetis, dan simbolik, sehingga tetap mempertahankan otoritas ideologis namun mampu menjangkau ruang publik yang lebih luas. Studi ini memberikan kerangka untuk memahami bagaimana kelompok-kelompok yang secara teologis bersifat rigid secara strategis menyesuaikan repertoar komunikatif mereka dalam lingkungan digital tanpa mengorbankan prinsip-prinsip doktrinal.

Kata Kunci: Dakwah Digital, Salafi, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Otoritas Keagamaan



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Introduction

The advancement of digital technology has revolutionized patterns of religious communication by shifting *da'wah* practices from hierarchical physical spaces to more fluid, horizontal, and interactive online platforms.¹ In Indonesia, digital media has not only become a new medium for disseminating Islamic messages but also a contested arena where religious groups compete to construct meaning, authority, and a religious audience.² One prominent group in this context is the Salafi community, which is known for its textualist and purist interpretation of Islam but has increasingly adapted to the digital landscape while maintaining its ideological identity. Dale F Eickelman (2015) initiated discussions on the decentralization of religious authority through media,³ and this perspective is reinforced by the work of Giulia Evolvi and Maria Chiara Giorda (2021), who emphasize that digital spaces have transformed religious authority into a more performative structure grounded in technological credibility and audience engagement.⁴ Therefore, the emergence of websites such as *Rumaysho.com* should be understood not merely as an expression of *da'wah*, but also as a strategic practice in

¹ Tata Sukayat, "Da'wah Communication in the Contemporary Era: Implementing Da'wah Ethics on Social Media," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 43, no. 2 (2023): 375-90, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v43.2.18465>.

² Agus Fatuh Widoyo et al., "Moderation of Religion in the Fatwa of Majelis Ulama Indonesia about the Ethics of Da'wah in the Digital Age," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 43, no. 1 (2023): 107-19, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v43.1.16053>.

³ Dale F Eickelman, "Who Gets the Past? The Changing Face of Islamic Authority and Religious Knowledge," in *BT - Geographies of Knowledge and Power*, ed. Peter Meusburger, Derek Gregory, and Laura Suarsana (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2015), 135-45, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9960-7_6.

⁴ Giulia Evolvi and Maria Chiara Giorda, "Introduction: Islam, Space, and the Internet," *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture* 10, no. 1 (2021): 1-12, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-bja10047>.

constructing new forms of religious authority within the contemporary digital Islamic communication ecosystem.

The website *Rumaysho.com*, managed by *Ustaz* Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, represents the transformation of Salafi *da'wah* within the digital landscape through a systematic, authoritative communication strategy grounded in a strict adherence to the *Manhaj Salaf*. This platform offers a wide range of Islamic content, including Qur'anic exegesis, hadith studies, Islamic legal Q&A, and thematic articles on daily issues, all written in a concise, structured style that reflects a strong orientation toward doctrinal purification. The significance of *Rumaysho.com* lies in its demonstration of how the Salafi movement not only maintains its theological ideology but also adapts it into a more communicative digital format that is responsive to contemporary issues and accessible to lay audiences. In line with the perspective of Campbell and Tsuria (2021), the success of religious practice in the digital age depends heavily on the ability of religious actors to engage in symbolic, rhetorical, and technological adaptation in order to keep their messages relevant within a plural and rapidly evolving social environment.⁵ Therefore, *Rumaysho.com* functions not only as a platform for *da'wah* but also as a strategic instrument for rearticulating Salafi identity within a digital public sphere that demands both information efficiency and communicative sensitivity.

Nevertheless, Salafi *da'wah* in the digital realm does not develop within a sterile social space, but rather confronts the contemporary Islamic discourse landscape that is pluralistic, competitive, and deeply embedded in identity negotiations. While Salafi narratives emphasize the urgency of maintaining doctrinal purity as practiced by the earliest generations of Islam (*salaf al-ṣāliḥ*),⁶ the logic of digital space demands a communication style that is inclusive, adaptive, and capable of symbolically competing with other Islamic narratives that may be more progressive or Sufi-oriented.⁷ In this context, Salafi preaching undergoes a process of reframing, where rigid theological meanings are reorganized to appear communicative without compromising their core substance, as a response to the expectations of a digital public. As Pauline Hope Cheong's (2016) study suggests, digital media compels religious traditions to redefine authority, sacred symbols, and their sociocultural positioning in order to remain relevant in a participatory and networked communication environment.⁸ Thus, the presence of Salafism in the digital world must be understood as part of a complex discourse negotiation practice, wherein theological conservatism is brought into

⁵ Ruth Tsuria and Heidi A. Campbell, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media* (New York: Routledge, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429295683>.

⁶ Saipul Hamdi, "Wahhabism and the Shariah State in Indonesia," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2021, 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3767226>.

⁷ Zaini Dahlan et al., "CELEBRITY ULAMA': Opportunities for the Commodification of Religion and the Values of Islamic Education Das'ad Latif," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 12, no. 1 (December 31, 2025): 2492427, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2492427>.

⁸ Pauline Hope Cheong, "The Vitality of New Media and Religion: Communicative Perspectives, Practices, and Changing Authority in Spiritual Organization," *New Media & Society* 19, no. 1 (May 31, 2016): 25–33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816649913>.

dialogue with the digital public's demands for rationality, aesthetics, and social proximity.

The negotiation of meaning in Salafi *da'wah* within the digital sphere is not merely a softening of the message's substance, but rather a deliberately crafted communication strategy aimed at preserving ideological fidelity to the *Manhaj Salaf* while simultaneously fostering emotional and intellectual engagement with a diverse digital public.⁹ The tension between the normative authority of scriptural texts and the demands of communicative responsiveness in a contemporary era constitutes a central dialectical arena shaping the modes of online Salafi preaching. Within the framework of contemporary Islamic communication, this phenomenon can be understood as a form of relational engagement that seeks to combine moral authority with social sensitivity, thereby enabling *da'wah* to move beyond the mere transmission of doctrine toward cultivating meaningful connections. This is supported by the findings of Imran Hosen and Md. Abdul Matin Bhuiyan (2023) argues that digital *da'wah* no longer functions through a linear transmission of teachings, but rather reconstructs power relations and religious authority between the preacher (*dā'i*), the audience (*mad'ū*), and the digital medium itself.¹⁰ Consequently, the Salafi *da'wah* approach exemplified by Rumaysho.com reflects a significant shift in Islamic communication patterns from instructional to dialogical-strategic while maintaining a firm ideological foundation

This study aims to examine how the process of meaning negotiation in Salafi *da'wah* is mediated through digital content on the *Rumaysho.com* platform, as a representation of the articulation of conservative religious ideology within the digital public sphere. Adopting an Islamic communication approach and utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Norman Fairclough, this study focuses on the construction of language, narrative structures, and representational strategies of Islamic values associated with the *Manhaj Salaf* within the context of digital *da'wah*. The analysis not only addresses the content and form of the messages but also explores how these messages are strategically positioned within a fluid, competitive, and ideologically layered landscape of social digital interaction. In line with the findings of Moch Nur Ichwan and Martin Slama (2022), the digital sphere now functions as a contested arena of meaning and religious authority, where various Islamic groups compete to produce interpretations, capture audiences, and maintain their identities.¹¹ Therefore, this research emphasizes the importance of understanding digital Salafi *da'wah* not merely as an act of ideological reproduction, but as an active and adaptive discursive practice in shaping new forms of religious authority.

