

Ethnographic Exploration of Da'wah Bil Hal Practices in the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan

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Abstract

Although community-based Islamic outreach has received increasing scholarly attention, research on the Mass *Layatan* Tradition as a form of *da'wah bil hal* within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan remains limited. This study aimed to explore the cultural construction and practice of *da'wah bil hal* in the Mass *Layatan* Tradition, examine the meanings and values embedded in the tradition, and analyze its social and religious implications for the community. A qualitative ethnographic design was employed, involving 16 participants selected through purposive sampling. Data were collected through participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and documentation analysis, and were analyzed using an interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The findings reveal that the Mass *Layatan* Tradition functions as a culturally embedded form of *da'wah bil hal* expressed through collective prayers, Qur'anic recitation, funeral assistance, emotional support, and social service for bereaved families. The tradition embodies religious responsibility, social devotion, *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *ta'awun*, empathy, and collective cooperation, while strengthening social relationships, reinforcing Islamic brotherhood, expanding religion-based social networks, and preserving local religious culture. These findings affirm the interrelationship between religion, culture, ritual, and social action. The study concludes that the Mass *Layatan* Tradition serves as an effective medium of *da'wah bil hal* by promoting social integration and sustaining religious culture. The findings enrich the literature on community-based Islamic outreach and offer practical insights for

religious organizations in strengthening socially engaged forms of religious practice across diverse socio-cultural contexts.

Keywords: *Da'wah Bil Hal*; Ethnography; Mass *Layanan* Tradition; Social Solidarity; Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan

INTRODUCTION

Da'wah has long been recognized as a fundamental instrument in fostering religious understanding, social transformation, and community development within Muslim societies. In contemporary contexts, da'wah is no longer confined to verbal preaching, sermons, or religious instruction but increasingly encompasses practical efforts aimed at improving the quality of life and strengthening social cohesion. Recent studies have demonstrated that da'wah plays a strategic role in shaping religious consciousness, reinforcing social solidarity, and encouraging behavioral transformation toward substantive Islamic values (Millasari et al., 2025). Furthermore, da'wah functions not merely as a medium for disseminating religious teachings but also as an agent of social transformation capable of responding to the changing needs and dynamics of modern society (Abqoriy, 2026).

At the international level, growing scholarly attention has been directed toward the relationship between religion, culture, and communal practices. Wahid, (2022) argues that religious rituals that adapt to local cultural contexts can create social harmony while simultaneously serving as effective channels for the transmission of Islamic values. Such findings indicate that da'wah is not always carried out through verbal preaching but can also be manifested through social and cultural practices embedded within community life. Similarly, Kabir et al., (2024) emphasize that the spiritual needs of contemporary Muslims are increasingly fulfilled through religious experiences involving social interaction and collective participation rather than individual worship alone. These developments suggest that communal religious activities remain highly significant in strengthening religiosity and fostering collective identity among Muslim communities.

Nationally, numerous studies have highlighted the importance of local religious traditions as vehicles for Islamic education and social integration. Abidin et al., (2022) found that the Nyadran tradition in Java serves as a medium for internalizing Islamic values through collective prayers, pilgrimage activities, and communal respect for ancestors. Likewise,

Masruroh, (2024) demonstrates that cultural da'wah approaches integrating Islamic teachings with local wisdom effectively enhance public acceptance of religious messages because they operate in accordance with local social characteristics. In addition, Indriyani, (2023) argues that the effectiveness of contemporary da'wah largely depends on the ability of religious actors to adapt their methods to evolving social and cultural conditions. These findings collectively indicate that contextual, culturally embedded, and socially responsive forms of da'wah tend to be more effective in nurturing religious awareness and community participation.

Among various approaches to Islamic propagation, *da'wah bil hal* has emerged as one of the most effective methods for conveying religious values within society. Unlike conventional preaching, *da'wah bil hal* emphasizes concrete actions, exemplary behavior, social service, and direct engagement with community life (Mutiawati & Ramadhani, 2023). This approach positions practical action as the primary medium of religious communication, allowing communities to experience the benefits of Islamic teachings directly. Research further suggests that *da'wah bil hal* strengthens emotional bonds between religious actors and society because Islamic values are communicated not only through words but also through tangible social practices oriented toward public welfare (Jamaluddin & Yuniasih, 2024).

One significant manifestation of *da'wah bil hal* in Indonesian Muslim society can be found in the tradition of *layatan* or communal condolence visits to families experiencing bereavement. This tradition is not merely understood as an expression of respect toward the deceased and their family but also as a manifestation of Islamic brotherhood, mutual assistance, empathy, and social solidarity (Musyaffa et al., 2025). The collective presence of community members during *layatan* activities reflects the strength of social bonds constructed through religious values. Studies on community-based religious traditions indicate that such collective activities function as mechanisms for strengthening social cohesion while preserving religious-cultural identities within society (Nurizzati & Pertiwi, 2026).

Within the Nahdlatul Wathan community, particularly through the Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan organization, the *layatan* tradition has developed into a structured socio-religious activity involving collective participation from numerous members (Amien et al., 2025). The active involvement of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan in various social activities, including mass *layatan*, reflects the organization's commitment to preserving Islamic values

and social traditions inherited from previous generations of scholars. These activities not only function as forms of social service but also serve as practical media for internalizing da'wah values through actions directly experienced by the community (Rahman, 2023). Consequently, the phenomenon of mass *layatan* represents a unique intersection between religion, culture, social service, and communal solidarity. Through these activities, members act not merely as mourners but also as agents of da'wah who demonstrate compassion, unity, and service to fellow Muslims. Therefore, mass *layatan* can be understood as a form of *da'wah bil hal* that integrates Islamic teachings with everyday social practices (Dewi, 2025).

To understand the meanings and practices embedded within mass *layatan*, an ethnographic approach is particularly relevant. Ethnography enables researchers to observe directly the activities, symbols, interactions, and cultural values that shape community life. It also provides opportunities to understand how participants themselves interpret and assign meaning to their practices. Previous ethnographic studies have demonstrated that local religious traditions often function as effective media for transmitting Islamic values because they emerge organically from the social experiences of communities (Fauzi et al., 2024).

Several previous studies provide important insights into the relationship between religious traditions, social solidarity, and Islamic propagation. Sarah et al., (2023) found that the *Mbelu' Pandang* tradition in West Sumbawa serves not only as a means of cultural preservation but also as a medium for transmitting Islamic values, strengthening social solidarity, and reinforcing religious identity. Hasan et al., (2025) revealed that the *Nahdliyan Yasinan* tradition functions as a form of performative interpretation that revitalizes Qur'anic values through collective recitation, *tamassul*, and communal prayer while strengthening social cohesion and religiosity. Similarly, Naan et al., (2025) demonstrated that the *haul* tradition serves as a mechanism for spiritual formation, Islamic value transmission, social relationship building, and collective identity development within pesantren communities.

Other studies have highlighted the role of cultural accommodation and ritual practices in shaping Islamic life. Sumiadi, (2025) showed that the successful integration of Islamic values and local wisdom in the Wetu Telu tradition of Lombok is achieved through cultural, emotional, and structural approaches that encourage broad social acceptance. Adinugraha and Al-Kasyaf, (2025) found that rituals such as *manlid*, *tablil*, *sedekah bumi*, and collective *dhikr* strengthen both spirituality and social solidarity within coastal Muslim communities. Meanwhile, Effendi et al., (2025) demonstrated that the digital transformation

of the Sorogan tradition remains effective as a medium of da'wah and religious moderation, particularly when integrated with familiar cultural practices. Likewise, Ismail et al., (2024) found that religious traditions among the Jayawijaya Muslim community emerge through continuous dialogue between Islamic teachings and local customs, indicating that local traditions can coexist harmoniously with religious values when they contribute positively to social, spiritual, and moral development.

Despite these important contributions, existing studies have predominantly focused on religious traditions such as *Mbelu' Pandang*, *Yasinan*, *haul*, Wetu Telu, coastal Islamic rituals, Sorogan, and other local religious practices. Research specifically examining mass *layatan* as a form of *da'wab bil hal* within the organizational context of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan remains extremely limited. More importantly, previous studies have not comprehensively explored how collective condolence practices function simultaneously as religious rituals, social services, cultural expressions, and mechanisms for transmitting Islamic values through practical action. This gap indicates the need for a more in-depth ethnographic investigation into the meanings, symbols, interactions, and social functions embedded within the mass *layatan* tradition.

