REPRESENTATION OF PIETY IN SUBUH PRAYER MEMES ON THE INTERNET: A MEANINGS AND MEDIA PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This research aims to critically analyze the representation of the meaning of piety in Subuh prayer memes on the internet. This research is important to carry out because many memes have been found with Islamic themes or Islamic da'wah, which carry various meanings of gender ideology, conservatism, religion, religious liberalism, and other related concepts. The theoretical framework employed in this research is meanings and media, which comprises four distinct concepts: semiotics, structuralism, denotation and connotation, and code (including myth and ideology). This study uses a qualitative content analysis method with semiotic analysis as the primary approach. The data were collected through purposive sampling, focusing on four (4) memes with the theme of Subuh prayers and their relation to social phenomena, namely New Year celebrations, watching football, the lunar eclipse and the soap opera *Eclipse*, as well as Eid al-Fitr celebrations. This research found that Subuh prayer memes on the internet use various texts which signify the ideological struggle of conservative Islamic groups. Popular culture and local culture for conservative Islamic groups must be rejected because it is the reason why Muslims do not perform the Subuh prayer in congregation at the mosque. The meanings of denotation, connotation, and structuralism are the aspirations to construct a structure based on unadulterated Islamic tenets that are not mixed with popular culture or local culture. In code, Subuh prayer memes on the internet represent the mythical and ideological struggle of conservative Islamic groups who want to build a society based on pure Islamic teachings.

Keywords: *Meanings, Media; Subuh Prayer Memes; Piety.*

INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on critically analysing the representation of the meaning of piety in Subuh prayer memes on the internet. This research is important because memes containing Islamic messages also mean various myths and ideologies of da'wah (Sunaryanto & Rizal, 2024; Sunaryanto & Syamsuri, 2022). Because they carry the meaning of myth and ideology, it is too shallow to assume that Islamic memes are a form of communication that encourages the creation of da'wah productivity (Imron,

2019; Wardani & Muntazori, 2019). So it must be understood that memes carry ideological meaning, so it is not enough to conclude that they are memes Islam can support Islamic da'wah more broadly geographically and across geographies (Nurdin & Godal, 2023). The popularity of Islamic memes on the internet can deconstruct definitions of lived religion that contemporary media and digital culture provide important resources in presenting popular beliefs about religion (Aguilar et al., 2017; Burroughs & Feller, 2015). Understanding memes as ideology then rejects the idea that only concludes that memes function as an important space for investigating and understanding religious meanings online (Aljauhari et al., 2023), which express various important attributes of participatory culture and trends towards religious beliefs (Bellar et al., 2013; Brubaker et al., 2017).

Apart from the problems above, the popularity of memes with religious themes can be analyzed based on the substantive Islamic theory proposed by Azyumardi Azra (2000). The first layer of substantive Islamic theory states that the theological meaning of Islam is complete and does not need to be debated. The use is based on theological doctrine ideas, such as reading the hadith in memes and concluding based on the message of faith regarding the afterlife, the grave, heaven and hell (Usman et al., 2023). Islam is scary because it is only understood by some people within conservative theological arguments. For example, conservative theological arguments about halal and haram in various interpretations of memes through hadith prohibit music (Syahridawaty & Qudsy, 2019). Al-Qur'an verses in memes are also interpreted based on a narrow theological approach, such as belief in Allah SWT and righteous practices that encourage individualistic piety (Saifullah, 2019; Zulfikar et al., 2023).

The second layer of substantive Islamic theory, which is very important, is interpreting the socio-cultural meaning of Islam in society. It is important to interpret Islam socio-culturally because various socio-cultural problems arise in society which must be resolved based on Islam. Using this second layer of substantive Islamic theory, memes that appear on the internet change how the Koran is interpreted from a theological interpretation to an interpretive approach based on popular culture and various contemporary issues (Saifullah & Richtig, 2022). For example, through internet memes, piety based on the command of prayer is not only interpreted as a form of faith or to obtain rewards from Allah SWT but also means socio-cultural and political activities (Sunaryanto & Rizal, 2023). In other contexts, hadiths discussed through memes contain ideological meaning but simultaneously have the meaning of counter-discourse to various developing social phenomena, for example, issues of gender equality for women or popular culture (Miski, 2021; Nadia, 2023).

In this research, the representation of piety in Subuh prayer memes on the internet uses the second layer of substantive Islamic theory by analyzing it based on the socio-cultural context or social phenomena discussed in the memes. It is necessary

to represent the socio-cultural meaning of piety because the command to perform prayers to become a pious human has been derived based on verses from the Qur'an, whose meaning is too narrow. Prayer is an obligation for Muslims to become God-fearing, which is popular among Muslims, often referring to the Al-Qur'an, Surah Ali Imran, verse 102 (Faizin, 2022). Suppose we refer to Al-Misbah's interpretation of the meaning of piety in the Qur'an, Surah Ali Imran verse 102. In that case, it can only be interpreted that the piety required is by Allah SWT's greatness, majesty and grace (Shihab, 2005). This interpretation is still straightforward because it does not yet explain the form of human social behaviour that is considered devout. Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar explains that piety is not only known in the mind but is felt in the soul not to lose the relationship with Allah SWT (Hamka, 2003).