⁹ Mohammad Fattahun Niam, "Anak Muda Dan Media: Dakwah Sheikh Assim Di Media Sosial Sebagai Basis Transmisi Salafisme Di Indonesia," *Dialog* 47, no. 1 SE-Articles (2024): 131–47, <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v47i1.932>.

¹⁰ Imran Hosen and Md. Abdul Matin Bhuiyan, "The Intersection of Media and Politics in South Asia and the West," *Journal of Governance and Public Policy* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.52823/AUWO6762>.

¹¹ Moch Nur Ichwan and Martin Slama, "Reinterpreting the First Pillar of the Nation: (Dis)Continuities of Islamic Discourses about the State Ideology in Indonesia," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 23, no. 4 (October 2, 2022): 457–74, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2022.2139687>.

Building upon the background and the novelty presented earlier, this study is guided by a key research question: how is Salafi *da'wah*, which is ideologically inclined toward textualism, puritanism, and exclusivism, renegotiated within a digital sphere that demands openness, adaptability, and sensitivity to the dynamics of public communication? In this context, the central issue explored is how meaning negotiation occurs in the construction of Islamic messages disseminated through Rumaysho.com, particularly in aligning the values of the *manhaj salaf* with the expectations of an increasingly plural and interactive digital public. This research also interrogates the extent to which Islamic communication strategies are tactically employed to bridge the tension between doctrinal orthodoxy and the need for communicative, rational, and contextually grounded narratives in the online sphere. Furthermore, it is essential to examine how Rumaysho.com constructs religious authority through its use of language, narrative structure, and digital content visualization, thereby sustaining ideological legitimacy while engaging a broader and more heterogeneous audience. Accordingly, this study is structured around three core research questions: *first*, how is the negotiation of Salafi *da'wah* meanings constructed in digital space; *second*, what Islamic communication strategies are utilized in the articulation of these messages; and *third*, how is religious authority represented through the narratives and aesthetics of the *Rumaysho.com* platform.

Several studies have explored the online representation of Salafism, the logic of *da'wah* mediation in digital media, and the contextualization of Salafi preaching to modern audiences. One such study is by Mahmud Hibatul Wafi et al. (2025), titled *The Reproduction of Salafism in the Online Ecosystem: Strengthening of Indonesian Salafi Groups*. This study explains that Salafi groups in Indonesia have actively developed a systematic digital *da'wah* ecosystem through various online channels, including websites and social media platforms. Using a media ecosystem analysis approach, the researchers demonstrate how Salafi Islamic narratives are reproduced through consistent language, distinctive terminologies such as *Manhaj Salaf*, and uniform visual strategies. This study provides a critical foundation for understanding the ideological structure and patterns of meaning production within Rumaysho.com as one of the primary digital Salafi *da'wah* entities in Indonesia.¹²

A more focused study on social media was conducted by Triyono and Nurangga (2024), who examined the mediation of Salafi Islamic thought through the Instagram account @rumayshocom. Although their object of analysis was social media, their findings remain highly relevant as they reveal a structured communication strategy employed by the Salafi movement, which pays close attention to visual aesthetics, diction choices, and message packaging to remain authoritative yet communicative. The study highlights that *Rumaysho.com* not only reproduces *da'wah* texts but also

¹² M. Hibatul Wafi, Hidayati M., and S. Usman, "The Reproduction of Salafism in the Online Ecosystem: Strengthening of Indonesian Salafi Groups," *Multidisciplinary Science Journal*, 2025, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31893/multiscience.2026128>.

creates a digital experience that is consistent with its ideological character, particularly in content targeting urban Muslim youth.¹³

Subsequently, Sunaryanto (2023), in his study titled *Reading the Ideology of Salafi Da'wah: Media Technology Perspective*, highlights the relationship between media technology and the sustainability of Salafi ideology within digital spaces. This research demonstrates that the use of technology serves not merely as a technical tool but as an ideological instrument to reinforce the influence of puritanical *da'wah*. Through a critical approach to Salafi content, Sunaryanto emphasizes that digital *da'wah* not only conveys religious messages but also subtly constructs authority and truth claims through repeated symbolic logic. These findings provide a strong theoretical foundation for interpreting *Rumaysho.com* as a site of ideological production that is not only informative but also hegemonic in shaping public religious opinion.¹⁴

This study holds significant academic relevance as it contributes to the field of Islamic communication studies by offering new insights into how Salafi groups, often associated with doctrinal rigidity and religious exclusivism,¹⁵ have strategically adapted to the digital media ecosystem. Through this approach, it becomes possible to analyze how puritan Islamic narratives are rearticulated into forms of communication that are more dialogical, persuasive, and responsive to the dynamics of digital publics. In this context, *Rumaysho.com* serves as a compelling case study that illustrates the transformation of Salafi *da'wah* from an authoritarian-instructive model to a more participatory style while still preserving its ideological integrity.¹⁶ This is consistent with Giulia Evolvi's (2022) argument that digital mediation compels religious groups to reformulate their representational strategies to remain relevant and competitive within an increasingly digitalized Islamic public sphere.¹⁷

By employing a critical discourse analysis approach, this study uncovers the underlying power relations and ideological structures embedded within Salafi religious narratives, revealing layers of meaning often obscured by normative and religious language.¹⁸ Furthermore, this research contributes significantly to the

¹³ Agus Triyono and Faruq Arif Nurangga, "Mediation of Islamic Thought Through Social Media Instagram on @Rumayshocom Account," *Perspektif Komunikasi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Politik Dan Komunikasi Bisnis* 8, no. 2 (2024): 199–212, <https://doi.org/10.24853/pk.8.2.199-212>.

¹⁴ Sunaryanto, "Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman Reading the Ideology of Salafi Da'wah: Media Technology Perspective," *Analisis Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 23, no. 1 (2023): 21–46, <https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v23i1.14466>.

¹⁵ Simon Sorgenfrei, "Branding Salafism: Salafi Missionaries as Social Media Influencers," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 34, no. 3 (2021): 211–37, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15700682-12341515>.

¹⁶ Arisy Dzukroni and Muhammad Aziz, "Quo Vadis Modern Salafism: Re-Questioning Salafi's Moderation Value on Social Media," *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 9, no. 2 SE-Articles (November 27, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v9i2.241>.