The novelty of this study is supported by five classical theoretical perspectives. First, Social Solidarity Theory by Durkheim (1982) explains how collective rituals strengthen social cohesion and communal identity. Second, Social Action Theory by Weber (1978) provides a framework for understanding the subjective meanings that participants attach to their involvement in *da'wab bil hal*. Third, Symbolic Interactionism Theory by Mead (1934) highlights how religious symbols, prayers, and *hizib* recitations acquire meaning through social interaction. Fourth, Ritual Theory by Turner (1969) emphasizes the role of ritual practices in expressing shared beliefs and values. Finally, Interpretive Cultural Theory by Geertz (1973) views culture as a web of meanings, providing an ethnographic framework for interpreting the religious, social, and cultural significance of the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. These theories collectively offer a comprehensive foundation for analyzing *da'wab bil hal* as a religious, cultural, and social practice.

Preliminary observations indicate that the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan constitutes a collective religious practice integrating spiritual, social, and cultural dimensions within community life. The tradition brings together members through prayers, *hizib* recitations, *dbiker*, and various forms of social assistance provided to bereaved

families. These practices demonstrate that da'wah occurs not only through sermons and religious instruction but also through concrete actions reflecting compassion, mutual cooperation, social solidarity, and Islamic brotherhood. The tradition further serves as a mechanism for reproducing religious values and maintaining the collective identity of the Nahdlatul Wathan community. (Observation, April 20, 2026). These initial findings suggest a close relationship between *da'wah bil hal*, local religious traditions, and the construction of social solidarity that warrants deeper ethnographic exploration.

Based on these considerations, this study aims to ethnographically explore the cultural construction and practice of *da'wah bil hal* within the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan in East Lombok. Specifically, the study seeks to investigate how *da'wah bil hal* is manifested and practiced through the mass layatan tradition, to examine the meanings and values attached to this tradition by members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan and the local community, and to analyze its social and religious implications for community solidarity, Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*), and the preservation of local religious culture. Through this inquiry, the research aims to contribute to the growing body of ethnographic scholarship on Islamic da'wah by providing a contextual understanding of how religious teachings are transmitted through culturally embedded practices and how local traditions function as effective mediums for sustaining social cohesion, religious values, and communal identity.

METHODS

1. Research Approach and Design

This study employed a qualitative approach with an ethnographic research design. The qualitative approach was selected because the study sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the social, religious, and cultural dimensions embedded in the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. Qualitative research enables researchers to explore meanings, values, beliefs, and experiences from the perspectives of participants within their natural settings. According to Creswell and Poth (2024), qualitative inquiry is particularly suitable for understanding how individuals interpret and construct meanings from their lived experiences. Similarly, Merriam and Tisdell (2024) stated that qualitative research aims to understand social phenomena through the perspectives and experiences of participants.

An ethnographic design was employed because this study focused on understanding cultural practices, social interactions, symbols, and values that characterize the Mass Layatan Tradition. Ethnography allows researchers to examine how cultural meanings are constructed, maintained, and transmitted within a particular community. Madden (2022) emphasized that ethnography seeks to understand culture through prolonged engagement and direct participation in the daily lives of community members.

2. Research Site and Period

The study was conducted on May 2026 in Suralaga District and Kalijaga Village, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. These locations were purposively selected because they represent areas where the Mass Layatan Tradition is actively organized and practiced by Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. Furthermore, the communities in these areas continue to preserve religious traditions inherited across generations, making them highly relevant to the objectives of this study.

As Silverman (2022) noted, qualitative research sites should be selected based on their capacity to provide rich and meaningful information regarding the phenomenon under investigation.

3. Data Sources

The study utilized both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were obtained through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and direct engagement in Mass Layatan activities. The primary data were collected from individuals who possessed extensive knowledge and direct experience regarding the implementation of the tradition.

Secondary data were derived from organizational documents, activity archives, photographs, books, scientific publications, and other relevant sources related to *da'wah bil hal*, ethnography, and Sasak religious traditions. According to Yin (2023), the use of multiple sources of evidence enhances the comprehensiveness and credibility of qualitative research findings.

4. Participants

Participants were selected using purposive sampling. This sampling technique was employed because the study required individuals who possessed relevant knowledge, experience, and involvement in the implementation of the Mass Layatan Tradition. Merriam and Tisdell (2024) argued that purposive sampling enables researchers to identify

information-rich participants capable of providing in-depth insights into the phenomenon being studied.

A total of 16 participants were involved in the study, consisting of organizational leaders, active and senior members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, religious leaders, community leaders, field coordinators, and community members who had participated in or received services through the Mass Layatan Tradition.

5. Data Collection Procedures

a Participant Observation

Participant observation was conducted by directly engaging in Mass Layatan activities organized by Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. Through this process, the researcher observed the implementation of activities, forms of participation, social interactions among members and community residents, and the manifestation of *da'wah bil hal* values throughout the events.

Madden (2022) explained that participant observation enables researchers to understand cultural meanings and social practices through direct involvement in community life.

b In-Depth Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with all 16 participants. The interviews explored the history of the Mass Layatan Tradition, implementation procedures, religious and social meanings, forms of *da'wah bil hal*, and the perceived impacts of the activities on the community.

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2024), semi-structured interviews provide flexibility for exploring participants' experiences while maintaining alignment with the objectives of the study.

c Documentation

Documentation was employed to collect supporting data, including photographs, organizational structures, activity reports, membership records, organizational decrees, and other documents related to the implementation of the Mass Layatan Tradition.

Bowen (2021) stated that documentary sources provide valuable contextual information and complement data obtained through observations and interviews.

6. Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using the Interactive Model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, consisting of three interconnected stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction involved selecting, simplifying, categorizing, and organizing information obtained from observations, interviews, and documentation. Subsequently, the data were presented in narrative descriptions, tables, and thematic matrices to facilitate interpretation. Finally, conclusions were drawn through the identification of patterns, themes, cultural meanings, and forms of *da'wah bil hal* embedded in the Mass Layatan Tradition.

Miles et al. (2020) emphasized that qualitative data analysis is a cyclical process involving continuous interaction between data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion verification.

7. Trustworthiness of the Data

To ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, several validation techniques were employed. First, source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from participants representing different backgrounds, including organizational leaders, religious leaders, members, and community residents. Second, methodological triangulation was applied by comparing findings derived from observations, interviews, and documentation. Third, member checking was carried out by confirming interpretations and findings with key participants. Finally, prolonged engagement and persistent observation were undertaken to obtain comprehensive and reliable data regarding *da'wah bil hal* practices within the Mass Layatan Tradition.

Lincoln et al. (2021) argued that credibility in qualitative research can be strengthened through triangulation, member checking, and prolonged engagement in the research setting. Likewise, Tracy (2020) emphasized that trustworthiness is achieved through rigorous and transparent research procedures.

RESULTS

1. The Cultural Construction and Practice of Da'wah bil Hal in the Mass Layatan Tradition

a The Emergence and Continuity of the Mass Layatan Tradition

1) Historical Background of the Tradition within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan

The findings revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition has become an established socio-religious practice within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan and has been continuously maintained as part of the organization's collective identity. Participants described the tradition as a long-standing practice inherited from previous generations and preserved through organizational commitment, religious values, and community participation.

The chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained that the tradition has existed for many years and has become an inseparable component of the organization's religious and social activities. According to him, the practice serves not only as a means of expressing condolences but also as a practical form of da'wah through social action.

“This mass layatan tradition has long been part of the organizational culture of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. The activity is not merely about visiting bereaved families, but it also represents a form of da'wah bil hal that teaches compassion, togetherness, and the strengthening of Islamic brotherhood. Through the direct presence of members, the community can experience Islamic values manifested through concrete actions.” (P01, Male, Chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 12, 2026)

Interview data indicated that organizational members perceive the tradition as a legacy that embodies both religious commitment and social responsibility. Participants consistently emphasized that the continuation of layatan activities reflects the organization's dedication to preserving Islamic teachings through practical engagement with community life.