The theory used as an analytical tool in this research is the theory of meanings and media (Branston & Stafford, 2003). This theory is divided into 4 (four) concepts: semiotics, denotation and connotation, structuralism, and code. Referring to theory meanings and media, media is not a thing but a place most humans occupy. The joy and pleasure displayed by the media flow around society through society, and as long as people live, there is no problem in understanding and enjoying it. However, many feel that the processes involved in all this, whether language, audio-visual and verbal or the range of representations that society has accustomed to, are worthy of serious study as an important part of the modern world system. Media in any form ultimately carries discourse and ideological values related to interests, for example, gender, religion and culture (Adeni, 2020; Sunaryanto et al., 2021, 2023; Sunaryanto & Rizal, 2024).

Based on the problems and theories of meaning and media explained above, the central question in this research is how to represent the meaning of piety in the Subuh prayer meme on the internet from a perspective meanings and media? This central question is then elaborated on through a minor question: What is the semiotic meaning of piety in the Subuh prayer meme on the internet? Like the meaning of structuralism of piety in the Subuh prayer meme on the internet? To what extent is the meaning of piety in the Subuh prayer memes on the internet in terms of denotation and connotation? Why do Subuh prayer memes on the internet contain various meanings from the myths and ideologies of piety in Muslim society?

When searching online, researchers have not explicitly found research that focuses on analyzing memes with the theme of Subuh prayers. However, some research can be used as a previous study; for example, Sunaryanto's research (2022) found that the meme inviting Friday prayers is an expression of digital da'wah whose meanings conflict with each other, namely Islam, culture and politics. In other research, Sunaryanto and Rizal (2023) concluded that the meme inviting Friday prayers with a visualization of women means da'wah, which invites piety but utilizes women's bodies, which are constructed as sexual objects. These two studies only

discuss memes from a digital da'wah perspective, the results of which are still subjective and cannot be generalized. In contrast to these two studies, Muntazori's (2021) research shows that piety in the Ramadhan banner not only means faith but piety so that Muslim humans become intelligent in understanding the Islamic religion.

Ali's (2020) research in America concluded that memes represent piety as obedient citizens in Western liberal secular society, resistance to the intersection between gender and religion and affirming faith in Islam. In the Indonesian context, research by Sabrina & Ahmadi (2021) reveals that sufistic memes with a moderate humanist character spreading on social media are a form of moral panic caused by the emergence of fundamentalist Islamic movements. Social media as a space for contestation or fighting for Islamic thought between moderate and fundamentalist movements was also successfully uncovered in research by Asyari et al. (2023). Based on this research, it is too shallow to see memes as a medium used for da'wah activities because memes are used as a medium to narrate various moderate ideological discourses and fundamentalist conservative ideologies. Nawawi's (2019) research, which offers a position of moderate Islamic da'wah to fight the idea of identity politics using memes spread via the internet, does not seem mature enough. In reality, memes spread online with various ideologies fighting for power.

All the literary debates described above have not yet analyzed the representation of piety in the Subuh prayer memes that spread on the internet. Most of the literature related to meme research above only discusses and concludes the construction of Islamic da'wah. However, several studies have concluded that internet memes suggest ideological contestation. This research is certainly different from all the literature discussed above. The focus of this research is to analyze in depth the meaning of semiotics, structuralism, denotation and connotation, and code (myth and ideology) represented in memes with the theme of Subuh prayers. The findings of this research offer a new theory, namely the Islamity of piety, based on social phenomena represented in memes with the theme of Subuh prayers.

METHOD

This research is qualitative research, which is more naturalistic and interpretive so that the findings cannot be generalized (Bakti, 2004; Miles et al., 2014; Zulkifli, 2007). The critical paradigm is based on epistemology from media studies and cultural studies. In cultural studies and media studies, culture is produced and consumed in broad social life. Therefore, particular cultural artefacts and practices must be situated within the social relations of production and reception in which culture is produced, distributed, and consumed to be correctly understood and interpreted (Kellner & Durham, 2006). The critical paradigm in media and cultural studies is used to dismantle or deconstruct the ideological meaning behind texts (Chauvel, 2017; Roosinda & Surayah, 2017). The critical paradigm is not only for dismantling the

meaning of what ideological and cultural representations appear real and through what processes. The critical paradigm primarily focuses on how researchers navigate and understand these networks and how they are constructed, interconnected and empowered (Bennis & Ghourdou, 2024; Sommier, 2014).