¹⁷ Giulia Evolvi, "Religion and the Internet: Digital Religion, (Hyper)Mediated Spaces, and Materiality," *Zeitschrift Für Religion, Gesellschaft Und Politik* 6, no. 1 (2022): 9–25, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41682-021-00087-9>.

¹⁸ Natasha Constantin et al., "Religious Transformation in Digital Era: Mediatization Impact on Religious Practice," *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies* 4, no. 10 SE-Articles (October 20, 2024): 8977–89, <https://doi.org/10.59188/eduvest.v4i10.1313>.

discourse on Islamic moderation and the transformation of *da'wah* communication in the era of digital disruption by demonstrating how Salafi groups, typically associated with rigidity and textualism, have successfully adapted to digital technologies in a dialogical manner without compromising their ideological identity. These findings indicate that the digital realm is not merely a channel for religious dissemination but also a site for negotiating religious identity and rearticulating more effective *da'wah* strategies in an increasingly digitized society. This study also offers a new perspective on the shifting dynamics of religious authority in the age of new media, where the legitimacy of religious messages is no longer solely determined by traditional chains of transmission or classical authority,¹⁹ but also by the symbolic, rhetorical, and technological competencies of religious actors.²⁰ Accordingly, this research presents a relevant analytical framework for understanding contemporary dynamics in Islamic communication, particularly in the context of ideological contestation, digital mediation, and the reorientation of religious authority within the complexities of the modern public sphere.

Research Method

This study employs a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework.²¹ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to examine how Salafi *da'wah* discourse on Rumaysho.com is constructed and adapted within digital media contexts. The analysis focuses on textual features, discursive practices, and the socio-cultural dimensions underlying the production and dissemination of *da'wah* messages. Through this approach, the study investigates how religious authority, ideology, and strategies of legitimation are articulated in digital communication practices.²²

The primary object of this study is the Islamic *da'wah* content published on the *Rumaysho.com* website, particularly articles focused on themes such as '*aqidah* (creed), worship, and contemporary Islamic issues that reflect the characteristics of Salafi *da'wah* in digital format. Data were collected through document analysis of written content officially published on the site, complemented by observation of the website's layout structure, use of visual elements, and non-verbal narratives accompanying the messages. Articles were selected purposively based on strategic considerations, including the thematic relevance to Salafi *Manhaj* values, levels of

¹⁹ Giulia Evolvi, "Religion, New Media, and Digital Culture" (Oxford University Press, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.917>.

²⁰ Arief Rachman, Theguh Saumantri, and Taufik Hidayatulloh, "Transformation of Religious Authority in the Digital Era: A Post-Normal Times Analysis by Ziauddin Sardar on the Phenomenon of Social Media Da'wah," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 45, no. 1 SE-Articles (July 6, 2025): 107–22, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v45.1.25644>.

²¹ Norman Fairclough and Isabela Fairclough, "A Procedural Approach to Ethical Critique in CDA," *Critical Discourse Studies* 15, no. 2 (March 15, 2018): 169–85, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2018.1427121>.

²² Mildred F Perreault and Gregory P Perreault, "Journalists on COVID-19 Journalism: Communication Ecology of Pandemic Reporting," *American Behavioral Scientist* 65, no. 7 (February 5, 2021): 976–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764221992813>.

popularity or audience engagement, and variations in communication style that demonstrate adaptation to digital audiences. The articles analyzed include 30 main pieces published between early 2024 and mid-2025, with a particular focus on how Salafi ideological values are rearticulated through rhetorical strategies and media aesthetics. This approach aims to uncover the symbolic and discursive dimensions of contemporary Salafi *da'wah* and to explain how such digital content plays a role in shaping religious authority within the online public sphere.

Table 1. Articles Used as Analytical Data

No	Article Title on the Rumaysho.com Website	Sub-Theme of Discussion
1	Friday Khutbah: Do Not Commit Tashabbuh! The Prohibition of Imitating Non-Muslims in Islam	Aqidah
2	The Fundamentals and Branches of Religion: A Critical Study of the Ushul-Furu' Classification	Creed
3	Have You Truly Declared the Shahadah? Understanding the True Meaning of "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah"	Creed
4	How to Overcome Laziness in Worship: An Islamic Guide Based on Authentic Evidence	Creed
5	Not Everything Needs a Response: Understanding the Difference Between Taghaful and Tajahul	Creed
6	Tawhid in Life: From Belief to a Source of Strength	Creed
7	Friday Khutbah: The Principle of Creed and Loyalty toward Muslims and Non-Muslims	Creed
8	Selling the Verses of Allah for a Small Price: What Does It Mean?	Creed
9	The Difference Between Satan and Iblis: Linguistic Meaning, Terminological Definition, and Scholarly Explanations	Creed
10	What Will Be Weighed on the Scale (Mizan) on the Day of Judgment: Deeds, Records, or the Person Themselves?	Creed
11	The Virtues of Dhikr	Worship
12	Six Deeds That Will Heavily Weigh the Scale of Good Deeds on the Day of Judgment	Worship
13	15 Tips for Remaining Steadfast on the Path of Allah: Staying Firm Despite Many Temptations	Worship
14	The Most Comprehensive Supplication in the Qur'an: Happiness in This World and Salvation in the Hereafter (The "Rabbana" Supplication)	Worship
15	What Is 'Umrah Qadha'? Its Historical Background and Wisdom	Worship
16	Guidelines for Supplication: Ask Allah by Expressing Your Deep Need for Him	Worship
17	The Ruling on Congregational Prayer: Obligatory or Recommended? Complete with Evidence and Explanations	Worship

18	Differences Between the Prayer of Men and Women: A Comprehensive Fiqh Explanation	Worship
19	Is It More Virtuous to Shorten the Prayer and Not Fast While Travelling? The Virtues of Istighfar and Repentance	Worship
20	Friday Khutbah: Expressing Gratitude for Independence through Worship, Obedience, and Unity	Contemporary Issue
21	The Prohibition of Music in Islam: An Explanation of Surah Luqman Verse 6	Contemporary Issue
22	Does Copyright Contradict Islam? Scholarly Explanations from Islamic Scholars	Contemporary Issue
23	The Ruling on Visiting Al-'Ula in Islam: A Comprehensive Guide for Muslim Travellers	Contemporary Issue
24	The Ruling on Exchanging New Banknotes before Eid: Is There an Element of Riba?	Contemporary Issue
25	Matan Taqrib: A Fiqh Guide to Lost Property and Missing Children	Contemporary Issue
26	The Definition of Wealth in Islam: Are Skills and Expertise Included?	Contemporary Issue
27	Islamic Rulings on Balances in Digital Wallets (GoPay, OVO, DANA, and Others)	Contemporary Issue
28	Friday Khutbah: The Widespread Culture of Vote Buying and Bribery in This Country	Contemporary Issue
29	The Standards of a Prosperous and Happy Nation According to the Qur'anic Perspective	Contemporary Issue
30	The Prohibition of Music in Islam: An Explanation of Surah Luqman Verse 6	Contemporary Issue