Field observations supported these findings. During several layatan activities, the researcher observed that members regarded their participation as a routine organizational responsibility rather than an occasional activity. Their involvement appeared to be guided by a shared understanding of the importance of maintaining the tradition as part of their collective religious identity.

The researcher noted:

“Members participated actively and voluntarily in layatan activities. Their attendance appeared to be motivated by a shared commitment to maintaining a tradition that has become embedded within the organizational culture of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.” (Observation, May 14, 2026)

Documentation analysis further confirmed the historical continuity of the tradition. Organizational reports, activity archives, and photographic records demonstrated that layatan activities have been conducted consistently across different periods and remain one of the most visible forms of community engagement organized by Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

As reflected in organizational records:

“The documentation shows the regular implementation of layatan activities involving organizational members in various communities across the Suralaga and Kalijaga areas.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Collectively, these findings indicate that the Mass Layatan Tradition has become an enduring socio-religious practice that forms part of the historical and organizational identity of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

2) Community Participation in Sustaining the Tradition

The findings further revealed that the sustainability of the Mass Layatan Tradition is strongly supported by active participation from both organizational members and the wider community. Community involvement extends beyond attendance at funeral ceremonies and includes cooperation in organizing religious activities, assisting bereaved families, and facilitating the implementation of layatan events.

A religious leader and senior advisor within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan emphasized that the tradition continues to thrive because it is supported collectively by members and local residents who share similar religious and social values.

“The continuity of mass layatan is possible because the community continues to uphold the values of togetherness and mutual concern. People feel responsible for participating whenever a member of the community experiences bereavement.” (P02, Male, Religious Leader and Senior Advisor of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 14, 2026)

Observational data revealed that layatan activities consistently attracted participation from individuals representing various age groups and social backgrounds. The researcher

observed the presence of senior organizational leaders, active members, youth members, community elders, and local residents participating together in the same activities.

The researcher recorded:

“Participants from diverse age groups attended the layatan activities. Younger members worked alongside senior members and community leaders, indicating broad community involvement in sustaining the tradition.” (Observation, May 16, 2026)

Documentation analysis also showed extensive participation from multiple generations. Photographs and attendance records indicated that younger members were actively involved in organizational activities associated with layatan, suggesting ongoing transmission of the tradition across generations.

As indicated in the documentation:

“Members from various generations consistently participated in layatan activities, demonstrating the continuity of collective responsibility and community engagement within the organization.” (Social Media Documentation Analysis, May 2026)

These findings demonstrate that community participation constitutes a crucial element in maintaining the continuity of the Mass Layatan Tradition and ensuring its ongoing relevance within contemporary community life.

b Forms of Da'wah bil Hal in Mass Layatan Activities

1) Religious and Social Activities during Layatan

The findings revealed that da'wah bil hal within the Mass Layatan Tradition is expressed through a variety of religious and social activities conducted collectively by members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan and local community members. These activities include Qur'anic recitations, Surah Yasin readings, tahlil, collective prayers, dhikr, condolence visits, and social interactions intended to support bereaved families.

A religious leader and senior advisor within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan explained that these activities represent a practical implementation of Islamic teachings concerning brotherhood and social responsibility.

“Mass layatan represents the practical implementation of Islamic teachings concerning brotherhood and social responsibility. Through collective prayers and direct participation, members demonstrate that the suffering experienced by one family becomes a concern shared by the wider Muslim community.” (P02, Male,

Religious Leader and Senior Advisor of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 14, 2026)

Observations conducted during layatan activities showed that members gathered collectively to participate in religious rituals while simultaneously interacting with bereaved families and community members.

The researcher observed:

“Members participated collectively in the recitation of Surah Yasin, tablil, and prayers for the deceased. The activities were characterized by a strong atmosphere of religious devotion and communal participation.” (Observation, May 14, 2026)

Documentation analysis further demonstrated that religious gatherings consistently formed a central component of layatan activities.

“Photographic records and activity reports show that collective prayers, Qur’anic recitations, and religious gatherings constitute integral elements of the Mass Layatan Tradition.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

2) Direct Assistance and Services Provided to Bereaved Families

In addition to religious activities, the findings revealed that da'wah bil hal is manifested through direct assistance and practical services provided to bereaved families. Organizational members actively contribute their time, labor, and resources to support funeral-related activities and assist families experiencing loss.

A senior member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan explained:

“Through layatan activities, we are taught to always be present when members of society face difficulties. Assistance does not necessarily involve material support. It can be expressed through time, energy, attention, prayers, and direct service.” (P05, Male, Senior Member of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 15, 2026)

Field observations showed that members participated actively in funeral preparations, burial arrangements, crowd management, and logistical assistance.

The researcher noted:

“Several members were directly involved in carrying the deceased, preparing burial arrangements, coordinating participants, and assisting family members throughout the funeral process.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation records further illustrated extensive member involvement in social service activities associated with layatan events.

“Documentation materials show members assisting with funeral preparations, transportation, burial arrangements, and support services provided to bereaved families.” (Documentation Analysis, Funeral Assistance Records of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

c The Implementation Process of the Mass Layatan Tradition

1) Information Dissemination and Member Mobilization

The findings revealed that the implementation of the Mass Layatan Tradition begins with the dissemination of information regarding a community member's death. Information is typically communicated through organizational networks, community contacts, and digital communication platforms used by Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

The secretary of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained:

“Whenever information about a death is received, it is immediately distributed through our communication groups so that members can prepare and participate in the layatan activities.” (P03, Male, Secretary of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 13, 2026)

Observations indicated that members responded rapidly to information circulated through organizational communication channels.

“Information regarding bereavement was disseminated efficiently through organizational communication groups, resulting in prompt responses from members.” (Observation, May 12, 2026)

Documentation analysis also confirmed the use of digital communication systems to coordinate participation.

“Communication records demonstrate the rapid dissemination of information concerning community deaths through organizational communication networks.” (Social Media Documentation Analysis, May 2026)

2) Layatan Activities and Funeral Accompaniment

Following mobilization, members participate in a series of layatan activities, including condolence visits, collective prayers, funeral processions, and burial accompaniment. Findings indicate that participation extends from the initial visit to the completion of funeral activities.

Observations revealed that members remained actively involved throughout the funeral process.

“Members accompanied bereaved families from the condolence gathering until the completion of burial activities, providing both practical assistance and emotional support.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation records similarly demonstrated the continuity of member involvement throughout the entire process.

“Photographs and activity reports show members participating in condolence visits, funeral processions, burial activities, and post-funeral support services.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the implementation of the Mass Layatan Tradition is characterized by organized coordination, collective participation, and sustained involvement from organizational members throughout the mourning and funeral process.

The following figure 1 presents the conceptual model of da'wah bil hal embedded within the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

