

THE REPRESENTATION OF MADURESE ISLAM ON YOUTUBE: SEMIOTICS ANALYSIS ON THE COMEDY SHOW 'DHE'REMMAH CONG'

Aditya Fahmi Nurwahid
Universitas Darussalam Gontor
Email: fahmi@unida.gontor.ac.id

Citra Safira
Universitas Semarang
Email: citrasafira@usm.ac.id

Abstract

Madurese Islam is one of the cultural treasures of Islam in Indonesia. Madurese culture is intimately intertwined with Islam and reflects diverse perspectives on matters of politics, society, culture, and economics. The emergence of new media has resulted in the digitalization of Madurese Islam, exemplified by its presence on the Tretan Universe YouTube channel. The objective of this study is to provide a semiotic analysis of the Madurese Islamic da'wah content portrayed in the satirical comedy show "Dhe'remmah Cong" featured on the Tretan Universe YouTube channel. This research was carried out using a qualitative approach using the ethnography methodology. Data for this study was gathered through a combination of dialogue narratives and netizen comments obtained from two episodes of the 'Dhe'remmah Cong' comedy series. The data was strengthened through literature studies and further analyzed using Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotics. The findings indicated that the 'Dhe'remmah Cong' comedy series served as a platform for cultural acculturation between Islam and Madurese culture. Thus, in the subsequent phase, the Madurese Islamic identity can be disseminated into a novel cultural sphere familiar to the Indonesian populace via this YouTube channel.

Keywords: Islam Indonesia; Madurese Islam; Da'wah comedy; New media

Abstrak

Salah satu khasanah budaya lokal yang dimiliki Islam di Indonesia adalah Islam Madura. Nilai budaya Madura sangat dekat dengan Islam dan mengekspresikan berbagai sudut pandang isu politik, sosial, budaya, atau ekonomi. Perkembangan new media saat ini telah membawa Islam Madura ke dalam platform digital, salah satunya melalui channel Youtube Tretan Universe. Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk menjelaskan analisis semiotika dalam konten dakwah Islam Madura yang ditampilkan dalam komedi satir bertajuk 'Dhe'remmah Cong' di channel Youtube Tretan Universe. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui metode netnografi. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan penelusuran 2 (dua) seri komedi 'Dhe'remmah Cong' berupa narasi dialog dan komentar netizen. Data diperkuat melalui kajian pustaka dan selanjutnya dianalisis menggunakan semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa serial komedi ini menjadi ruang akulturasi budaya dalam Islam dan budaya Madura. Sehingga pada tahap selanjutnya, melalui channel youtube ini, identitas Islam Madura ini dapat menyebar menjadi budaya baru yang dikenal publik Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Islam Indonesia; Islam Madura; Dakwah komedi; New media

A. INTRODUCTION

Islam Madura is one of the variants of cultural Islam in Indonesia. The Islam Madura existed because of dialectics between Islam and Madurese culture (Aziz 2009). This dialectical process produces Madurese Islam, which is unique, distinctive, and esoteric, with various Madurese traditions infused with Islamic values.

Based on some research, the Madurese cultural tradition is close to combining Islamic values and *rituals*, from collective rituals to weddings, also related to daily *amaliah* (Humaidi 2020; Paisun 2010; Rahem 2019). Islam and the Madurese tradition became a dialect that cannot be separated but can still be differentiated.

The Islam Madura has been preserved until now. However, that does not mean any change at all. On various sides, several changes have indicated the dynamics of cultural Islam that has grown and developed in Madura. Change is a necessary thing. This is understandable because nothing is stagnant, including the interaction between society, culture, and religiosity. Islam Madura also appears with several points of view, especially concerning political, social, cultural, or economic issues.

One of the changes in Islam Madura's existence is the appearance of YouTube. Video blogging has become a phenomenon among Indonesian users on Youtube. This genre also brings more Youtubers and influencers with various *persona* or personal branding (Susilo 2022). Every YouTube content creator tends to bring their "special" identity to the audience, related to their passion/hobby (e.g., food vlogger, moto vlogger), status (family creator, students' creator), also related to religiosity identity, one of it is Moslem YouTubers.