Source: The data was obtained from the Rumasyho.com website

The analysis in this study refers to the three dimensions of critical discourse analysis developed by Norman Fairclough: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice,²³ which together provide an integrated understanding of the construction of digital *da'wah*. *The first dimension*, textual analysis, involves examining diction, sentence structure, use of metaphors, and rhetorical strategies employed in articles on Rumasyho.com to establish authority and persuade the audience. *The second dimension*, discursive practice, explores how these texts are produced, circulated, and consumed within the digital context, including patterns of editorial decisions, audience segmentation, and mechanisms for content distribution across online platforms. *The third dimension*, social practice, focuses on how the selected *da'wah* content reflects the ideological position of Salafism in responding to contemporary religious challenges such as pluralism, modernity, and the mediation of authority. This multidimensional approach offers a comprehensive analytical framework to uncover how Salafi *da'wah* not only conveys normative teachings but

²³ Norman Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Policy Studies," *Critical Policy Studies* 7, no. 2 (July 1, 2013): 177–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2013.798239>.

also engages actively in negotiating meaning, articulating identity, and adapting strategies in response to socially mediated technological transformations.²⁴

To ensure the validity of data and the depth of analysis, this study employs source triangulation and repeated interpretive analysis to maintain consistency of findings and readability of meaning across various layers of discourse. In addition, the researcher conducted a critical reading of the website content and patterns of digital interaction surrounding the analyzed articles as an effort to capture how Salafi da'wah messages are presented, constructed, and negotiated within the digital public sphere. A complementary hermeneutic approach was employed to understand the implicit meanings within the *da'wah* texts,²⁵ taking into account the social context, historical background, and Islamic values that underpin the ideological foundations of Salafi discourse. This study is descriptive-analytical in nature and does not intend to assess the correctness of the *da'wah* content, but rather aims to map how the messages are strategically constructed and communicated within the competitive digital media ecosystem. In this way, the research offers a critical and reflective reading of contemporary Islamic communication dynamics, particularly in relation to authority, ideology, and meaning construction in the digital public sphere.

Result and Discussion

Discursive Negotiation in Digital Salafi *Da'wah* Practices

Salafi *da'wah* is widely recognized for its emphasis on textual purity, the validity of transmission chains (*sanad*), and strict adherence to the teachings of the early generations of Muslim scholars (*salaf*), often rejecting contextual or modernist interpretations of Islamic teachings.²⁶ However, upon entering the digital realm, this mode of preaching has undergone a process of recontextualization, particularly in terms of its form and communication style, which appear more structured and softened.²⁷ In the case of *Rumaysho.com*, Salafi teachings are still delivered within a rigid theological framework, yet are strategically presented communicatively to align with the expectations of a more ideologically fluid digital audience. This reflects a process of meaning negotiation in which Salafi ideological values are maintained while being conveyed through channels that facilitate cultural and emotional dialogue.

The negotiation of meaning on this platform is evident in how sensitive issues such as "*bid'ah*" (religious innovation), "non-Islamic celebrations," or "the obligation to migrate from usurious systems" are presented in a narrative and applicative manner, rather than as outright prohibitions. An article like "*The Islamic Legal Ruling on Extending Christmas Greetings*" does not begin with strict legal injunctions, but rather opens with a sociological explanation about the context of interreligious coexistence

²⁴ Saipul Hamdi, "De-Kulturalisasi Islam Dan Konflik Sosial Dalam Dakwah Wahabi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Kawistara* 9, no. 2 (2019): 164, <https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.40397>.

²⁵ Putra et al., 2023

²⁶ Adeni and Silviatul Hasanah, "Considering the Moderate Da' Wah Path of the Purist Salafism: Rodja TV Community Case," *International Conference On Religion, Spirituality And Humanity* Vol. 6, no. 2 (2019): 163–80, <https://pps.iainsalatiga.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Considering-the-Moderate-Dawah-Path-of-the-Purist-Salafism-Rodja-TV-Community-Case.pdf>.

²⁷ Adeni and Hasanah.

before gradually leading into the framework of *tawhīd* (Islamic monotheism) and the boundaries of *sharī'a*. This approach indicates a shift from confrontational *da'wah* communication toward a more educational style that fosters proximity. A study by Ellyta Effendi et al. observes that contemporary Indonesian digital *da'i* increasingly adopt a narrative persuasion style rather than normative instruction, as a strategy to maintain reader engagement and interest.²⁸ Thus, while the conveyed messages continue to reflect theological exclusivity, their delivery is adapted to accommodate the cultural and psychological sensitivities of the digital public.

Negotiation also occurs at the linguistic level, where classical terms such as *ittibā'c*, *taḥdhīr*, and *manhaj* are supplemented with practical explanations and contemporary analogies.²⁹ This reflects an awareness of the potential alienation experienced by lay audiences when exposed to overly scriptural religious language. In the digital context, linguistic clarity becomes part of discursive competitiveness, where religious messages must contend with lighter, more accessible content. Fatimah Husein and Martin Slama (2018) argue that religious language that fails to adapt to the linguistic logic of digital media tends to lose its appeal and struggles to cultivate a cohesive online community.³⁰ Therefore, the use of friendly diction and repetition of popular narratives constitutes a deliberate strategy to stabilize the meaning of Salafi *da'wah* within the highly dynamic digital public sphere.

Moreover, the article structure demonstrates a tendency toward a problem-solution framing approach, in which contemporary issues such as "the permissibility of working at a bank,"³¹ "online lending," or "the hijrah trend"³² are introduced as entry points into normative religious discussions. This pattern helps build emotional resonance and social relevance between the readers and the religious narratives presented, implying that Salafi Islam is not merely speaking to the past but remains engaged with modern life. This reinforces Anna Halafoff's (2020) concept of the importance of everyday religion framing in digital *da'wah* practices aimed at engaging young urban audiences.³³ When religious texts are positioned as solutions to everyday life, they become more than a set of rules; they transform into functional sources of meaning. Thus, this applicative narrative structure serves as a vital part of the meaning negotiation process that maintains doctrinal content while reconfiguring its format.

²⁸ Ellyta Effendi, Abdullah Abdullah, and Rubino Rubino, "Empowering Muslim Women through Digital Da'wah: A Case Study of Hijabers Community Medan," *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial* 7, no. 2 SE-Articles (December 31, 2024): 373–93, <https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrik.v7i2.6982>.

²⁹ Shaheen Amid Whyte, "The Ulama: History, Institutions and Modernity BT - Islamic Religious Authority in a Modern Age: Australian and Global Perspectives," ed. Shaheen Amid Whyte (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2024), 29–53, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-7931-8_2.