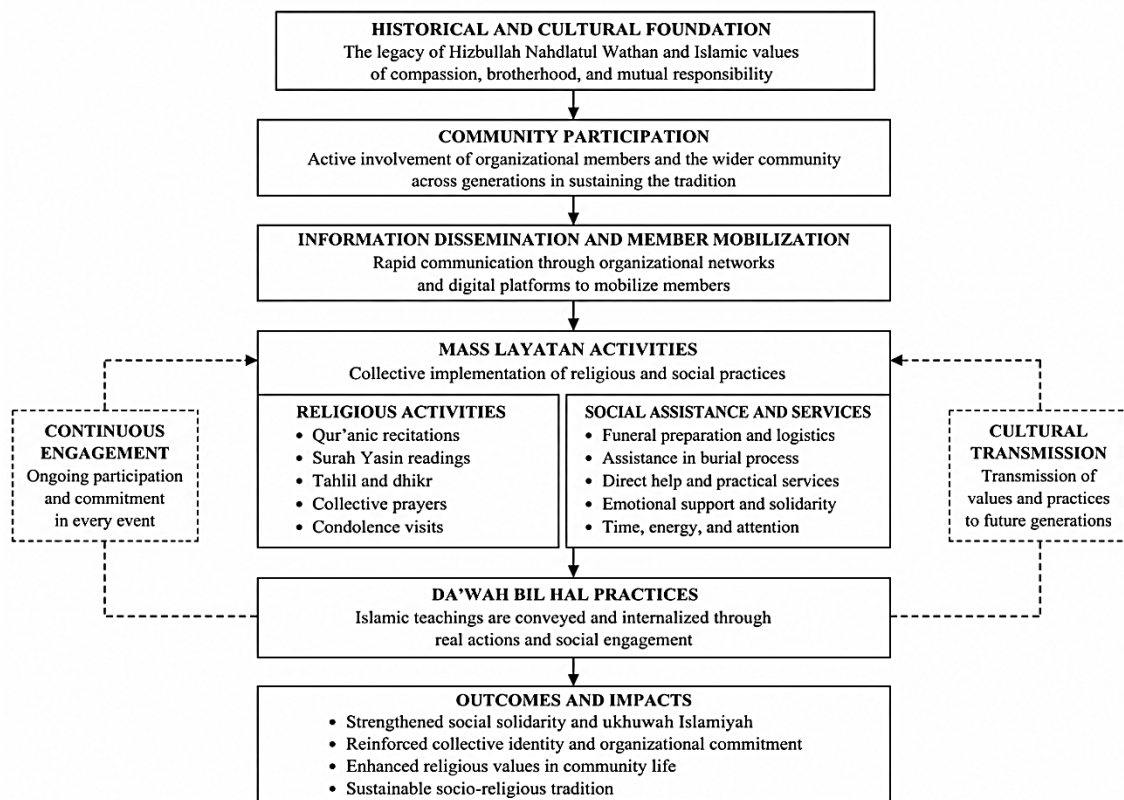


Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Da'wah bil Hal in the Mass Layatan Tradition

Figure 1 demonstrates that the Mass Layatan Tradition originates from the historical legacy and organizational culture of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, which are sustained

through active community participation and collective member mobilization. These processes facilitate the implementation of layatan activities that integrate religious practices, such as Qur'anic recitation, tahlil, dhikr, and collective prayers, with various forms of social assistance provided to bereaved families. The interaction between religious devotion and social service constitutes the core manifestation of da'wah bil hal, where Islamic teachings are communicated through concrete actions rather than verbal instruction alone. As a result, the tradition contributes to the strengthening of social solidarity, the reinforcement of ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood), the internalization of religious values, and the preservation of the collective identity of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. The model highlights that the Mass Layatan Tradition functions not only as a funeral-related ritual but also as a culturally embedded mechanism of social integration, religious transmission, and community-based Islamic outreach.

2. Meanings and Values Attached to the Mass Layatan Tradition

a. Meanings of Mass Layatan among Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Members

1) Layatan as a Form of Religious Responsibility

The findings revealed that members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan primarily interpret participation in the Mass Layatan Tradition as a form of religious responsibility. Participants consistently described the activity as an obligation rooted in Islamic teachings concerning care for fellow Muslims, collective support during times of hardship, and the fulfillment of religious duties associated with death and bereavement.

Interview data indicated that participation in layatan is understood not merely as a social expectation but as an expression of commitment to religious values. Members emphasized that attending layatan activities reflects their awareness of religious obligations toward individuals and families experiencing loss.

A religious leader and senior advisor within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan explained:

“Layatan is not simply a community activity. For us, it is part of our religious responsibility as Muslims. When a member of the community experiences bereavement, we believe that we have a duty to be present, offer prayers, and provide support.” (P02, Male, Religious Leader and Senior Advisor of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 14, 2026)

Similarly, several participants emphasized that their involvement in layatan activities is motivated by a sense of accountability before God as well as responsibility toward fellow community members.

A senior member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan stated:

“Attending layatan is part of our religious commitment. We believe that helping others during times of grief is an important aspect of practicing Islamic teachings in everyday life.” (P05, Male, Senior Member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 15, 2026)

Observational data reinforced these findings. During multiple layatan activities, participants consistently demonstrated active engagement throughout the events, despite demanding schedules and travel distances. Their willingness to attend and participate suggested a strong sense of obligation toward the community.

The researcher observed:

“Many participants traveled considerable distances to attend layatan activities. Their attendance appeared to reflect a deeply internalized sense of responsibility toward fellow community members.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation analysis further demonstrated the consistency of member participation across different events and locations.

“Attendance records indicate a high level of member participation in layatan activities throughout the observation period, suggesting a sustained commitment to organizational and religious responsibilities.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Collectively, these findings indicate that members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan interpret the Mass Layatan Tradition as an important expression of religious responsibility that guides their participation in community life.

2) Layatan as an Expression of Social Service and Devotion

The findings further revealed that members perceive the Mass Layatan Tradition as an expression of social service and devotion. Participants frequently described the activity as a practical means of serving society while simultaneously demonstrating commitment to Islamic values.

According to interview participants, layatan provides opportunities to translate religious teachings into concrete actions that directly benefit others. Through participation

in funeral-related activities and support services, members believe they contribute positively to the welfare of the community.

The chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained:

“We want to demonstrate that da'wah should not remain limited to words. Through layatan activities, members learn to serve society, assist those in need, and practice Islamic values through real actions.” (P01, Male, Chairman of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 12, 2026)

Likewise, the secretary of the organization emphasized that layatan functions as a form of community service that strengthens relationships between the organization and local residents.

“Through these activities, members become directly involved in helping the community. Layatan teaches us that serving others is an essential part of religious life.” (P03, Male, Secretary of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 13, 2026)

Field observations revealed that members consistently prioritized the needs of bereaved families during layatan activities. Assistance was provided voluntarily without expectations of material rewards or public recognition.

The researcher recorded:

“Members carried out various forms of assistance voluntarily and collectively. Their actions reflected a strong commitment to serving the community rather than seeking personal benefit.” (Observation, May 20, 2026)

Documentation analysis similarly demonstrated extensive member involvement in community-oriented activities.

“Photographic and organizational records show continuous member participation in funeral assistance, community support services, and social activities associated with layatan events.” (Documentation Analysis, Funeral Assistance Records of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

These findings suggest that members attach meanings of service, devotion, and community contribution to their participation in the Mass Layatan Tradition.

b. Religious and Social Values Embedded in the Tradition

1) Ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic Brotherhood)

One of the most prominent values identified in the findings was ukhuwah Islamiyah or Islamic brotherhood. Participants consistently emphasized that the Mass Layatan Tradition serves as a practical expression of solidarity among Muslims and strengthens interpersonal relationships within the community.

Interview participants explained that attendance at layatan activities symbolizes collective concern and reinforces the perception that all members of the community share responsibility for one another.

A religious leader within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan stated:

“Mass layatan represents the practical implementation of Islamic brotherhood. Through our collective presence, we demonstrate that no member of the community faces hardship alone.” (P02, Male, Religious Leader and Senior Advisor of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 14, 2026)

Observations revealed that participants interacted warmly regardless of differences in age, social status, or organizational position. Members worked together and provided support without visible distinctions between leaders and ordinary members.

The researcher observed:

“No differences in treatment were evident based on social or economic status. Participants demonstrated equal concern and respect toward bereaved families.” (Observation, May 14, 2026)

Documentation records further indicated participation from multiple generations and social groups.

“Photographic documentation demonstrates the involvement of younger members, senior members, religious leaders, and local residents within the same activities.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

2) Ta'awun (Mutual Assistance) and Gotong Royong (Collective Cooperation)

The findings also revealed the strong presence of ta'awun and gotong royong within the Mass Layatan Tradition. Participants consistently described helping others as one of the fundamental purposes of the activity.

A senior member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan explained:

“Through layatan, we learn to help others whenever they face difficulties. Assistance can take many forms, including time, energy, attention, prayers, and direct involvement in funeral activities.” (P05, Male, Senior Member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 15, 2026)

Another participant similarly emphasized that cooperation among members emerges naturally during layatan activities.

“Everyone contributes according to their abilities. Some help prepare the burial site, others assist the family, and others coordinate participants. The important thing is that everyone works together.” (P06, Male, Active Member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 17, 2026)

Observations confirmed extensive cooperation throughout funeral-related activities.