Religiosity has become one of the most popular topics in the YouTube community. Hundreds of influencers and content creators knew their Islamic content. As a new media and channel to share Islamic messages, YouTube pushes the content creator to introduce Islamic values entertainingly and artistically. Some Muslim YouTubers combine the Islamic da'wah using various format contents while maintaining ethical frameworks. Also, YouTube allows a more general audience, not just Muslim users, to enjoy the content (Hannan 2022).

One of the most famous Moslem content creators is Aditya Muslim or Tretan Muslim. Muslim has a Tretan Universe channel that produces content related to his background: a Moslem Madurese. Muslim offer some content with Islamic value, combined with content trends such as CrossFaith Culinary (food vlog content), Different Background (interactive vlog content), Habib Gaming, and Dhe'remmah Cong. The last title, Dhe'remmah Cong, is a YouTube series (sketch video) that reveal some Islamic value discussion.

The Dhe'remmah Cong series released in February-April 2020 has become viral content. Nearly 600.000 views watched the content. Dhe'remmah Cong is produced during the Covid-19 pandemic restriction in Indonesia, collaborating with another content creator close to Madurese culture, Habib Husain Ja'far. The title, Dhe'remmah Cong, adopted from the Madurese language, means "How is it, bro."

The representation of Islam Madura on Dhe'remmah Cong content becomes an interesting point in this research. Dhe'remmah Cong is portrayed as a comedy-satire content. These series show the shifting of *da'wah* content in new media. *Mubaligh* (Muslim content creators) push the online *da'wah* movement, share the message on social media, and provide great support from the

Muslim movement (Anderson and Jiang 2018). Youtube has also become a social media that brings supportive ecology to communicate *da'wah* in Indonesia (Fakhruroji 2017). Dhe'remmah Cong also proves that publishers tend to understand the characteristics of media users, from their behavior and interests, and use the data to develop their own-style *da'wah* and combine it with the algorithm or media trends (Thaib 2019).

Tretan Universe brings Islam Madura representation in the Dhe'remmah Cong series, appearing in the interaction between the main character and the representation of cultural attributes. This study also explores the representation of the Islam Madura portrayal in contemporary *da'wah* form, which also concerns the indicator of misrepresentation, under-representation, and over-representation related to this Islamic dialectic. The signs that appear on this representation also become the study's focus, answering how YouTube content could produce or change signs for the intended purpose.

B. METHODOLOGY

Based on the research background formulated, this research uses the perspective of qualitative research approach and constructivist worldview. This approach will explain more about signs than generalizes (Tracy 2019). Adopt the qualitative method, this research also uses the triangulation technique for data acquisition. Also, the base of the study uses post-processing philosophy as the main tool to analyze the state of natural objects.

The semiotic analysis of Charles Sanders Peirce is conducted as the analysis method in this study to cover the representation of Islam Madura in the Dhe'remmah Cong Series. Peirce's semiotics could discover the meaning of digital platform content, including the videos on YouTube. This argument is strengthened by several

types of research that analyze web content, including images and videos on social media (sumber). The potential of Peirce's semiotics in analyzing the digital platform content lies with the triadic structure of the sign, object, and interpretant. The triad of sign, object, and interpretant brings this study to understand how the YouTube audience interprets the video as signs of the video poster's profile.

As this study sees the representation of Islamic dialect's value on da'wah content, Peirce's semiotic approach allows researchers to explore the broad and deep meaning of every episode of the series also to uncover the signs that depict the value of Islam Madura, or how the Madurese culture interact with Islamic value. Signs cannot stand alone, and this analysis will break down the content based on characters, objects, and interpreters' concepts (Catt 2017a). Using Peirce's semiotics analysis, the researcher also uses rational thinking with a logical approach. This analysis sees semiotics as an unchanging form.

The subject of this research is the Dhe'remmah Cong content on the Tretan Universe YouTube channel. The first two episodes become the sources of data. The episodes have been chosen because they have a connection to one another. The third episode is no more relevant and becomes a standalone episode, with just slapstick jokes performance.

Moreover, the object of this research is the scenes that represent dialogue, character development, wardrobe, and the scene's setting. It all reveals the representation of the Madurese Culture in the Dhe'remmah Cong series, a form of da'wah content in the YouTube ecosystem.