The data source for this research is memes with the theme of Subuh prayers spreading on the internet. In collecting data, researchers searched the internet through pages of www.google.com by writing the keyword "Subuh prayer meme". The memes used as research data for analysis are Subuh prayer memes related to social phenomena. Subuh prayer memes that only use the theme of faith were not selected as data analyzed in this research. After the data was collected, the research continued with textual analysis of mass media based on theory meanings and media Branston & Stafford (2003, 2010), which is divided into four concepts, namely semiotics, denotation and connotation, structuralism, and code (myth and ideology). The interpretive model for representing piety associated with socio-cultural phenomena in this research is called three-level hermeneutics. Interpretation of meaning begins with textual analysis, which has gone through a two-level interpretation process: the socio-cultural context in which the meme was created. The following interpretation is to look at the roles and social systems in the memes read by current researchers based on subjective experiences and needs today. This three-level hermeneutical interpretation model is usually called 'interpreting an interpretation that has been interpreted (Bakti, 2006).

Theory meanings and media explain that semiotics is a scientific discipline and an analytical method used to interpret various signs that have meaning in ideological, social, cultural narratives, and so on. Semiotics emphasizes the perception of reality, constructed and inherited by words and signs used in various social contexts (Berger, 2010; Danesi, 2004). Language crucially determines much of our understanding of things by dividing the world into imaginative categories rather than simply labelling them. Structuralism is a collection of ideas and positions connecting parts of semiotics with no single meaning. Signs denote (*signify*) or show (*denote*) differences in several aspects of the human experience of the world. Signs also means denotation (*denote*) and connotation (*connote*) or a link that defines something. Code is a term used to read the myths and ideologies behind the text (Branston & Stafford, 2003; Sunaryanto, 2022, 2023).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

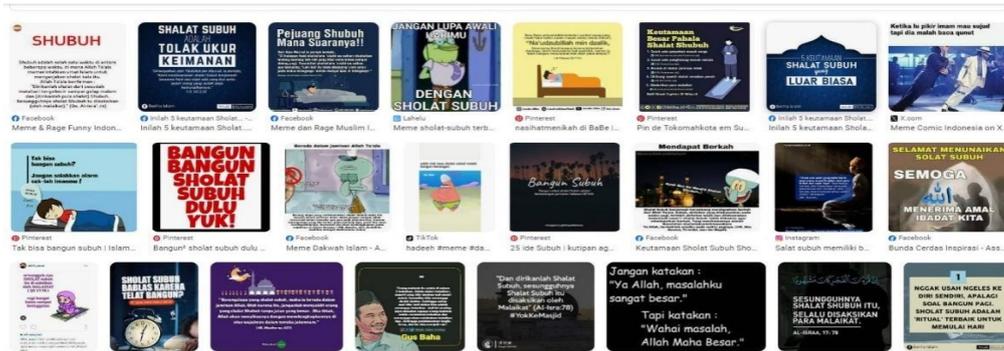### Internet Memes: The Evolution from Politics and Culture to Religion

Figure 1. Memes and Posters Inviting Subuh prayers

Memes are funny images accompanied by text, words or sentences cyber media produces. Internet memes have developed forms constructed by various socio-cultural, political, religious, and so on phenomena (Putra & Triyono, 2016; Sunaryanto et al., 2021). Memes are the construction of identity images related to individual figures and socio-cultural phenomena through the imagination of their readers. The popularity of memes with various content requires us to reconsider how audiences and fans consume, adapt and circulate a unique socio-cultural phenomenon (Nielsen & Nititham, 2022). Internet memes are a new form of communication in cyberspace, and they have various forms, structures, and contents. If we classify based on content, memes are divided into political memes and cultural memes, both of which can be in the form of macro images or pure text (Wang, 2023). However, in its development, memes have also emerged with religious content, for example, Islam, so they are called Islamic religious memes or da'wah memes whose content is related to theological Islamic messages and socio-cultural phenomena (Septiawan, 2022).

Islamic religious memes were created because they were encouraged by the development of digital media, which functioned as a medium for spreading Islam (Islamic da'wah). The illustrations used by Islamic da'wah memes are important in spreading the message of da'wah and providing wisdom to the public with unique and creative meme displays that contain Islamic teachings (Assof & Dyatmika, 2021). Islamic religious memes were created with various kinds of content, for example, the pillars of Islam, monotheism, calls to prayer, fasting in Ramadan, zakat or alms, and the Hajj pilgrimage, how to pray, and various other content (Nurdin & Godal, 2023). Islamic religious memes created via the internet are a discourse of Muslims as individual agents who create gaps in institutional narratives by reclaiming and subverting popular symbols that were created by social structures (Kala, 2022). This research focuses on memes with the theme of inviting Subuh prayers that spread on the internet.