The researcher recorded:

“Members collectively participated in funeral preparations, burial arrangements, crowd management, and support services without requiring formal task assignments.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation analysis similarly showed coordinated participation across various activities associated with layatan events.

“Documentation records consistently illustrate collaborative participation among members and local residents during funeral and condolence activities.” (Documentation Analysis, Funeral Assistance Records of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

These findings indicate that ta'awun and gotong royong constitute important values embedded within the Mass Layatan Tradition and continue to shape member participation in community life.

c. Empathy and Social Care in Layatan Practices

1) Moral and Emotional Support for Bereaved Families

The findings revealed that empathy constitutes one of the most visible dimensions of the Mass Layatan Tradition. Beyond participation in religious rituals and funeral-related activities, members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan were consistently described as providing emotional accompaniment, moral encouragement, and psychological support to families experiencing bereavement. Participants emphasized that the presence of organizational members helped alleviate feelings of loneliness, sadness, and emotional distress during periods of mourning.

Interview data obtained from families who had received layatan services indicated that the collective presence of members generated a sense of comfort and reassurance. Participants frequently described the experience as a source of emotional strength during difficult circumstances.

A female participant whose family had received layatan services explained:

“When our family experienced a death, many members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan came to visit us. Their presence brought comfort and strength to our family during a very difficult time.” (P07, Female, Recipient of Mass Layatan Services, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 20, 2026)

Similarly, another participant emphasized that the support provided through layatan activities extended beyond formal condolences and contributed to the emotional resilience of family members.

“When we lost a member of our family, the presence of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan members encouraged us to remain patient and strong in facing the situation. Their support meant a great deal to us.” (P08, Female, Recipient of Mass Layatan Services, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 20, 2026)

These accounts indicate that participants attached considerable emotional significance to the presence of organizational members during periods of mourning. The findings suggest that layatan activities serve not only as religious obligations but also as mechanisms through which emotional support is communicated and experienced.

Observational data further reinforced these findings. During several layatan activities, the researcher observed members engaging directly with bereaved families, offering words of encouragement, listening attentively to family members, and remaining present throughout the mourning process.

The researcher recorded:

“Several members spent time speaking with family members, expressing sympathy, and offering emotional reassurance. Their interactions reflected genuine concern and attentiveness toward the emotional condition of the bereaved family.” (Observation, May 16, 2026)

Additional observations indicated that members frequently remained at the residence after the completion of religious activities to continue accompanying family members and assisting visitors.

The researcher further observed:

“Following the completion of collective prayers, members continued to accompany the family, receive visitors, and provide assistance whenever needed. Their presence extended beyond ceremonial participation.”
(Observation, May 19, 2026)

Documentation analysis also demonstrated the recurring presence of organizational members in activities associated with family support and accompaniment.

“Photographic documentation shows members interacting closely with bereaved families, accompanying them throughout funeral activities, and remaining present during periods of mourning.”
(Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Collectively, these findings demonstrate that moral and emotional support constitutes a significant component of the Mass Layatan Tradition. The active presence of members provides bereaved families with encouragement, reassurance, and a sense of companionship during periods of grief.

2) Community Perceptions of Care and Solidarity

The findings further revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition contributes to the development of strong perceptions of care and solidarity among community members. Participants consistently described the tradition as evidence that communal relationships remain active and meaningful within everyday social life.

Interview data indicated that local residents view the participation of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan members as a reflection of collective concern and mutual responsibility. The willingness of members to attend layatan activities, regardless of personal obligations or social differences, was frequently interpreted as a sign of genuine care for the community.

A community member who had frequently observed layatan activities explained:

“People appreciate the presence of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan because they consistently come whenever there is a death in the community. Their attendance shows that community members genuinely care for one another.” (P09, Male, Community Member, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 21, 2026)

Another participant highlighted the broader social significance of the tradition:

“Layatan creates a feeling that everyone belongs to the same community. When people come together during difficult times, relationships become stronger and mutual trust increases.” (P10, Male, Community Leader, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 22, 2026)

Observational findings similarly demonstrated that layatan activities facilitated interaction among individuals who might not otherwise meet regularly. Community members, organizational leaders, youth participants, and local residents were observed gathering within the same social space and engaging in collective activities.

The researcher noted:

“The layatan activities brought together individuals from different generations and social backgrounds. Interactions during the events reflected a strong sense of togetherness and mutual concern.” (Observation, May 22, 2026)

Additional observations suggested that community members perceived the presence of large numbers of participants as a visible expression of collective solidarity.

“The arrival of organizational members and local residents was frequently welcomed by family members as evidence that they were supported by a wider social network during bereavement.” (Observation, May 23, 2026)

Documentation analysis further demonstrated widespread community participation in layatan activities. Attendance records, photographs, and organizational archives consistently showed collaboration between Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan members and local residents.

“Documentation materials indicate broad community involvement in layatan activities, reflecting sustained patterns of cooperation, participation, and collective support.” (Documentation Analysis, Community Participation Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Social media documentation also reflected positive community responses to layatan activities. Messages, comments, and shared photographs frequently emphasized appreciation for the organization's responsiveness and concern for bereaved families.

“Digital communication records reveal positive public responses to layatan activities, particularly regarding the organization's commitment to supporting families experiencing loss.” (Social Media Documentation Analysis, May 2026)

Overall, the findings indicate that the Mass Layatan Tradition is widely perceived as a manifestation of care, compassion, and communal solidarity. Through repeated participation in layatan activities, members and local residents collectively reinforce social relationships and sustain a culture of mutual support within the community.

The following figure 2 presents the conceptual model of the meanings and values embedded in the Mass Layatan Tradition as practiced by members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

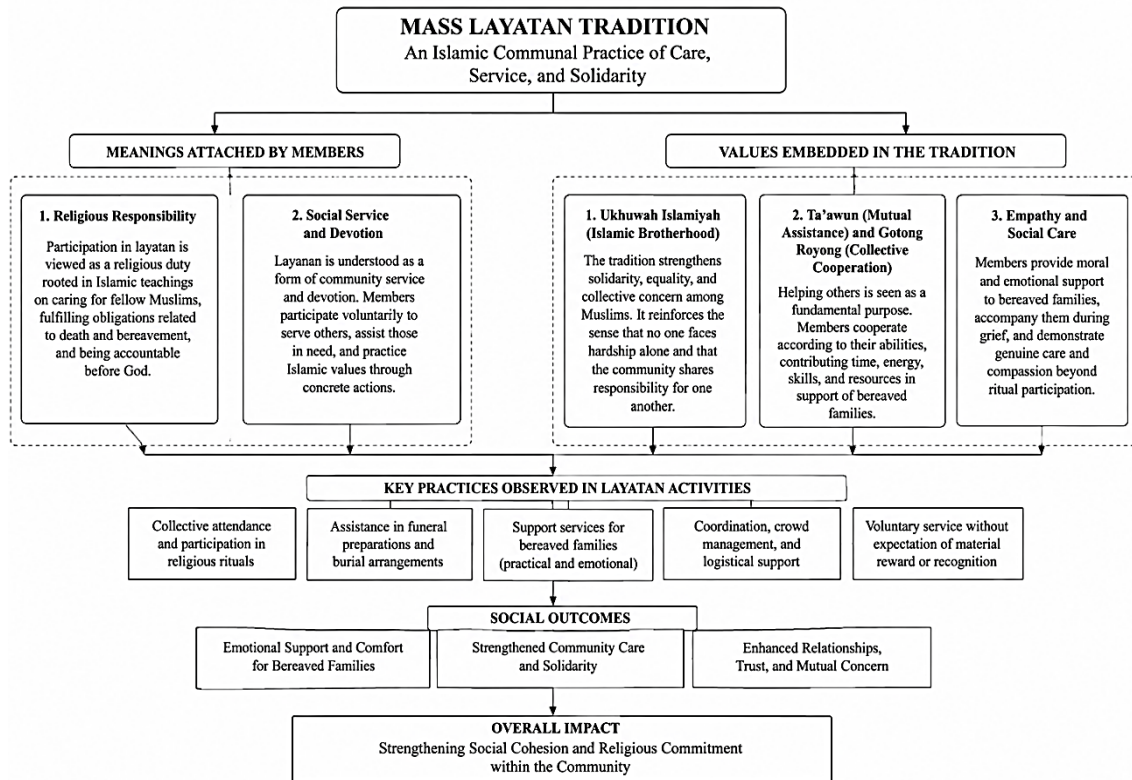


Figure 2. Conceptual Model of Meanings and Values Embedded in the Mass Layatan Tradition.