Observation and noting technique review become two data-gathering techniques implemented in this research. Researchers used non-participatory observation to explore the content, every

act, dialogue, character development, and other supporting elements (Moleong, 2017) on two episodes of the Dhe'remmah Cong series. This technique will support the research in breaking down the clear portrayals of the research object. Then, the researcher made notes from observation based on icon, index, and symbol elements, then classified them and examined the signs' meaning. A literature review also supports the analysis of this study. The review of the literature outline served as a mapping position with similar prior studies to find the differentiation and the literature relevant to the analysis study.

Peirce's semiotics analysis that adopts this study focuses on three sign elements: icon, index, and symbol (Catt, 2017). The icon is defined as a picture in image form. In linguistics, this is a sign of being recognized by the wearer. The relationship between the representamen and the object manifests similarity. The index represents the natural relationship between the sign and its object. Then, a symbol is a term that represents ideas, thoughts, and objects. To define a symbol, analysis explores the social agreement aspect, not similarities (icon analysis) or causal relationships (index analysis). Symbols represent inwardly (e.g. feelings, thoughts, or ideas) or outwardly (objects and actions).

The data representation model by Miles and Huberman (Emzir, 2010) was also used in this research. The component of data analysis includes the reduction of data, presentation of qualitative research data, and verification of the initial data. Reducing data means summarizing, choosing the main focus of data and important things, also find the themes or patterns. Then, the data represent the form of brief descriptions, charts, and relationships between categories. Data verification should be supported by valid and consistent evidence on analysis, then could define the significant conclusion of the research.

This research concludes the visual sign from the Dhe'remmah Cong series could be found as a code related to the representation of culture in da'wah content. The visual signs can be portrayed from the visualization and audio on the video content. The implementation of analyzing data starts with taking pictures, one of the signs based on the sign system according to Peirce semiotics analysis. These signs complement each other so that an ad has a meaning, and the meaning can be studied using message distribution: icons, indexes, and symbols.

The triangulation of data sources is implemented in this research to check the validity of the data. Researchers use the triangulation of different data sources by examining the evidence from these sources and building a coherent justification of themes (Moleong, 2017).

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Representation of Islam Madura in the Dhe'remmah Cong series started with non-verbal signs of the first and second episodes, sequentially grouping according to the plot. Then, the part is analyzed by two indicators, identification, and qualification. These episodes consist of several scenes processed in Peirce's semiotics analysis with sign, object, and interpretant elements.

1. Identification, classification, and interpretation of Episode 1

The first episode brings up the plot of Friday Pray. The opening scene showed Tretan Muslim, wearing a robe, clothes, and a turban, wanting to pray at the mosque. The conflict appeared because Coki Pardede questioned why Tretan Muslims should go to Friday Pray in the public mosque when the Covid-19 pandemic is

still at its peak (related to the videos uploaded on April 2020). This episode is titled "Don't be Afraid of Pandemic."

Table 1.

Non-Verbal Identification

Setting	Non-Verbal Signs	Description
<p>A workplace with three actors, Tretan Muslim, Coki Pardede, and Habib Ja'far. Tretan wears a <i>robe</i> with a turban, Coki with a casual shirt, and Habib with a batik.</p>	<p>Facial: Scene that shows Tretan with a proud face walking into the office, going to the Mosque for Friday Prayer. The scene moves to Tretan and Coki Pardede's interaction. Coki tries to remind Tretan of the Covid-19 condition, but it angers Tretan. The scene ends with the dialogue between Tretan and Habib Ja'far.</p> <p>Gestural: Tretan Muslim has some body gestures: happy and proud with her way at first, pointing out when angry, also nodding</p>	<p>Tretan Muslim believes that any government rules related to Covid-19 restrict his life, and the issue is related to Friday Pray. He blames Coki, who tries to remind him about the restriction rule during a pandemic. Also, Habib Ja'far shares his perspective in the end.</p>

	<p>his head when listening to the explanation of Habib Ja'far.</p> <p>Unlike Coki and Habib Ja'far, they bring calm gestures and give little feedback.</p> <p>Postural: the blocking side have various angle: low angle shooting to define the proudness of Tretan; Tretan has a higher level when interacting with Coki, also the same level of the shoot during the ending, on the dialogue of Tretan and Habib.</p>	
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All of the scenes in this episode 1 try to capture the social condition of Covid-19 restrictions. There are pros and cons related to the restriction rules in Indonesia, and one related to the restriction of worship in public spaces. These pros and cons perspectives portrayed polarization among Indonesian. Tretan

Muslims represent the contrary side, and Coki represents the pros side. Habib Ja'far comes to the scene as the "problem solver."