Piety in Subuh prayer Memes on the Internet: Meanings and Media Perspectives

Table 1. Celebrating New Year Causes Muslims Not to Pray Subuh

Visual Marks	Marker	A sign	Meaning
	Text, male face	Muslims are crazy because they celebrate New Year and don't pray the Subuh prayer	Piety is performing the Subuh prayer and rejecting the new year celebration
Structuralism	1. New Year's culture is not suitable for Muslims because it causes them not to perform Subuh prayers 2. Staying up late is not a good thing to do because it can make Muslims insane 3. Subuh prayer is associated as a way to make life better		
Denotation	The insinuation that there are Muslims who stay up late celebrating the 2017 New Year but do not perform Subuh prayers		
Connotation	1. People who do not pray dawn are not sane 2. Celebrating New Year is not part of Islamic culture 3. Staying up late on New Year's Eve has become popular culture for Muslims		
Code (Myth and ideology)	1. The myth that celebrating New Year is a big sin 2. The myth that celebrating New Year causes someone not to pray at dawn 3. Contrasting the Subuh prayer service with the culture of celebrating the New Year is a conservative ideology		

The memes in the table are published on the website https://www.facebook.com/MemeAndRageComicIndonesia. In this meme, there is a visual sign, which is a criticism of Muslims who celebrate the New Year by staying up late but not carrying out the Subuh prayer. In the visual signs of this meme, there are signs, namely the text of not praying at dawn, being sane, and the new year. The Subuh prayer is part of the five daily prayers mandatory for Muslims. Celebrating the New Year is a form of cultural expression used to be grateful for the new year. All the markers are a sign that Muslims who celebrate birthdays and stay up late so they do not perform the Subuh prayerare called crazy people. The construction means that Muslims can be said to be devout if they perform the Subuh prayer. Muslims are pious if they do not follow a culture that is not by Islamic teachings, namely celebrating birthdays and staying up late. Muslim communities that participate in New Year celebrations can be called insane communities.

Structurally, this meme represents two social structures: Islamism and popular culture. The social structure of society is based on conservative Islamism, namely one that rejects New Year celebrations as a widespread cultural practice. This social structure rejects conservative New Year celebrations because it could threaten

religious practices for Muslims. Popular culture of celebrating the New Year is opposed to being by Islamic teachings because it influences Muslim communities not to perform prayers. Staying up late at night as an expression of popular culture is also opposed to being incompatible with Islamic teachings. Staying up late is a popular culture that is useless and a waste of time because it can be detrimental to Muslims. The social structure of a devout Muslim society is associated with a group that performs Subuh prayers and avoids popular cultural practices that are considered incompatible with Islamic teachings.

In denotation, this meme is a criticism of Muslims who prioritize celebrating the New Year compared to Subuh prayers. Muslim communities wake up late and wake up late and as a result, do not perform Subuh prayers. In denotation, what is expected is to be a devout Muslim by performing the Subuh prayer. God-fearing Muslims should avoid New Year celebrations as these activities are not beneficial for Muslims. In terms of connotation, this meme represents the condition of Muslims who are not in their right mind because they do not perform the Subuh prayerdue to staying up late and celebrating the New Year. This meme has a pessimistic meaning because it states that it is only the first day before you can perform Subuh prayers. New Year is considered not to make Muslims more productive because, at the beginning of the year, they are too lazy to get up for Subuh prayers.

The code in the meme is a myth that considers New Year's celebrations to be popular culture that threatens the diversity of Muslim society. New Year celebrations are mythical as a product of Western culture that is used to destroy the faith of Muslim communities. The next myth is that Islamic teachings are not by the popular culture practised by society. Islam is considered an established religion, so there is no need to follow popular culture that is packaged to damage Islamic teachings. Ideologically this meme represents the ideology of religious conservatism, which rejects various popular cultural practices, such as celebrating the New Year. However, this conservative view is rejected by the moderate view that there is no need for conflict between Islamic practices and popular culture. New Year celebrations by Muslim and non-Muslim communities can be used as a medium to build and implement religious moderation in Indonesia (Azhari & Efendi, 2023).

Table 2. Watching Football is More Important than Subuh Prayer

Visual Marks	Marker	A sign	Meaning
	Text 'Watching football until late, Subuh prayer no one wakes up', hadith HR Bukhori & Muslim	Waking up to watch football and staying up late is more important than getting up in the morning for Subuh prayers	The piety of Muslims who reject popular cultural practices
Structuralism	1. A conservative social structure that rejects popular culture and the social structure of society under the rule of capitalism 2. Watching football and staying up late are positioned as cultural practices that threaten Muslims.		
Denotation	1. Satire towards the Muslim community who watch football and stay up late but don't get up to perform Subuh prayers. 2. The message of the priority of Isha and Subuh prayers is based on the hadith narrated by Bukhori and Muslim.		
Connotation	1. Watching football as popular culture is more important in Muslim communities than Subuh prayers 2. It is a big loss for Muslim communities who do not perform the Subuh prayer		
Code (Myth and ideology)	1. Myths are the presence of popular culture that threatens the religion of Muslim communities 2. The myth of the presence of capitalism through the commodification of popular culture 3. Criticism of conservative religious ideology towards the ideology of capitalism		