³⁰ Fatimah Husein and Martin Slama, "Online Piety and Its Discontent: Revisiting Islamic Anxieties on Indonesian Social Media," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 134 (2018): 80–93, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1415056>.

³¹ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Ingin Melamar Kerja Di Bank, Bolehkah?," Rumaysho.com, 2024, <https://rumaysho.com/368-ingin-melamar-kerja-di-bank-bolehkah.html>.

³² Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Berhijrah Masih Separuh Hati," Rumaysho.com, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/19294-berhijrah-masih-separuh-hati.html>.

³³ Anna Halafoff, "A Personal and Scholarly Reflection on Sociology of Religion, Peacebuilding and Spaciousness," *Journal for the Academic Study of Religion* 32, no. 2-3 SE-Articles (2020): 234–47, <https://doi.org/10.1558/jasr.40154>.

Negotiation is also evident in the avoidance of exclusive or judgmental diction such as *mubtadi'* (innovator),³⁴ *ahli hawā* (follower of desire), or *fāsiq* (sinner)³⁵, which were commonly used in conventional Salafi preaching. Rumaysho.com instead prefers phrases like “mistaken according to the sharia,” “not in accordance with the Prophet’s guidance,” or “needs to be corrected,” which semantically carry a more invitational tone rather than a condemning one. This demonstrates that digital religious authority is not solely constructed through textual evidence, but also through the ability to create a communicative atmosphere that feels safe, clean, and participatory. A study by Paul Schrodt (2021) highlights that relational communication styles are essential for sustaining public trust within online religious spheres.³⁶ Thus, the softening of diction without altering theological foundations can be interpreted as a rhetorical compromise that maintains religious authority.

The negotiation of meaning is also evident in how the site responds to popular Islamic social phenomena such as “celebrity *hijrah*,” “viral converts,” or “repentance from the entertainment world.” Although Salafi theology tends to be cautious about ostentation (*riya'*) or fame in matters of faith, *Rumaysho.com* still features such narratives as evidence that Islamic teachings are relevant and worthy of being followed. This strategy demonstrates an openness in reframing social phenomena into narratives that support Salafi ideals. In this context, Salafi *da'wah* platforms do not merely respond to reality but actively reconstruct its meaning to align with the internal values of their theological school. Liz Bucar (2022) refers to this practice as a form of symbolic reappropriation, a strategy of reclaiming popular meanings in ways that serve religious agendas.³⁷

Furthermore, the process of meaning negotiation also extends to the visual aspects and content organization of the platform. The use of simple illustrations, clean layout, and soft color schemes creates an atmosphere of calm and purposeful spirituality. These features are not merely aesthetic choices, but integral components of religious message delivery associated with piety, orderliness, and credibility. In research conducted by Ruth Tsuria and Heidi A. Campbell (2021), visual strategies in digital *da'wah* significantly influence audience perceptions regarding the legitimacy of religious messages.³⁸ Thus, in the case of *Rumaysho.com*, the alignment between discourse content and its visual presentation reinforces the impression that Salafi *da'wah* is not only doctrinally sound but also media-savvy.

Ultimately, all these forms of adaptation, including linguistic, structural, aesthetic, and social dimensions, represent a complex negotiation of meaning in which

³⁴ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, “Ibnu Hajar Dan Imam Nawawi Dikatakan Mubtadi” Rumaysho.com, n.d., <https://rumaysho.com/1628-ibnu-hajar-dan-imam-nawawi-dikatakan-mubtadi.html>.

³⁵ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, “Fasik, Fajir, Dan Maksiat: Apa Bedanya?” Rumaysho.com, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/40334-fasik-fajir-dan-maksiat-apa-bedanya.html>.

³⁶ Paul Schrodt, “Religious Conversations and Relational Uncertainty in Romantic Relationships as Mediators of Family Communication Patterns and Young Adults’ Mental Well-Being,” *Western Journal of Communication* 85, no. 3 (May 27, 2021): 339–59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2020.1789729>.

³⁷ Liz Bucar, *Stealing My Religion: Not Just Any Cultural Appropriation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022).

³⁸ Tsuria and Campbell, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media*.

the purist values of Salafism are delivered in communicative and reflective formats suited to the dynamics of digital information consumption. Salafi *da'wah* in online spaces does not lose its ideological core; rather, it demonstrates the capacity to strategically recalibrate its communication approach to remain effective within a highly competitive and pluralistic discursive environment. This process of negotiation is not an ideological concession but reflects communicative intelligence aimed at maintaining both the continuity of religious values and the acceptability of the message. As Seung Soo Kim (2025) observes, the ability of a religious movement to endure in the digital sphere is closely linked to its communicative flexibility in preserving essential content while adjusting its modes of presentation.³⁹ In this regard, Rumaysho.com functions as a significant case in contemporary Islamic communication studies, illustrating how meaning negotiation becomes a central strategy for Salafi-oriented *da'wah* in the digital age.

Islamic Communication Strategies on the Rumaysho.com Platform

The *Rumaysho.com* platform consistently applies an Islamic communication approach that is educational, structured, and accessible to the wider public, particularly among urban Muslim youth. Its articles are not delivered in a dogmatic or instructive style typical of traditional sermons but are instead presented in a narrative format with a measured flow, beginning with a problem-oriented introduction and leading to a shari'a-based solution supported by scriptural evidence.⁴⁰ This strategy demonstrates that *Rumaysho.com* prioritizes message clarity and logical cohesion in its Islamic communication to reduce resistance toward normative religious content. From the perspective of Tsuria and Campbell (2021), message clarity and the ability to convey religious values through a coherent narrative framework are key indicators of successful digital religious communication in the post-truth era⁴¹. Thus, it can be argued that *Rumaysho.com* builds its *da'wa* credibility not solely on the content of its teachings, but also on the rhetorical structure and strategic presentation of its message.



Figure 1. An article titled "The Consequences of Performing Acts of Worship Without Proper Religious Guidance"⁴²

³⁹ Seung Soo Kim, "Religion, Migration, Mediation: The Transnational Lives of Thai Religious Imaginaries in South Korea," *Religions* 16, no. 6 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel16060748>.

⁴⁰ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "3 Manfaat Besar Berkunjung Ke Website Islam," Rumaysho.com.com, 2015, <https://rumaysho.com/10668-manfaat-berkunjung-website-islam.html>.

⁴¹ Tsuria and Campbell, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media*.

⁴² Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Akibat Beramal Tanpa Tuntunan," Rumaysho.com, 2014, <https://rumaysho.com/7929-akibat-beramal-tanpa-tuntunan.html>.