These non-verbal signs build the perspective of Islam Madura nowadays among the audience, reflecting the conservative and progressive sides. Tretan Muslim's character has been built as the conservative one, and Habib Husain Ja'far represents the progressive side of Islam Madura. It also reflects the shifting of Nahdliyin and Nahdlatul Ulama's ulema. The conservative side of Islam Madura showed the tradition-oriented mindset that acted 'hyperbole' in this episode by Tretan Muslim character, such as on "super-happy" gesture when he is going to pray, then angry and offended when someone disagrees with his point-of-view. Habib Ja'far represents the progressive side as NU ulema with a moderate way of thinking, charisma, and influence as the opinion leader (central figure) in society. All those act gimmicks dramatize the Islam Madura impression, especially the interaction between ordinary people and ulema.

Table 2.
Semiotic Analysis

Sign	Object	Interpretant
Tretan Muslim wear the Moslem wear, robe and sorban. It represents the <i>robe</i> clothes. It is different from Coki, wearing a black shirt, and Habib Ja'far, wearing batik clothes.	The gesture and the monologue of Tretan Muslims in the early scene showed the happiness of Muslims to go for prayer. The early scene of this episode	The impression of Islam Madura's people looks tradition-oriented or <i>ritus</i> -oriented. The impression of three different types of people: Tretan Muslim as a

<p>The camera focused on Tretan's expression when wearing the clothes, such as a happy expression to pray to Allah SWT.</p>	<p>portrayed someone happy for praying. He prepares the best to implement <i>amar ma'ruf</i>, doing a good thing and obligation related to Islamic values.</p>	<p>conservative, Coki Pardede as a liberalist, and Habib Ja'far as a moderate. This is what the channel wants, to display the form of dynamic/heterogeneity in the middle of Muslim society.</p>
<p>Tretan Muslim is angry when Coki, his co-worker, tries to stop him from praying in the public mosque. Tretan then accuses Coki with a strong sentence: <i>kafir</i>, enemy, <i>destroyer of people</i>.</p> <p>Tretan tries to reflect the type of people contradicting government rules related to Covid-19 restrictions. He saw anyone who agreed with the government</p>	<p>Tretan tends to defend his argument during his conversation with Coki. He always uses the religious topic to counter Coki's argument: Allah will help him, cure him when he is sick, etc.</p> <p>Tretan also accuses Coki that is representing an atheist (no-religion) person. He said it is a part of his obligation as a Muslim, and he</p>	<p>The impression of those conservative representations has been displayed as a person with a lack of information, stubborn, and "close-minded."</p> <p>The Conservative character also highlights that "things related on religiosity cannot be negotiated, even with the government rules."</p>

<p>as an enemy, showing hatred for the opposition.</p>	<p>does not care about Coki and his life.</p>	
<p>Tretan listen to Habib Ja'far. Habib speaks the Madurese Language to deliver his perspective, answering "how to pray in a pandemic situation." Tretan listen to the explanation carefully.</p> <p>Tretan Muslims recognize and respect Habib Ja'far's status as a habib or someone respected for his religious knowledge.</p>	<p>Habib Ja'far uses some emphasis when sharing his perspective with Tretan Muslims. Using Madurese's Language, Habib highlighted some important points in the resolution part of this episode.</p>	<p>The interaction between conservative character (and Islam Madura representation) is related to the appearance of the opinion leader, which Ulama/Habib represents.</p> <p>The power of Ijtihad of Ulama in Islam Madura perspective. Kiai, ulama, or Habib, can explain the way of life in Madurese culture and society.</p>

This episode reflected the appearance of Islam Madura, Tretan Muslim as Moslem Madurese, in a conservative point-of-view, and Habib Ja'far as Ulema on the moderate side. Still, another character, Coki Pardede, reflects "ordinary people" and has more attention to government rules related to Covid-19 pandemic restrictions.