Figure 2 demonstrates that the Mass Layatan Tradition is constructed upon two primary dimensions: the meanings attached by members and the values embedded within the tradition. Members interpret layatan as a form of religious responsibility and social service, reflecting their commitment to Islamic teachings and community devotion. Simultaneously, the tradition embodies key values, including ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood), ta'awun (mutual assistance), gotong royong (collective cooperation), and empathy-based social care. These meanings and values are manifested through various collective practices, such as participation in religious rituals, funeral assistance, emotional support for bereaved families, and voluntary community service. As a result, the tradition contributes to emotional comfort for grieving families, strengthens solidarity and mutual concern, and enhances trust among community members. Ultimately, the model indicates that the Mass Layatan Tradition functions as a form of lived Islamic practice that reinforces both social cohesion and religious commitment within the community.

1. Social and Religious Implications of the Mass Layatan Tradition

a. Implications for Community Solidarity

1) Strengthening Social Relationships among Community Members

The findings revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition contributes significantly to the strengthening of social relationships among community members. Participants consistently described the tradition as a social mechanism that facilitates interaction, reinforces interpersonal connections, and nurtures a sense of belonging within the community. Through repeated participation in layatan activities, individuals maintain regular contact with one another and develop stronger social ties based on shared experiences of support and collective responsibility.

Interview data indicated that community members perceive the tradition as an important occasion for reinforcing social bonds. Participants emphasized that the gathering of organizational members, local residents, religious leaders, and family members during periods of bereavement creates opportunities for meaningful interaction that extend beyond formal religious activities.

A community leader explained:

“The Mass Layatan Tradition brings people together at important moments in life. Through these activities, relationships among community members become stronger because people meet, communicate, and support one another.” (P10, Male, Community Leader, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 22, 2026)

Similarly, participants noted that the tradition encourages continued interaction among individuals from different social backgrounds, thereby strengthening social cohesion within the community.

A community member stated:

“Layatan allows people to reconnect with one another. Individuals who may not meet regularly come together to support the bereaved family, and this strengthens community relationships.” (P09, Male, Community Member, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 21, 2026)

Observational data supported these findings. During layatan activities, the researcher observed extensive interaction among participants before, during, and after religious gatherings. Individuals from different age groups and social positions engaged in conversations, coordinated activities, and participated collectively in funeral-related events.

The researcher recorded:

“The layatan activities created opportunities for sustained interaction among community members. Participants communicated openly, coordinated collective activities, and demonstrated familiarity with one another throughout the event.” (Observation, May 22, 2026)

Documentation analysis also illustrated recurring patterns of community participation and interaction across multiple layatan events.

“Attendance records and photographic documentation indicate consistent participation from community members across different neighborhoods and social groups.” (Documentation Analysis, Community Participation Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

Collectively, these findings demonstrate that the Mass Layatan Tradition serves as an important social space through which relationships among community members are maintained and strengthened.

2) Enhancing Collective Participation and Mutual Support

The findings further revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition encourages collective participation and reinforces patterns of mutual support within the community. Participants consistently emphasized that layatan activities rely on voluntary involvement and collective contributions from organizational members and local residents.

Interview participants described how the tradition fosters a culture in which individuals feel responsible for assisting one another during times of difficulty. Community members frequently contribute labor, time, and resources to support funeral-related activities and provide assistance to bereaved families.

A senior member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan explained:

“The tradition teaches us that every member of the community has a role to play when someone experiences hardship. People participate willingly because they understand that helping others is part of our shared responsibility.” (P05, Male, Senior Member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 15, 2026)

Observational findings indicated that collective participation occurred naturally throughout the implementation of layatan activities. Participants collaborated in preparing funeral arrangements, organizing visitors, assisting family members, and supporting the burial process.

The researcher observed:

“Community members worked collectively without the need for formal instructions. Various forms of assistance emerged spontaneously as participants responded to the needs of the bereaved family.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation analysis further demonstrated extensive community involvement across different stages of layatan activities.

“Documentation records consistently show collaborative participation among organizational members and local residents in funeral assistance and support services.” (Documentation Analysis, Funeral Assistance Records of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

These findings indicate that the Mass Layatan Tradition strengthens patterns of collective participation and mutual support within community life.

b. Implications for Islamic Brotherhood

1) Reinforcing Bonds among Members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan

The findings revealed that participation in the Mass Layatan Tradition strengthens interpersonal relationships among members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. Participants consistently emphasized that collective involvement in religious and social activities fosters a stronger sense of unity, commitment, and organizational belonging.

Interview data indicated that regular participation in layatan activities creates opportunities for members to work together, communicate frequently, and develop closer relationships through shared experiences.

The chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained:

“Layatan activities strengthen the bond among members because we work together, serve the community together, and share the same commitment to helping others.” (P01, Male, Chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 12, 2026)

Another participant similarly highlighted the role of layatan in fostering organizational unity.

“The activities bring members together regularly. Through this process, relationships become stronger and members develop a greater sense of solidarity with one another.” (P06, Male, Active Member of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 17, 2026)

Observations confirmed that members collaborated closely throughout the implementation of layatan activities. Interactions were characterized by cooperation, mutual respect, and a shared commitment to organizational goals.

The researcher recorded:

“Members worked collectively throughout the activities and demonstrated strong interpersonal relationships that extended beyond formal organizational responsibilities.” (Observation, May 17, 2026)

Documentation analysis further illustrated sustained participation and collaboration among members across multiple events.

“Photographic documentation consistently shows members from different organizational levels participating together in layatan activities.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

These findings suggest that the Mass Layatan Tradition contributes to the strengthening of organizational relationships and reinforces a shared sense of belonging among members.

2) Expanding Religious-Based Social Networks

The findings further revealed that the tradition contributes to the expansion of religious-based social networks extending beyond the immediate organizational structure. Participants explained that layatan activities create opportunities for interaction among organizational members, religious leaders, local residents, and families from different communities.

A religious leader and senior advisor within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan stated:

“Through layatan, relationships are established not only among members of the organization but also with the wider community. These interactions strengthen religious ties and create broader networks of cooperation.” (P02, Male, Religious Leader and Senior Advisor of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan, Kalijaga, East Lombok, Interview, May 14, 2026)

Observations indicated that layatan activities frequently brought together participants from different villages, social groups, and organizational backgrounds.

The researcher observed:

“Participants attending the activities included individuals from multiple communities, indicating that the tradition functions as a meeting point for broader religious and social networks.” (Observation, May 23, 2026)

Documentation records similarly reflected extensive participation from individuals and groups beyond the immediate organizational membership.

“Attendance records demonstrate involvement from community leaders, religious figures, youth groups, and residents from neighboring areas.” (Documentation Analysis, Community Participation Report of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

These findings indicate that the Mass Layatan Tradition facilitates the development of wider religious-based social networks that extend beyond organizational boundaries.

c. Implications for the Preservation of Local Religious Culture

1) Maintaining Inherited Religious Traditions

The findings revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition plays an important role in maintaining religious traditions that have been inherited across generations. Participants consistently emphasized that the continuity of layatan activities reflects a collective commitment to preserving long-established religious practices within the local community.

Interview data indicated that members regard the tradition as an important component of their religious and cultural heritage.

The secretary of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained:

“Mass layatan is one of the traditions that we continue to preserve because it contains important religious values and has been practiced by previous generations.” (P03, Male, Secretary of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 13, 2026)

Observational findings showed that traditional religious practices such as collective prayers, tahlil, Qur’anic recitations, and funeral accompaniment remained central components of layatan activities.

The researcher noted:

“Religious practices associated with layatan were consistently performed across different events, indicating a strong commitment to maintaining inherited traditions.” (Observation, May 18, 2026)

Documentation analysis further demonstrated the continuity of these practices over time.