The language style used on this platform tends to be neutral, informative, and minimal in emotional or judgmental expressions, indicating an orientation toward reaching a broader and ideologically diverse public. The use of terms such as "not in accordance with the Prophet's guidance" instead of "deviant" or "misguided" signals that the Islamic communication developed by Rumaysho.com tends to avoid stigmatization while maintaining its critical stance on certain religious practices. This strategy aligns with the concept of civil religious communication developed by Anna Halafoff (2020) and Andi Faisal Bakti (2018), where digital religious communication is considered more effective when it is linguistically inclusive and does not provoke polarization.^{43,44} Thus, the communication strategy employed does not merely convey Islamic teachings but also reflects a calm, measured, and friendly ethos of communication. This becomes particularly significant in the midst of social media fragmentation, which can easily become a field of symbolic conflict.⁴⁵

In terms of presentation format, Rumaysho.com employs a consistent article structure: beginning with a social context, followed by scriptural analysis, explanations from Salafi scholars, and concluding with a summary or recommendation.⁴⁶ This model demonstrates that the site is not only concerned with content but also with providing a systematic reading experience that facilitates understanding. This consistency reinforces the view of Putri Isma Indriyani and Khadiq (2023), regarding the importance of narrative integrity in digital *da'wah*, in which each piece of content does not stand alone but forms part of a broader and more coherent discourse.⁴⁷ By organizing *da'wah* narratives in a repetitive pattern that is nonetheless adaptive to current issues, Rumaysho succeeds in establishing a recognizable rhythm of communication that audiences can follow. This strategy also strengthens the impression that the *da'wah* being delivered is not a momentary response, but part of a systematic worldview construction.

The visualization of the site is also an integral part of *Rumaysho.com's* Islamic communication strategy, where a simple interface, ad-free layout, and neutral color scheme reinforce impressions of piety, scholarship, and order. In the digital context, visual aspects are not merely supportive elements but serve as core components in constructing visual authority and institutional image. A study by Moch. Nur Ichwan and Martin Slama (2023) demonstrate that digital aesthetics on conservative *da'wah* websites function as a form of soft power that strengthens perceptions of credibility

⁴³ Halafoff, 2020

⁴⁴ Bakti, 2018

⁴⁵ Mona Abdel-Fadil, "The Politics of Affect: The Glue of Religious and Identity Conflicts in Social Media," *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture* 8, no. 1 (2019): 11–34, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-00801002>.

⁴⁶ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Syarhus Sunnah: Inilah Akidah Yang Disepakati Oleh Para Salaf," Rumaysho.com, 2021, <https://rumaysho.com/27394-syarhus-sunnah-inilah-akidah-yang-disepakati-oleh-para-salaf.html>.

⁴⁷ Putri Isma Indriyani and Khadiq, "Transformation of Islamic Religious Practices in the Digital Era: Opportunities and Challenges for Contemporary Da'wah," *Jurnal Dakwah* 24, no. 2 SE-Articles (December 30, 2023): 175–92, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.2023.24205>.

and authenticity in Islamic preaching.⁴⁸ Consequently, the deliberate choice to avoid sensational content, flashy design trends, and to maintain a minimalist style is a strategic decision linked to the construction of Salafi imagery as a serious and untainted form of Islam, disconnected from popular culture. This also illustrates that Islamic communication cannot be separated from the dynamics of visual representation in the digital age.

The site also deliberately regulates audience interactivity at a limited level. The absence of a comment section on main articles indicates that *Rumaysho.com* prioritizes a one-way, controlled transmission of messages while still allowing for dialogue through secondary platforms such as Instagram or YouTube. This strategy reflects the model of *Controlled Engagement* as described by S J Katarina Slama et al. (2021), in which digital religious actors choose communication models that maintain authority without severing connections with their audience.⁴⁹ By avoiding direct debates in the comment sections, *Rumaysho.com* ensures that its religious discourse remains insulated from potential disruptions, misinformation, or symbolic attacks. Thus, interaction remains possible, but only through channels and rules established by the *da'wah* authority.

One of the main strengths of the Islamic communication strategy on *Rumaysho.com* lies in its ability to align *da'wah* topics with current issues widely discussed among Indonesian Muslims. Articles addressing themes such as online loans, the ruling on physical contact between genders, congregational prayer during the pandemic, and age-gap marriage demonstrate that the site does not adopt an elitist or exclusive stance⁵⁰, but actively participates in public discourse with a clear normative position. This reflects a framing strategy that is responsive to contemporary developments while consistently maintaining Salafi ideological boundaries.⁵¹ According to Shannon A. Bowen (2016), the success of digital Islamic communication depends on the ability to combine *Moral Clarity* with *Cultural Awareness* in conveying religious messages.⁵² Therefore, *Rumaysho.com* has positioned itself as a significant actor in shaping public religious opinion without becoming populist in its content.

⁴⁸ Ichwan and Slama, "Reinterpreting the First Pillar of the Nation: (Dis)Continuities of Islamic Discourses about the State Ideology in Indonesia."

⁴⁹ S J Katarina Slama et al., "Intracranial Recordings Demonstrate Both Cortical and Medial Temporal Lobe Engagement in Visual Search in Humans," *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 33, no. 9 (August 1, 2021): 1833–61, https://doi.org/10.1162/jocn_a_01739.

⁵⁰ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Menikah Itu Disunnahkan, Penjelasan Berbagai Hukum Nikah Disertai Dalil," *Rumaysho.com*, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/39303-menikah-itu-disunnahkan-penjelasan-berbagai-hukum-nikah-disertai-dalil.html>.

⁵¹ Joas Wagemakers, "Salafism" (Oxford University Press, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.255>.

⁵² Shannon A Bowen, "Clarifying Ethics Terms in Public Relations from A to V, Authenticity to Virtue: BledCom Special Issue of PR Review Sleeping (with the) Media: Media Relations," *Public Relations Review* 42, no. 4 (2016): 564–72, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.03.012>.

Another strategy involves reinforcing scholarly narratives through consistent references to Salafi scholars,⁵³ contemporary fatwas from Middle Eastern clerics, and classical Arabic literature.⁵⁴ The systematic presentation of scriptural evidence, along with citations from scholars such as Ibn Qayyim, Al-Shafi'i, and Al-Albani, lends the articles on *Rumaysho.com* a strong sense of scholarly legitimacy.⁵⁵ However, these references are carefully framed in narratives that are accessible to Indonesian readers, simplifying without distorting the original meaning. This approach reflects the strategy of *Accessible Orthodoxy*,⁵⁶ which conveys scriptural teachings while adapting them to the digital religious literacy levels of the general public. As such, Islamic communication on this platform is not merely about legal instruction, but also about reproducing scholarly authority in a format that is democratically accessible.