The conservative, moderate, and common views (or liberal views) that appeared in this episode are portrayed how the religious value, culture, and social environment interact and influence each other. Tretan was a Moslem, and Madurese listened more to Habib as the central figure in Muslim society, but he was offended when non-Moslem argued about things that opposed their belief (related to their obligation to do the Friday Pray). It also reflects the "slice of life" on the interaction between Moslem Madurese common people and *Kyai/Ulama* as the central Muslim figure. During the early period of Covid-19, several *ijtihad* related to praying in public mosques became the reference. **Kyai** Syafi' (Reported by Madura In-depth, 2020) suggests that as long as Madura (Sumenep) still becomes the green zone of Covid-19 restriction (or zero cases found), the Friday Pray is mandatorily held in the public mosque. However, on the other hand, Moslem and Public Mosque in Bangkalan (near Surabaya) are considering following the suggestion of East Java's NU Branch Board (PWNU Jatim) to implement the social distancing and use of a mask for every jama'ah that prayed (Tribunnews 2020).

The plot choice in Episode 1 also related to the pro and contrary sides during the Covid-19 restriction in Indonesia. This issue is booming when the series is published. The restriction triggered some discussion in some aspects of life: economy, social, and religious. The polarization of religious aspects is one of the biggest discussions during Covid-19. Some of the mass organizations that affiliate with Islam become some highlight. What Tretan Muslims wear in this episode is a closer representation of this organization. Also, Tretan Muslim tries to expose himself as a Moslem but in "hyperbolic" portrayals, with robe clothes, Arabian music, and some comedy, just like how he wears a turban.

As the government needs to coordinate with Majelis Ulama Indonesia and Dewan Masjid Indonesia to educate the society about Covid-19 restrictions, this role is also taken Habib Ja'far. Habib explains the reason logically and warns of some "extreme perspective" from Tretan.

2. Identification, classification, and Interpretation of Episode 2

Episode 2 of the Dhe'remmah Cong series started with Tretan Muslims acting like someone hungry during his sunnah fasting (*puasa senin-kamis*). Tretan Muslim having a small talk with Habib Ja'far, said confidently that "he will get a reward for what he did that day unless no one disturbs him." This episode had the title "An Arrogant Fasting".

Table 3.
Non-Verbal Identification

Setting	Non-Verbal Signs	Description
A workplace and four actors wearing casual shirts, typical of Jakarta-based Creative Office.	<p>Facial: Angry about Tretan Muslim character; calmness about Habib Ja'far Character; Stunned and underestimated two characters interacting with Tretan Muslim.</p> <p>Gestural: Tretan Muslims have many disagreed gestures</p>	<p>Tretan Muslim wants everyone to respect his "sunnah fasting (<i>puasa Senin-Kamis</i>)". He blames everyone who eats and drinks around him, accusing them of trying to tempt him. But Habib Ja'far explains another perspective related</p>

	<p>with hand and body gestures while shocked after hearing Habib Ja'far's explanation. Habib Ja'far looks did not care about the conversation at first but tried to explain calmly and small, laughing at Tretan's Muslim perspective;</p> <p>Postural: the blocking side is not much; only 3 cameras are used (master, side camera, and close-up). All the character has the same "position/level" in the conversation.</p>	<p>to <i>puasa</i> and holds the emotion.</p>
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As Tretan Universe already mentioned, this series is a comedy sketch series; we found the three-act drama theory to explain the issue: introducing character, conflict, and resolution. All of the nonverbal communication supports the development of the story. Also, the things close to the comedy sketch are hyperbole and the punchline. Besides the gesture and facial mimic, Tretan

Universe also tries to strengthen the punchline using video editing, effects, color changes, and many more.

Still, the non-verbal signs in Episode 2 bring the perspective conservative side and the progressive side of Islam Madura representation. But, the difference between Episode 1 and Episode 2 is the issue of the ritual. *Sunnah* fasting is a more personal *ritual*, compared with Friday Pray that is commonly obligated to every male Muslim. And still, the key message of this episode is "Arrogant." Arrogant, or easy to express their anger, is one of the stigmas close to the Madurese people (Mahardhika 2019). But, all of those arrogancies become the gimmick of comedy.