“Historical activity records indicate that similar religious activities have been conducted consistently within layatan events over multiple years.” (Documentation Analysis, Activity Report of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga, 2025–2026)

2) Transmitting Cultural and Religious Values to Younger Generations

The findings also revealed that the Mass Layatan Tradition functions as a medium through which cultural and religious values are transmitted to younger generations. Participants emphasized that the involvement of youth members provides opportunities for learning, participation, and socialization into community traditions.

The chairman of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan Suralaga explained:

“Young members learn directly through participation. By attending layatan activities, they develop an understanding of responsibility, compassion, cooperation, and service to the community.” (P01, Male, Chairman of Hizbullah Nabdlatul Wathan Suralaga Branch, East Lombok, Interview, May 12, 2026)

Observational data revealed active participation from younger members in various aspects of layatan activities, including coordination, funeral assistance, and community service.

The researcher recorded:

“Youth members were actively involved in organizational and funeral-related activities alongside senior members, allowing for direct interaction and experiential learning.” (Observation, May 16, 2026)

Documentation analysis similarly demonstrated the presence of multiple generations participating together within the same activities.

“Photographic records consistently show participation from younger and older members, illustrating intergenerational involvement in the preservation of religious traditions.” (Social Media Documentation Analysis, May 2026)

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the Mass Layatan Tradition generates significant social and religious implications for the community. The tradition strengthens social relationships, encourages collective participation, reinforces Islamic brotherhood, expands religious-based social networks, preserves inherited religious traditions, and facilitates the transmission of cultural and religious values across generations.

The following figure 3 presents the conceptual model of the social and religious implications generated by the Mass Layatan Tradition within the Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan community.

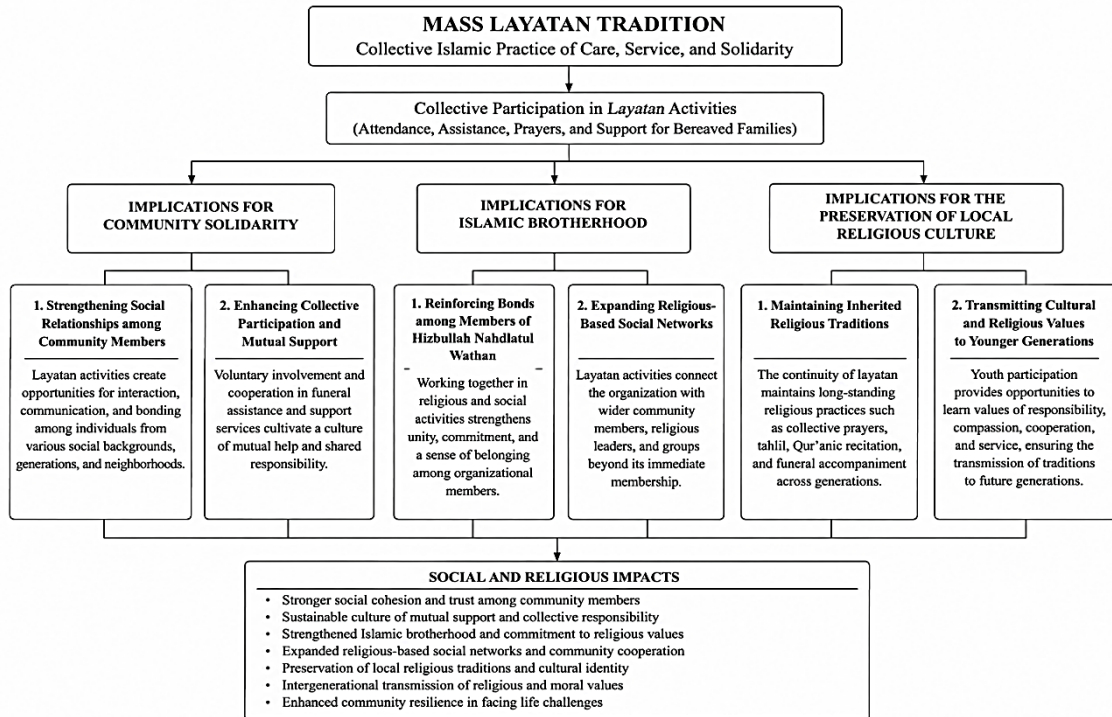


Figure 3. Social and Religious Implications of the Mass Layatan Tradition.

Figure 3 demonstrates that the Mass Layatan Tradition functions as a collective Islamic practice that produces multidimensional social and religious impacts. Through active participation in funeral assistance, communal prayers, and support for bereaved families, the tradition strengthens social relationships, encourages collective participation, and fosters mutual support among community members. At the organizational level, layatan reinforces bonds among members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan while simultaneously expanding religious-based social networks through interactions with broader community groups. The tradition also plays a significant role in preserving inherited religious practices, such as tahlil, Qur'anic recitation, and funeral accompaniment, while facilitating the transmission of religious and cultural values to younger generations through direct participation and experiential learning. These interconnected processes ultimately contribute to stronger social cohesion, sustainable mutual assistance, enhanced Islamic brotherhood, wider community cooperation, cultural continuity, and increased community resilience.

DISCUSSION

1. Results Analysis

a The Cultural Construction and Practice of *Da'wah bil Hal* in the Mass Layatan Tradition

The findings reveal that the Mass Layatan Tradition constitutes a culturally constructed form of *da'wah bil hal* in which Islamic teachings are enacted through collective religious and social practices. This finding directly addresses the first objective of the study, namely to explore how *da'wah bil hal* is manifested and practiced within the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. The ethnographic evidence demonstrates that the tradition is sustained through the interaction of historical continuity, organizational commitment, communal participation, religious rituals, and practical social service. Rather than functioning merely as a funeral-related activity, Mass Layatan operates as a structured mechanism through which religious values are translated into observable social actions.

From the perspective of Social Action Theory, participation in Mass Layatan can be understood as meaningful social behavior motivated by subjective religious commitments. Members do not participate solely because of organizational expectations but because they attach religious significance to their involvement. Their actions reflect conscious efforts to fulfill moral obligations toward fellow Muslims, indicating that religious meanings become the driving force behind collective participation. In this regard, the findings demonstrate that *da'wah bil hal* is realized through socially meaningful actions that embody Islamic values within everyday community life.

The findings further suggest that the continuity of the tradition is closely associated with processes of cultural reproduction. Through repeated participation, members internalize patterns of behavior that are regarded as religiously appropriate and socially desirable. This process transforms the tradition into a collective cultural practice that transcends individual participation and becomes part of the organizational identity of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan. Such a phenomenon reflects the understanding that *da'wah* functions not only as religious communication but also as a mechanism for social transformation capable of responding to community needs and maintaining social order (Abqoriy, 2026).

The integration of religious rituals and social assistance observed in the tradition also illustrates the essential characteristics of *da'wah bil hal*. Collective prayers, Qur'anic recitations,

funeral accompaniment, and assistance to bereaved families demonstrate that religious teachings are communicated through direct engagement with social realities. This finding supports the conceptual understanding that *da'wah bil hal* prioritizes exemplary conduct, social service, and practical action as primary forms of religious communication (Mutiawati & Ramadhani, 2023).

Viewed through Interpretive Cultural Theory, the Mass Layatan Tradition may be understood as a cultural system through which religious meanings are expressed, interpreted, and transmitted collectively. The practice serves as a symbolic medium that enables community members to experience Islamic values in concrete and socially meaningful forms. Consequently, the findings indicate that the tradition functions as a culturally embedded model of Islamic outreach in which religious teachings are sustained through lived social experience. This interpretation is consistent with the notion that religious practices embedded within local cultural contexts provide effective channels for transmitting Islamic values while maintaining social harmony and collective participation (Wahid, 2022).

b Meanings and Values Attached to the Mass Layatan Tradition

The findings indicate that members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan attach profound religious and social meanings to the Mass Layatan Tradition. This finding directly addresses the second objective of the study, namely to examine the meanings and values attributed to the tradition by organizational members and the wider community. Ethnographic evidence demonstrates that participation in layatan activities is understood as an expression of religious responsibility, social devotion, and commitment to collective welfare. These meanings shape the motivations underlying participation and influence how members interpret their roles within the community.