The memes in the table above are published on the website: https://anugerahprasaji.wordpress.com/2013/04/03/Subuh/. In this visual sign, there is a marker, namely the text "Watching football until staying up late, no one wakes up for Subuh prayers'. This text represents the condition of Muslim society, prioritizing watching football over performing Subuh prayers. Football has become a popular culture which has been commodified so that it is popular with Muslim communities. However the presence of popular culture through football threatens the Muslim community's implementation of the Subuh prayer. The rejection of popular football culture is emphasized by the sign of the hadith which explains '*If people knew the importance of Isha' and Subuh prayers in congregation, they would come to it even if they were crawling..* (HR. Bukhari & Muslim).' This sign means that there has been damage to the way Muslims understand religion due to the presence of popular culture through the spectacle of football. The construction of the meaning is that a Muslim's piety is proven by carrying out Isha and Subuh prayers in the congregation at the mosque.

In structuralism, this meme represents two social structures fighting for power. The first structure is a conservative Muslim society that rejects the presence of popular culture through watching football and staying up late. In this conservative societal structure, Islam is opposed or considered incompatible with various popular cultural practices because it threatens the worship of Muslim communities. The second social structure of society is what makes popular culture a lifestyle. A society like this, of course, has to submit to the power of the capitalist system, which commodifies football. Using popular culture as a spectacle, football is used to perpetuate the power of capitalism. Football is no longer considered a sport but a popular cultural construct for a consumer society trapped in the power of capitalism.

The denotational meaning of the meme is to portray the condition of Muslim communities who are starting to abandon Subuh prayers because they watch football and stay up late. Even though there is a warning from the hadith that says, "*If people knew the importance of Isha' and Subuh prayers in congregation, they would come to it even if they were crawling.* (HR. Bukhari & Muslim).' The connotation means that the historical hadith is used as an argument to criticize the condition of Muslims who do not understand Islam correctly and accurately. The pious Muslim community is informed through this hadith that Isha and Subuh prayers in the congregation have great virtues. This meme criticizes the Muslim community for not understanding the importance of Isha and Subuh prayers in the congregation, so they are more concerned with watching football and staying up late. Through this hadith, Muslim communities are invited to become conservative and stay away from popular culture, namely watching football and staying up late.

The code in the meme is football, which has been commodified as popular culture, so it is considered a myth that threatens Muslims' religious practices. Football as popular culture no longer refers to the substance of sport but becomes a tool for the economic extension of capitalism. It is through the power of capitalism that many Muslim communities have shifted religion to become a football spectacle. Ideologically, this meme represents conservative Muslim piety, which is threatened by the presence of capitalist ideology. A devout Muslim society must reject the ideology of capitalism that enters through popular culture by watching football. This capitalism must be rejected because it actually harms the Muslim community and openly abandons the Isha and Subuh prayers in congregation at the mosque. So, this representation illustrates that memes function not only as emotional expressions but as social reflections. The reality of Muslim society, which is willing to abandon the Subuh prayer because they are more concerned with watching football, is depicted in this meme.

Table 3. Eclipse Prayer Memes, Congregational Subuh prayers and Eclipse Soap Operas

Visual Marks	Marker	A sign	Meaning
	Bulan, Dina Lorenza, Pierre Roland, Text "Busy going to the mosque to pray for the eclipse..."	Sinteron is popular culture that threatens Muslim worship	Piety that rejects the presence of popular culture through soap operas
Structuralism	1. The social structure of society is divided into two, namely conservatism and modern society 2. The Subuh prayer is contrasted with the sunnah prayer of Eclipse and the soap opera Eclipse 3. Sunnah prayers for a lunar eclipse are associated with the culture of watching the soap opera Eclipse		
Denotation	Criticism of the Muslim community is busy going to the mosque for the lunar eclipse prayer but rarely going to the mosque for the Subuh prayer. This condition reminds the public of the actors in the soap opera Eclipse		
Connotation	1. Lunar eclipse prayers are only considered a cultural practice 2. Lunar eclipse prayers are considered popular culture 3. Conservative Muslim society is threatened by the presence of popular culture		
Code (Myth and ideology)	1. Popular culture myths that damage the religion of Muslims 2. Myths related to lunar eclipses have become part of people's culture 3. Criticism of conservative ideology towards local culture and popular culture		

The memes in the table above are published via website pages: https://m.tribunnews.com. The visual sign of this meme depicts the phenomenon of people welcoming the lunar Eclipse by praying for the Eclipse but never praying at dawn in the mosque. The phenomenon of this lunar eclipse prayer reminds people of the popularity of the soap opera Eclipse twenty years ago, starring Pierre Roland and Dina Lorenza. The marker in the meme is a picture of the moon, the actors in the film Eclipse, namely Pierre Roland and Dina Lorenza, and the text 'Busy going to the mosque for eclipse prayers...However, they rarely go to the mosque for Subuh prayers. The soap opera Eclipse was indeed popular from 1999 to 2003, but when it was made into a meme, it became relevant to the reality of today's society. Through this Eclipse meme, Muslim society today is considered to remain the same as in 1999-2003, prioritizing carrying out Sunnah worship, for example, the lunar eclipse prayer, compared to carrying out the Subuh prayer, which is obligatory by law. These signs mean the Muslim community understands the lunar eclipse prayer like popular

culture. Muslim communities flock to welcome the arrival of a lunar eclipse with the Eclipse Prayer, which only happens once a year.