Table 4.
Semiotic Analysis

Sign	Object	Interpretant
<p>Tretan Muslim comes and looks unwell; Habib Ja'far asks, "What's wrong, <i>cong</i> (bro)?"</p> <p>The camera focused on Tretan's expression of pain several times. All that he did for the sake of expecting reward and blessing from Allah SWT.</p>	<p>The conversation between Tretan Muslim and Habib Ja'far. Tretan's act which looks like people suffering during fasting makes Habib sympathetic.</p> <p>Tretan reveals that he forgot to <i>sahur</i> for sunnah fasting on that day.</p> <p>The early scene of this episode</p>	<p>Islam Madura have a concern on daily amaliah, <i>ibadah sunnah</i> besides the <i>ibadah fardhu</i>.</p>

	<p>portrayed a person's obedience in carrying out the <i>Sunnah</i> in Islamic values.</p>	
<p>Tretan Muslim shows his anger when his co-worker eats instant noodles beside him.</p> <p>Tretan calls the noodle "Satan's noodle (scolding expression)", and accuses the co-worker, "This is a <i>satanic</i> noodle. It's not <i>barakah</i>."</p> <p>It is easy for people to blame something outside themselves for some condition that "disturbs" them during fasting. At least, it is what Tretan shows in his act.</p> <p>Also, Tretan reflects the character close</p>	<p>Tretan Muslims blame all their co-workers. He thinks that all people in the office did not respect his fasting.</p> <p>Tretan always asks for justification for Habib Ja'far after accusing his co-worker.</p> <p>Also, Tretan blames anything that bothers his fasting: food, office, and the situation beside him in general.</p> <p>Tretan Muslims recognize and respect Habib Ja'far's status as a <i>habib</i> or someone respected for his</p>	<p>The hyperbole of the 'conservative' way of thinking and the non-tolerant relationship between Muslims and another character.</p>

<p>to Madurese people: easy to anger and has a high voice.</p>	<p>religious knowledge.</p>	
<p>Tretan is angry with another co-worker saying, "Ya Allah, what kind of Satan that you send to me again." and "Ya Allah, is this the office of Dajjal." Also, Tretan accuses the soda drink with the line "Coca-Cola is Zionist."</p>		<p>The hyperbole represents 'the great adherence of Madurese to Islamic values.'</p>

Tretan reflects a common perspective among Moslems, especially related to fasting: strong will, a big temptation, and the appearance of fasting's challenge. However, Tretan Universe tries to develop the introduction of condition with a strong standpoint: that people usually think they control themselves and the obstacle comes from outside. This condition reflects the common social point of view.

Episode 2 presents several plot differences from Episode 1. In this episode, the *ibadah* that becomes the story's center is 'personal's *ibadah*': *Sunnah* Fasting is more personal than Friday Pray, which becomes the obligation of every male Muslim. Tretan tries to maintain self-esteem by doing sunnah fasting. Moreover, the plot builds the perception that he also defends his religion. However, Habib offers a more calming perspective that the series wants to share, accepted by broader society.

Also, in this episode, Tretan, and Habib Ja'far reflect on two of Madurese with their culture: the accent, language, non-verbal communication, and also some attribute of Songkok. It is also strengthened by some words and sentences on Madurese, just as "cong"; "dhe'remmah song"; and some conversations using Madurese. Tretan also emphasizes some intonation to highlight the dialogue points, especially when Tretan tries to ask for justification for his attitude.

3. The Representation of Islam Madura in Youtube Content

a. Nahdlatul Ulama and Nahdliyin 'Common Way of Thinking'

Yanwar Pribadi (Pribadi 2013) sees the representation of Islam Madura has three central elements: Pesantren, Nahdhatul Ulama, and *Kyai*. The *kiai* became the main actors in state-society relations in Madura. *Kyai* has the same highest level in the society, besides blater (strongmen in local Madura village) and *klebun* (the head of village government). *Kyai* has social, political, economic, and cultural power. They have a contribution to every village decision.

Kiai still becomes the representation of opinion leader among Madurese people. However, in the development of Islam Madura, the role of *da'i* in *da'wah* also represents various personalities. (El-Rumi, 2020) explain the young-*kyai* (*Lori*) that transformed this institution from a traditional pesantren (*salaf*) to a modern one (*khalaf*). In this series, Habib also significantly influences Islam Madura representation, related to *da'wah*.