In conclusion, the Islamic communication strategy employed by *Rumaysho.com* combines content clarity, linguistic politeness, narrative consistency, visual control, and selective interaction to construct a stable *da'wah* discourse in the digital sphere. Salafi *da'wah* on this platform does not appear in the confrontational style commonly associated with Salafism but rather in a calm, educational, and data-driven format. These strategies demonstrate that contemporary Islamic communication involves not only the transmission of doctrinal content but also the ability to adapt to a digital ecosystem that demands readability, emotional resonance, and technical professionalism. In this regard, *Rumaysho.com* can be positioned as a model of digital Salafi *da'wah* representation that is rhetorically mature and ideologically consistent. In line with Andrew Lichterman's (2022) analysis, the strength of digital religious discourse lies not in the harshness of its arguments but in the precision of its style, contextual relevance, and its ability to maintain audience trust amid discursive diversity and competition.⁵⁷

The Representation of Religious Authority and Salafi Ideology in Digital Platforms

Rumaysho.com constructs religious authority through a combination of classical Islamic scholarly heritage and structured modern performativity within the digital domain. The authority it presents is not only derived from references to prominent Salafi scholars but also through consistent use of primary religious sources and

⁵³ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Simbol Segitiga Dan Illuminati Dalam Masjid (Kritikan Untuk Ustadz Rahmat Baequni)," *Rumaysho.com*, 2019, <https://rumaysho.com/20671-simbol-dajjal-dan-segitiga-dalam-masjid-kritikan-untuk-ustadz-rahmat-baequni.html>.

⁵⁴ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Fatwa, Memakai Celana Panjang Dalam Shalat," *Rumaysho.com*, 2024, <https://rumaysho.com/1560-fatwa-memakai-celana-panjang-dalam-shalat.html>.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Dampak Buruk Maksiat: Pelajaran Dari Ibnul Qayyim," *Rumaysho.com*, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/39295-dampak-buruk-maksiat-pelajaran-dari-ibnul-qayyim.html>.

⁵⁶ Muhammad Riyyan Firdaus and Mohamad Dindin Hamam Sidik, "Constructing Religious Legitimacy in the Digital Public Sphere: A Study of Islamic Discourse on Social Media," *Khazanah Theologia* 6, no. 2 (2024): 85–110, <https://doi.org/10.15575/kt.v6i2.33173>.

⁵⁷ Andrew Lichterman, "The Peace Movement and the Ukraine War: Where to Now?," *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 5, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 185–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2022.2060634>.

citations from classical texts associated with the purity of the Salafi *Manhaj*. The site's principal contributor, *Ustaz* Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, positions himself as an authoritative figure by virtue of his Middle Eastern educational background and strong scholarly networks⁵⁸, which enhance his legitimacy in the digital public sphere.⁵⁹ According to L. Cochrane and M. Adams (2018), the construction of authority in contemporary Islam increasingly depends on the ability to combine traditional scholarly credentials with technological and narrative competence in online spaces.⁶⁰ Consequently, *Rumaysho.com* not only produces religious discourse but also strategically reproduces symbols of authority to secure its epistemological position amid an increasingly competitive information landscape.

The representation of Salafi ideology on this platform is manifested through the repetition of core values such as pure monotheism (*tauhid*), anti-innovation (*bid'ah*)⁶¹, rejection of blind imitation (*taqlid*)⁶², and the imperative to return to the Qur'an and Sunnah as understood by the *salaf al-salih*.⁶³ However, unlike the classic Salafi approach, which tends to be confrontational and exclusive in its verbal expressions, *Rumaysho.com* presents these ideological elements in a more communicative and narrative form. Messages emphasizing the obligation to follow the Salafi *Manhaj*, the dangers of religious innovations, and the importance of *ittiba'* are delivered in a persuasive tone with minimal use of confrontational language. This suggests that Salafi ideology in the digital space transforms its representational style, becoming more strategic without compromising its theological orientation.⁶⁴ Metin Kozak (2024) refers to this as *digital repositioning*, a shift in the delivery of ideological content to align with the norms of contemporary public communication.⁶⁵

This authoritative communication strategy is reinforced by the site's clean design, ad-free interface, and consistent navigation structure, which together shape a perception of professionalism and credibility in its *da'wah* approach. By avoiding

⁵⁸ Admin, "About Me Ustaz M Abduh Tausikal," *Rumaysho.com*, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/about-me>.

⁵⁹ Dwi Sri Handayani, "Ta'aruf Rules in Digital Room: Study of Matchmaking Process on Biro Jodoh Rumaysho Social Media," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum* 56, no. 2 SE-Articles (August 10, 2022): 223–43, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v56i2.1041>.

⁶⁰ L Cochrane and M Adams, "The Construction of Authority and Authenticity in Islamic Discourse(s): Contrasting and Historicizing Contemporary Narratives from English Sunni Narratives," *Contemporary Islam* 12, no. 3 (2018): 287–303, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-018-0422-1>.

⁶¹ Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Ini Yang Harus Dipahami, Para Ulama Berbeda Pendapat Dalam Pengertian Bid'ah," *Rumaysho.com*, 2024, <https://rumaysho.com/35214-ini-yang-harus-dipahami-para-ulama-berbeda-pendapat-dalam-pengertian-bidah.html>.

⁶² Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, "Ciri-Ciri Fanatik Kelompok (Ashobiyah)," *Rumaysho.com*, 2025, <https://rumaysho.com/11929-ciri-ciri-fanatik-kelompok-ashobiyah.html>.

⁶³ Roni Tabroni and Idham, "From Radical Labels to Moderate Islam: The Transformation of the Salafism Movement in Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 13, no. 2 (2023): 279–306, <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJIMS.V13I2.279-306>.

⁶⁴ Carmen Becker, "The Production of Salafi Spaces in Computer-Mediated Environments: A Social Theory Perspective on 'Digital Religion,'" *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture* 10, no. 1 (2021): 30–49, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-bja10033>.

⁶⁵ Metin Kozak, Gurel Cetin, and Zaid Alrawadieh, "Repositioning Work and Leisure: Digital Nomads Versus Tourists," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 26, no. 4 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2732>.

entertainment content, promotional material, or distracting visual elements, *Rumaysho.com* creates a digital experience aligned with the pious and orderly image of Salafi teachings.⁶⁶ This visual presentation is not merely a technical feature but constitutes part of the moral authority construction that enhances the site's scholarly credibility. As emphasized in the research of Ruth Tsuria and Heidi A. Campbell (2021), well-curated digital aesthetics play a critical role in shaping audience trust and acceptance of conservative religious messages.⁶⁷ Thus, *Rumaysho.com* effectively employs visual governance as an expression of ideological coherence and the authoritative image it seeks to uphold.

Beyond visual and linguistic aspects, narrative control plays a crucial role in shaping the representation of Salafi authority on this platform. The absence of comment sections or open forums indicates that the communication style employed is predominantly one-way, thereby preserving message stability and avoiding direct rejection or polarization among readers. Audience interaction is redirected to other platforms that are more easily regulated by algorithmic mechanisms, such as YouTube and Instagram, allowing for limited forms of engagement. This strategy aligns with the concept of *Controlled Interactivity*,⁶⁸ a model of digital communication that balances openness of access with discursive authority. Thus, *Rumaysho* maintains a dominant position in the structure of its *da'wah* communication without sacrificing connectivity with its online community.