Structurally, this meme represents the struggle over the structure of social society between Islamic conservatism and modern society, which uses popular culture as a lifestyle. Social and conservative communities want to return the culturally mixed practice of Islamic worship to pure Islamic practice. Cultural practices that are not by Islamic teachings must be rejected because they threaten the Islamic faith. Congregational Subuh prayers in mosques are opposed to being incompatible with the cultural practices that accompany the performance of lunar eclipse prayers. Congregational Subuh prayers in mosques are also opposed to being compatible with the presence of popular culture through watching soap operas broadcast on television. Meanwhile, the eclipse prayer was greeted enthusiastically and was associated with the popularity of the soap opera Eclipse, starring artists Pierre Roland and Dina Lorenza. This meme represents a criticism of the social phenomenon of Muslim communities who do not carry out their obligations as Muslims but build a lifestyle based on popular culture.

The denotational meaning of the meme is a criticism of the social conditions of the people who welcome the lunar Eclipse but only take the form of cultural practices. Muslim communities perform lunar eclipse prayers but rarely go to the mosque to perform Subuh prayers in congregation. The lunar eclipse prayer as a cultural practice reminds people of the popularity of the film Eclipse starring Pierre Roland and Dina Lorenza twenty years ago. Meanwhile, the connotation means that the presence of popular culture threatens conservative Muslim society through watching soap operas. The soap opera actor Dina Lorenza, who wears revealing clothes in meme images, represents a threat to conservative Muslim society. Muslim people like watching soap operas because they can see beautiful women, so they forget about the congregational Subuh prayer at the mosque.

The meaning of the code in this meme can begin with the important idea that a meme's aesthetic and creative elements can influence its meaning and appeal to the audience. Aesthetic and creative elements in memes become mythical and ideological codes that the audience will actively interpret. The code in memes is the myth of the presence of popular culture through soap operas, which makes Muslim people forget the obligation to carry out Subuh prayers in the congregation at the mosque. Muslim people admire soap operas because they see beautiful actors, for example, Dina Lorenza, but are not amazed by the rewards of congregational Subuh prayers at the mosque. Lunar eclipse prayer was mythologized as a cultural practice because of the importance of congregational Subuh prayers at the mosque. Ideologically, this meme represents conservatism's devotion to local culture and popular culture that develops in Muslim society.

Table 4. Implementation of Eid al-Fitr prayers

Visual Marks	Marker	A sign	Meaning
Jika kamu ingin melihat orang beriman datanglah ke masjid ketika sholat subuh dan jika ingin melihat orang islam maka lihatlah ketika hari raya idul fitri ITULAH ORANG ISLAM *Alm. Buya Hamka*	Women and men praying congregation, Subuh prayer, Eid al-Fitr holiday	Muslim communities make Eid al-Fitr a cultural holiday	The piety of a conservative Muslim society that rejects cultural practices
Structuralism	1. The social structure of society is divided into two, namely conservative and cultural society 2. The Subuh prayer is opposed to the Eid al-Fitr prayer 3. Celebrating Eid al-Fitr is associated as a cultural practice that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings		
Denotation	Criticism of the culture of celebrating Eid al-Fitr as an Indonesian culture by Muslim communities. The representation of a Muslim's faith is seen based on the congregational Subuh prayer at the mosque, not during the Eid al-Fitr prayer.		
Connotation	1. Eid al-Fitr prayers are only considered a cultural practice 2. Muslim communities do not believe because they do not perform Subuh prayers in congregation at the mosque		
Code (Myth and ideology)	1. Myths related to Eid al-Fitr celebrations which are considered Indonesian culture 2. Myths related to the faith of the Muslim community which is only seen based on the implementation of Eid prayers 3. Criticism of conservative ideology which considers that celebrating Eid al-Fitr is an Indonesian cultural practice		

The memes in the table above are published on the website pages https://www.facebook.com/MemeAndRageMasterIndonesia. The visual sign of this meme is a criticism of the implementation of Eid al-Fitr prayers as a cultural practice among Muslim communities. In the visual sign of the meme, there is a marker, namely a picture of female and male pilgrims performing the Eid al-Fitr prayer. The next sign is the text, which is a quote from Buya Hamka (Nasution, 2021): "*If you want to see believers, come to the mosque during Subuh prayers, and if you want to see Muslims, then look at Eid al-Fitr, those are Muslims.*" All of these signs mean that the Muslim community does not understand Islam correctly because it makes Eid al-Fitr a cultural practice. Eid al-Fitr celebrations have developed into a culture because they are influenced by the environment and culture in which Muslim communities live. Culture is unique; from one place to another, it has different meanings, thus forming cultural

acculturation with Islamic teachings. The new culture that is formed during the celebration of Eid al-Fitr is carried out by superimposing the spatial culture on a macro and mezzo scale, which is formed during a series of celebrations so that a complete cultural space is obtained during the Eid al-Fitr celebration (Cardinal, 2022).