Habib Ja'far as a publisher and influencer in the digital era could gain respect for broader elements, especially related to his *da'wah* content. He also represented himself with Madurese blood, not only in Dhe'remmah Cong but also in any collaboration or content published on YouTube. It also brings a new representation

of the Madurese religious leader with a different identity: casual, more relevant to the younger generation, and still respected. Habib Ja'far also still represented the respected Muslim opinion leader in this content, to be someone who could answer the religiosity question and dilemma in the middle of the Muslim community.

Another shifting of under-representation related to Islam Madura is the place of *da'wah*. *Da'wah* on Madura is commonly known on pesantren, tabligh (an event where people come to a broader area), and mosque. This place still appeared on local television or local *da'i* that uploaded their video on YouTube. However, Dhe' remmah cong brings the situation set to the office/workplace.

b. Ngajhi Bandhana Akherat

Wiyata (2013), in his book, Mencari Madura, highlighted one perception of Islam Madura, *Akhteyar* (*ikhtiyar*, give the best of effort in religiosity). *Wiyata* also argued that the '*ikhtiyar*' perspective on the Islam Madura community is also related to how people see 'generally' that Islam Madura is close to Islam-conservative identity.

A Muslim figure, Amin Rais, once boldly stated, "a good Madurese people will be very angry if someone said that he/she is not a good Muslim" (Wiyata 2013). The statement is also similarly mentioned in several books or research, related to how Madurese people, with their Islam Madura, try to be their best version of a Muslim, but still, they have a side that is seen as '*insaf*' or human side that they could be wrong or bad. Rifai (2007) also saw how Madurese express their Islam Madura identity through their fashion, just like *Samper* and *Burgo*' (for female Muslims) or *Sarong* and *Songko*' (for male Muslims). He also stated that identity, from the value of life, tradition, and appearance, is

Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif, Vol. 17, No. 2, April 2023 | 420

important to the Islam Madura community as their identity expression.

What Tretan Muslims represent in Dhe' remmah Cong Series is one value of the Islam Madura community, '*Ngajhi Bandhana Akherat*,' or anything should be intended as *ngajhi/ibadah*, as a modal to face the afterlife (*akhirah*). All that Muslims did as the character has a spirit of *ibadah*. Dhe' remmah Cong and Tretan Universe highlighted the spirit of *ibadah* in the Islam Madura community. It also found on how Dhe' remmah Cong portrays the *ibadah* in Islam Madura Community, that the *ibadah* as a Muslim is not only the *fardhu* (obligated) ones but also the *sunnah*. It reflected in the community with how Islam Madura did *Tahlil, Bancakan*, and many more (Pribadi 2018).

Dhe' remmah Cong used the gimmick feature on their plot that Tretan Muslim, as a character of Madurese, has an Islamic-conservative perspective. Muslim dramatizes his relationship with other people as a Muslim to develop the series' story.

c. Ondhag Basa in Islam Madura Community

Islam Madura is also close to Madurese cultural attributes. The media often commodify the cultural attribute of their content, such as language, clothes, and so on. This research focuses on verbal (language) attributes and non-verbal attributes.

Local languages have a very close relationship with culture. Tretan Muslim figures and Habib Ja'far in this series get the main roles. Tretan is considered part of the wider Islamic community (representing *mad'u* in *da'wah*), and Habib Ja'far is a religious leader (representing *da'i*).

As one of the biggest language speakers in Indonesia (Lab Bhinneka Kemendikbud, 2018), the Madurase language is bigger than the island itself. It has various dialects between Sampang,

Bangkalan, Sumenep, Pamekasan regency, and Tapal Kuda regency close to this culture. Tretan represents the Madurese Island people, and Habib Ja'far represents the Tapal Kuda people.

Tapal Kuda, or The Eastern Salient, is located in the eastern part of the province of East Java. This area is known as Tapal Kuda because the shape of the map viewed resembles the shape of a horseshoe. The Tapal Kuda area includes Pasuruan (eastern part), Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi. Research conducted by Pujiati and Astutiningsih (2016) shows that Tapal Kuda is a cultural term related to the Madurese society in the eastern part of East Java Province. The use of terms was increasingly strengthened in the New Order era as an Islamic political-cultural term. The discourse of Islam Tapal Kuda is also getting stronger because it is institutionalized through Islamic boarding schools. The social setting also displays the Nahdlatul Ulama as the Islamic worldview.