The reinforcement of religious authority is also carried out by addressing current and often controversial public issues, such as the Islamic ruling on offering Christmas greetings, vaccination, and the Islamic lifestyle in urban contexts. In all of these articles, *Rumaysho.com* remains consistent with its textualist Salafi orientation,⁶⁹ yet presents it in a format that appears dialogical and relevant to everyday life. This indicates that Salafi ideology is not portrayed as detached from social realities but rather as a guiding framework that is claimed to provide solutions to the complexities of the modern world. Halafoff argues that the success of conservative digital *da'wah* lies in its ability to present religious teachings as part of moral everydayness, meaning teachings that are not only normative but also contextual.⁷⁰ Therefore, the representation of religious authority is constructed both vertically through theological truth claims and horizontally through the framing of issues that engage with the lived experiences of the audience.

In addition, *Rumaysho.com* positions Salafi authority as a representation of Islam that is rational, systematic, and grounded in scriptural evidence, while

⁶⁶ Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, "Being Pious among Indonesian Salafis," *Al-Jami'ah* 55, no. 1 (2017): 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.551.1-26>.

⁶⁷ Tsuria and Campbell, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Media*.

⁶⁸ Husein and Slama, "Online Piety and Its Discontent: Revisiting Islamic Anxieties on Indonesian Social Media."

⁶⁹ Sunarwoto Sunarwoto, "Islam Salafi, Tafsir, Dan Politik Penyuntingan," *SUHUF* 17, no. 2 SE-Articles (December 30, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v17i2.1059>.

⁷⁰ Halafoff, "A Personal and Scholarly Reflection on Sociology of Religion, Peacebuilding and Spaciousness."

deliberately avoiding emotional or mystical approaches. Each article follows a scholarly structure that begins with a core argument, continues with scriptural references and scholarly opinions, and concludes with practical applications oriented toward religious practice. This style supports the construction of a Salafi identity as a scholarly community that rejects superstition, personality cults, and non-textual forms of spirituality. In this context, digital Islamic communication functions as a medium for epistemological authority construction, as described by Ali-Reza Bhojani and Morgan Clarke (2023), where religious truth is understood as the result of methodological reasoning rather than intuition or local tradition.⁷¹ Therefore, the ideological representation on this platform is not only normative but also methodological in nature.

Although presenting a rational and polished image, *Rumaysho.com* continues to articulate its ideological stance firmly on core issues such as the prohibition of *tahlilan*, *maulid* celebrations, and pluralist thought. However, these articulations are not conveyed through explicit stigmatization of other groups but rather through a clear assertion of position based on scholarly arguments. This indicates that *Rumaysho.com* adopts a strategy of ideological distancing without confrontation, which in many cases proves more effective in maintaining ideological integrity within a plural public sphere.⁷² Imam Muhajir Dwi Putra et al. (2023) observe that conservative *da'wah* platforms seeking to sustain their presence in the digital landscape tend to minimize polemical tones and instead adopt a more refined yet still ideological positioning discourse.⁷³ This strategy helps preserve cordial relations with the public while safeguarding the core values of Salafi teachings.

In conclusion, the representation of religious authority and Salafi ideology on *Rumaysho.com* serves as a concrete example of how conservative Islamic groups are capable of adapting to the digital logic without compromising the integrity of their doctrines. Religious authority is no longer constructed solely through *sanad* and classical texts,⁷⁴ but also through communication style, digital performance, and an acute awareness of the psychosocial dynamics of contemporary audiences. In this context, *Rumaysho.com* functions not merely as a *da'wah* platform but as a discourse-engineering instrument that integrates tradition, technology, and contemporary persuasive strategies. Thus, *Rumaysho.com* does more than transmit religious messages; it actively shapes how those messages are interpreted, accepted, and

⁷¹ Ali-Reza Bhojani and Morgan Clarke, "Religious Authority beyond Domination and Discipline: Epistemic Authority and Its Vernacular Uses in the Shi'i Diaspora," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 65, no. 2 (2023): 272–95, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0010417522000470>.

⁷² Craig A Harper and Darren Rhodes, "Ideological Responses to the Breaking of COVID-19 Social Distancing Recommendations," *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 26, no. 2 (February 26, 2022): 338–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302221074546>.

⁷³ Imam Muhajir Dwi Putra et al., "Delegitimasi Tradisi Melalui Bingkai Penafsiran Al-Qur'an: Analisis Model Dakwah Konservatif Channel YouTube RodjaTV," *Contemporary Quran* 3, no. 2 (2023): 161–76, <https://doi.org/10.14421/cq.v3i2.5672>.

⁷⁴ Zainul Milal Bizawie, "Sanad and Ulama Network of the Quranic Studies in Nusantara," *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, 4, no. 1 (2015): 1–15, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v4i1.60>.

reproduced within an increasingly complex digital landscape. This affirms that Islamic communication in the digital era is a new arena for the contestation of authority and ideology, enacted through aesthetics, narrative structures, and the logic of information distribution.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Rumaysho.com* represents a strategic embodiment of Salafi *da'wah* that expands its ideological influence in digital space without compromising the authenticity of its manhaj, where meaning negotiation is constructed through a balance between doctrinal rigidity and contextual adaptability that preserves core theological principles while presenting them in accessible, contemporary linguistic forms responsive to current socio-religious issues; the communication strategies employed are characterized by systematic narrative organization, clean visual aesthetics, and tightly controlled discourse that avoids confrontational or exclusivist rhetoric in favor of an educational, rational, and applicative style aligned with contemporary digital public expectations; and religious authority is represented through a digitally mediated form of scholarly legitimacy that combines traditional Salafi epistemological foundations with curated content structure, consistent messaging, and perceived interpretive credibility, thereby positioning the platform as an authoritative voice in the online religious sphere. Thus, *Rumaysho.com* functions not only as a medium of *da'wah* but also as a site where meaning negotiation, communication strategy, and religious authority are simultaneously constructed and reproduced within the dynamics of the digital communication era.

Furthermore, this study affirms that Islamic communication in digital spaces is shaped by epistemological, aesthetic, and sociocultural dynamics, where religious authority is increasingly influenced by digital performativity, namely the ability to present religious teachings in ways that are credible and resonant for online audiences; in this context, *Rumaysho.com* constructs authority through a combination of traditional Islamic scholarship and effective digital communication, indicating that *da'wah* today requires both doctrinal accuracy and communicative adaptability, and should be understood as an active discursive practice shaping contemporary religious realities. However, this study is limited to textual and visual analysis of a single platform without audience reception data, comparative scope, or longitudinal observation; therefore, future research is recommended to examine multiple digital *da'wah* platforms, incorporate audience-centred methods such as interviews or digital ethnography, and explore how Islamic communication and authority construction evolve in response to technological and sociocultural changes.

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