Structurally, this meme represents the social structure of society, which is divided into conservative Muslim society and traditional society based on Indonesian cultural practices. Conservative Muslim communities consider that welcoming the Eid al-Fitr holiday with celebrations and Eid prayers is not by Islamic teachings. Cultural practices during Eid al-Fitr celebrations are considered to threaten the practice of congregational Subuh prayers in mosques in Muslim communities. The congregational Subuh prayer at the mosque is considered more important than carrying out the Eid al-Fitr prayer. People should prioritize the Subuh prayerin congregation at the mosque compared to carrying out the Eid al-Fitr prayer. Representations of the piety and faith of the Muslim community can be seen in the crowds carrying out Eid al-Fitr prayers and in the crowds carrying out Subuh prayers in congregation at the mosque. In structuralism, this meme represents a conservative society's rejection of cultural practices that are not considered part of Islamic teachings.

The denotational meaning of the meme is conservative Muslim criticism of the culture of celebrating Eid al-Fitr as an Indonesian culture by Muslim communities. The representation of a Muslim's faith is based on the congregation's Subuh prayer at the mosque, not during the Eid al-Fitr prayer. You can see the male and female prayer congregation in the picture, meaning that Eid al-Fitr prayers are carried out on a busy schedule. Meanwhile, the connotation means that celebrating Eid al-Fitr for Muslim communities is only considered a cultural practice. Eid al-Fitr, a benchmark for faith and piety, has not been proven. Because what happens is that the Muslim community is only busy coming during the Eid al-Fitr prayers but is quiet during the congregational Subuh prayers at the mosque. Muslim society is connotatively trapped in cultural practices that are not by Islamic teachings.

The code in memes is a myth that conservatively contrasts Islam with Indonesian cultural practices. This conservative understanding is rejected by a moderate view which proposes the concept of Indonesian Islam, which means that Islamic practice in the archipelago is a product of the dialectic of Islamic law with cultural realities deeply rooted in society. Nusantara Islam is a uniquely Indonesian Islam, namely the result of the integration of theological Islamic values with cultural values, traditions and customs of the archipelago (Luthfi, 2016; Siregar, 2020). Meanwhile, conservative Muslims consider that Islam has finished its teachings, so there is no need to add cultural practices that do not exist in Islamic teachings. Because it is only understood as a cultural interest, the Muslim community is busy celebrating Eid al-Fitr prayers. This Muslim community then fails to carry out the primary obligation compared to

the sunnah, namely the Subuh prayer in congregation at the mosque. This meme represents conservative piety that rejects cultural practices during Eid al-Fitr. This conservative ideology wants to restore the worship practices of Muslim society by the actual teachings of Islam. The congregational Subuh prayer at the mosque is the right measure to see the magnitude of the faith and piety of the Muslim community.

Popular Culture and Representations of Conservative Piety

Based on analysis using theory *meanings and media*, as explained above, the representation of piety in Subuh prayer memes on the internet found two themes: conservative piety rejecting popular culture and Indonesian culture. The first representation of conservative piety is the Salafi group's rejection of the popular culture of celebrating the New Year. In media pages managed by Salafi (https://rumaysho.com) an article was written prohibiting New Year's celebrations because they cause damage, for example, because it is haram, follows the actions of infidels or imitates infidels (*tasyabbuh*), and abandoning the obligatory command, namely praying five times a day (Tuasikal, 2024). Notes from Salafi scholars are on page https://www.radiorodja.com. It also strictly prohibits Muslims from participating in New Year's celebrations because it is considered dangerous for your Muslim aqidah. The culture of celebrating the New Year, for example, blowing the trumpet, is never taught in Islam because this practice is a Jewish celebration (Badrusalam, 2016).

The opinion of the Salafi group above is, of course, different from the view of traditional Nahdlatul Ulama scholars on the NU Online page, who explain that celebrating the new year is permissible or not sunnah and is not also called bid'ah (Syakir NF, 2023). The Nadhlatul Ulama group allows Muslims to participate in New Year's celebrations. However, it is also recommended that they be used to self-evaluate to improve their worship to be closer to Allah SWT. Celebrating the New Year is still allowed, but some conditions must be met, namely that the celebration is not filled with immoral activities such as adultery, brawls, drinking alcohol, and so on (Habiburrahman, 2023). The NU group's views are more moderate than the Salafi group's, which clearly rejects New Year celebrations. NU believes that culture does not need to be confused with religious practices because the two are different but can complement each other.