However, in the media, the Madurese Language had some stereotypes. Research (Tohirin & Dewi, 2019) showed that the media use some "special accent" for the Madurese language: using the time (emphasize word) and repeated word. This accent also appears in the television advertisement representing the Madurese icon (Wahyuningsih 2014).

Dhe' remmah Cong series represented more relevant conditions on how the Madurese people use their language, known as '*Ondhag Basa*' or the system of language (Mulyadi and Bukhory 2019). Tretan Muslim and Habib Ja'far consistently when using the language. They use Bahasa Indonesia for more contextual script and the Madurese Language to deliver the *da'wah* message. The Madurese Language also has been used properly, with no "bilingual" dialogue.

The conversation also represents the place of Tretan and Habib. Tretan always set Habib in a higher position, using more polite language to start the conversation. However, for the feedback, Habib tends to bring a casual-Madurese conversation to make the da'wah message more "on-point" for Tretan and a broader audience.

Other research also showed that Madurese representation on media is always related to traditional clothes. Some clothes that appear in the media is *sakera* clothes, headband (Hafiqi, 2016; Wahyuningsih, 2014), or *kebaya* madura (Tohirin and Dewi, 2019b). It shows the over-representation related to how the media capture the Madurese culture.

However, on Dhe' remmah Cong, Tretan Universe set the Madurese attribute more casual. The setting that opened the interaction between the two Madurese characters with any supporting character brings them to be portrayed more casually. Tretan uses a T-shirt and Robe, Habib Ja'far uses a *parka* jacket and *batik* clothes.

The choice of those wardrobes also delivers a counter-stereotype message. Research finds that cultural attribution, especially clothes, has been used with television since the 1990s (Andry 2014; Putra, Meiriki, and Ersyad 2019). The multicultural interaction in the Dhe'remmah Cong series brings more acculturation to Madurese representation. Noting Tretan' s Arabic clothes, it showed a satire-comedy premise to criticize the mass organization and also relevant on Covid-19 restriction issue.

But still, we found a cultural attribute this series represents: Songkok. Songkok had a closer connection with the Madurese people (Ghofur 2020). The black Songkok that appears in the series is known as *Songkok celleng* in Madura. It also showed that Madurese culture has a close relation with Islamic culture.

Another finding of the research is the use of Madurese's intonation. This representation came on television (Hafiqi, 2016; Wahyuningsih, 2014), a Madurese with a higher voice and temperament. Tretan Universe channel uses this representation to strengthen the comedy plot.

D. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The representation of Islam Madura picturized on the role of *Kyai* represented by the appearance of Habib in this series. Habib still has a political influence, just like how is the position of *Kyai* as a figure of Madurese society. However, Habib Husain Ja'far also brings a more contemporary persona as Madurese' *Da'i*. Another shifting of under-representation related to Islam Madura is the place of da'wah. Dhe'remmah Cong brings a place that becomes a space of acculturation or allows the Madurese representation to interact with others.

In the Dhe'remmah Cong Series, Tretan Muslims portray the '*Ngajhi Bandhana Akherat*' or 'everything should be regarded as *ngajhi/ibadah*, as a mode to prepare for the afterlife' in Islam (*akherat*). Muslim's actions while playing a role in the series shape the message that he wants to keep the ibadah spirit, just like how the Islam Madura community generally holds. However, Tretan Muslims also adopt the gimmick of a Madurese character with an Islamic-conservative viewpoint. Muslim dramatizes his interactions with others, using arrogance and that anger to construct the series' plot.

The meaning presented in the series, in non-verbal and semiotics notes, represents the identity of the Islam Madura community, with the value of Islam and the Madurese Community. Several dramatize and hyperbole representations were also found to develop the story of every episode, reflecting that Dhe'remmah

Cong is comedy-satire series. However, several under-represented portrayals of Islam Madure are found in the series, just as the various character that appears or how the series uses the Madurese language.

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