Popular culture that conservative groups reject is related to watching football because it prevents people from performing Subuh prayers in congregation at the mosque. For some Indonesians, football has shifted from being a sport to being a spectacle in popular culture. Football is a cultural phenomenon considered unique and a special characteristic of the culture of the nobility. Football also represents national awareness and community identity within a nation (Zhang, 2020). Football is not just a sport or competition with entertainment nuances but has become a means of contesting the ideology of religion, media, culture and capitalism. The meme's

rejection of watching football and staying up late aligns with the idea that watching football can replace the meaning of religion or that its meaning is no longer considered important (Syahputra, 2016). This rejection of popular football culture does not mean that football viewing is not by Islamic teachings or is rejected by the entire Muslim community. Football as a spectacle in popular culture can be used as a means of da'wah by packaging popular Islamic messages (Lukmana & Tambunan, 2019).

The representation of piety in the Subuh prayer meme described above further rejects popular culture related to the culture of watching soap operas or the culture of watching television. This popular culture is associated with memes of the arrival of a lunar eclipse, which is welcomed by the Muslim community through culture. Popular culture through television viewing, for example, the soap opera Eclipse in Meme starring Pirre Roland Dina Lorenz, can be considered to threaten the practice of Muslim worship, which is justified because, according to Qosim (2023), since the Soeharto era, television has developed ideology as an alternative religion. However, in other conditions, popular culture constructed through television media does not need to be suspected of being shallow in the religion of the Muslim community. Television media can construct various shows in the form of popular culture, which contains da'wah messages (Atabik, 2013).

Apart from popular culture, the representation of conservative piety in the Subuh prayer meme rejects local cultural practices during the celebration of Eid al-Fitr. The Muslim community is associated with a society that is not pious because when the Eid al-Fitr prayer is performed, many people come. However, during the congregational Subuh prayers at the mosque, the Muslim community never came to the mosque. The cultural practice of Eid or Eid al-Fitr does not need to be accused of threatening Muslims' worship practices because Eid celebrations also contain the value of da'wah or spreading Islam (Karimullah, 2021). However, the opinion that the celebration of Eid al-Fitr threatens the practice of Muslim worship can also be justified. The reality is that Eid al-Fitr is no longer based on carrying out religious orders but rather on consumerist cultural practices. During Eid, Muslim people forget religious advice to live frugally and not be wasteful. However, the Eid holiday traps people in a consumerist lifestyle (Fadhil, 2016).

The representation of the meaning of piety in the internet Subuh prayer memes analyzed above clearly builds myths and ideologies based on conservative Islamic thought. This rejection of popular culture represents the social structure of society, which is based on conservative Islamic views. Structurally, this conservative ideology carries out a binary opposition that Islam must be returned to the Sunnah of the Qur'an, so all popular cultural practices are considered unsuitable for Muslim society. Conservative Muslim society must restore its foundation of life based on pure Islamic teachings. Popular cultural celebrations are associated with cultural products from non-Muslim groups that can threaten the piety of Muslims. This Subuh prayer meme

invites the Muslim community to return to carrying out religious commands in a kaffah manner and abandon cultural practices that can neglect the Muslim community's worship.

CONCLUSION

Subuh prayer memes on the internet are analyzed using theory *meanings and media*. There are text markers as a sign of rejection of popular and local cultures. The representation of piety that wants to be built through memes is a conservative Muslim society by returning to pure worship practices. A Muslim society is devout when it never misses the congregational Subuh prayer at the mosque. Structurally, the social order to be fought for is a socio-cultural system based on pure Islamic teachings. A socio-culturally pious society will be created through Islamic teachings that are pure and not mixed with popular or local cultural practices. So, the denotational meaning is the conservative group's desire to invite people not to abandon congregational Subuh prayers at the mosque. This meme, in code, rejects the myth that Islam can be combined with various popular and local cultures. This meme ultimately represents piety based on a conservative ideology that wants to re-purify Muslims' worship practices by the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet.

This research still uses mass media textual analysis research with theory *meanings and media*, of which the results cannot be generalized. In further research, other mass media textual analysis methods, such as discourse analysis or framing analysis, can be used. Future research is also expected to analyze the da'wah posters on the internet related to the spread of conservative ideology. It is important to carry out further research regarding da'wah posters, which mean conservative ideology, because, during observations, the researchers found many da'wah posters with Salafi and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) logos. In this way, textual research on mass media will be increasingly enriched with other findings, especially those related to the conservative Salafi and HTI da'wah ideology movements. The limitations of this study include the narrow focus on Subuh prayer memes without addressing other visual media formats that may also carry similar messages. Future research should expand to analyze other types of digital media, such as videos or interactive content, to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the spread of conservative Islamic ideologies.

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