From the perspective of Symbolic Interactionism, meanings do not emerge automatically from religious practices but are constructed through continuous social interaction. The findings reveal that members collectively interpret participation in layatan as a manifestation of religious duty and social care. Through repeated involvement in funeral assistance, communal prayers, and emotional support, participants develop shared understandings regarding the significance of helping others during times of bereavement. Consequently, the tradition functions as a social arena in which religious meanings are continuously negotiated and reinforced.

The findings further reveal that the values embedded within the tradition include *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *ta'awun*, *gotong royong*, empathy, and social responsibility. These values are not merely abstract principles but are expressed through observable actions and interpersonal relationships. The active involvement of members in assisting bereaved families demonstrates how religious values become operationalized within everyday social practices. As a result, the tradition serves as a mechanism through which Islamic ethical principles are transformed into collective behavioral norms.

Particularly significant is the role of empathy as a central dimension of the tradition. The findings show that emotional support, psychological accompaniment, and moral encouragement constitute important components of *layatan* activities. This indicates that religious commitment is expressed not only through ritual performance but also through sensitivity to the emotional needs of others. Such findings suggest that the effectiveness of *da'wah bil hal* lies in its ability to connect religious teachings with human experiences of suffering, compassion, and solidarity.

Viewed conceptually, the values embedded in the tradition contribute to the formation of a shared moral culture that guides community interaction. Religious experiences become collective experiences through which social obligations and ethical responsibilities are learned and reinforced. This interpretation aligns with the understanding that contemporary Muslim religiosity is increasingly strengthened through collective religious experiences and social participation rather than through individual worship alone (Kabir et al., 2024). Furthermore, the findings illustrate how local religious traditions facilitate the internalization of Islamic values through communal engagement and participatory religious practices (Abidin et al., 2022). The results also reflect the principle that culturally grounded approaches to *da'wah* tend to be more effective because they operate within existing social and cultural frameworks familiar to community members (Masruroh, 2024).

c Social and Religious Implications of the Mass Layatan Tradition

The findings demonstrate that the Mass Layatan Tradition generates significant social and religious implications for both organizational members and the wider community. This finding directly addresses the third objective of the study, namely to analyze the implications of the tradition for social solidarity, Islamic brotherhood, and the preservation of local religious culture. The ethnographic evidence suggests that the tradition functions as a

multidimensional mechanism through which social cohesion, religious identity, and cultural continuity are simultaneously strengthened.

Using Social Solidarity Theory as an analytical lens, the findings indicate that collective participation in layatan activities reinforces communal bonds and strengthens collective consciousness. The gathering of members during periods of bereavement creates opportunities for shared emotional experiences, mutual support, and collective responsibility. Through these interactions, individuals become increasingly connected to the broader social group, thereby enhancing social integration within the community.

The findings further reveal that the tradition strengthens *ukhuwah Islamiyah* by fostering closer relationships among members of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan and by expanding religious-based social networks beyond organizational boundaries. Participation in collective religious and social activities enables members to develop trust, mutual respect, and a stronger sense of belonging. Consequently, the tradition serves as an important mechanism through which Islamic brotherhood is translated from a theological concept into an everyday social reality.

Another important implication concerns the preservation of local religious culture. The findings demonstrate that inherited religious practices such as collective prayers, Qur'anic recitation, *tablil*, and funeral accompaniment continue to be maintained through the tradition. At the same time, the active involvement of younger members facilitates the intergenerational transmission of religious knowledge, cultural values, and social responsibilities. This process contributes to cultural sustainability by ensuring that local religious traditions remain relevant across generations.

From the perspective of Ritual Theory, these findings suggest that collective rituals function not only as expressions of religious devotion but also as mechanisms for reproducing shared values and maintaining community cohesion. Through repeated participation, members reaffirm their commitment to collective norms and strengthen their identification with the community. Such processes illustrate the capacity of ritual practices to sustain both social order and cultural continuity.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that the tradition contributes to community resilience by strengthening networks of mutual assistance and social care. The combination of religious devotion, practical assistance, and intergenerational participation creates a sustainable support system capable of responding to social challenges associated with

bereavement and loss. This interpretation is consistent with the view that collective religious practices play a crucial role in strengthening social cohesion and maintaining communal identity (Nurizzati & Pertiwi, 2026). It also reflects the understanding that religious traditions function as mechanisms for cultivating solidarity and reinforcing collective religious identity through active communal participation (Musyaffa et al., 2025). In addition, the findings support ethnographic perspectives that regard community-based religious traditions as effective media for sustaining religious values, cultural continuity, and social integration within contemporary society (Fauzi et al., 2024).

2. Comparison with Previous Studies

The findings of this study demonstrate that the Mass Layatan Tradition functions as a culturally embedded form of *da'wah bil hal* through the integration of religious rituals, social service, and collective participation. This finding is consistent with previous studies emphasizing the close relationship between local religious traditions and the transmission of Islamic values. For example, Sarah et al., (2023) found that the *Mbelu' Pandang* tradition serves as a medium for preserving culture while simultaneously strengthening religious identity and social solidarity. Similarly, the present study reveals that Mass Layatan functions not merely as a funeral-related activity but as a mechanism through which religious teachings are translated into collective social action.

The findings also support Hasan et al., (2025), who demonstrated that the *Nahdliyyin Yasinan* tradition revitalizes Qur'anic values through collective recitation and communal participation. In both studies, religious rituals serve as important instruments for reinforcing community engagement and transmitting religious teachings. However, the present study extends these findings by showing that Mass Layatan incorporates not only ritual participation but also direct social assistance, funeral accompaniment, and practical service to bereaved families. Consequently, the tradition represents a broader form of *da'wah bil hal* in which religious communication occurs through both ritual and social action.

Furthermore, the findings resonate with (Sumiadi, 2025), who highlighted the successful integration of Islamic teachings and local wisdom within the *Wetu Telu* tradition through cultural and emotional approaches. While Sumiadi focused primarily on cultural accommodation, the present study demonstrates how organizational structures within Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan actively institutionalize religious values through coordinated community service. This distinction suggests that Mass Layatan represents a more organized

and collective model of *da'wah bil hal* that combines cultural continuity with structured religious outreach.

The findings also complement Effendi et al., (2025), who argued that cultural traditions remain effective media for Islamic propagation when adapted to contemporary social contexts. However, unlike the digitally transformed *Sorogan* tradition examined by Effendi et al., the present study emphasizes face-to-face interaction, direct participation, and embodied social service as central mechanisms of religious transmission. Thus, the findings contribute a unique perspective by illustrating how traditional community-based practices remain highly relevant as forms of practical Islamic outreach.

The findings concerning religious responsibility, social service, *ukhawah Islamiyah*, *ta'awun*, *gotong royong*, empathy, and social care are largely consistent with previous studies examining the values embedded within local Islamic traditions. Abidin et al., (2022) found that the *Nyadran* tradition functions as a medium for internalizing Islamic values through collective participation, prayers, and communal engagement. Similarly, the present study demonstrates that participation in Mass Layatan facilitates the internalization of Islamic ethical values through direct involvement in religious and social activities.

The findings also align with Naan et al., (2025), who reported that the *haul* tradition contributes to spiritual formation, Islamic value transmission, and collective identity development. In both studies, participation in communal religious traditions strengthens religious commitment and reinforces collective identity. However, the current study extends these findings by demonstrating that values such as empathy and emotional support constitute central dimensions of participant experiences. While previous studies primarily emphasized spiritual formation and identity construction, the present research highlights the emotional and relational dimensions of religious practice.

Furthermore, the results support Adinugraha and Al-Kasyaf, (2025), who found that communal religious rituals strengthen spirituality and social solidarity within Muslim communities. The present findings similarly demonstrate that collective religious practices generate stronger interpersonal relationships and mutual concern among participants. Nevertheless, unlike the coastal religious rituals examined in their study, Mass Layatan places particular emphasis on funeral assistance and direct support for bereaved families, thereby providing a more explicit example of *da'wah bil hal* through practical service.

The findings are also consistent with (Kabir et al., 2024), who argued that contemporary Muslim religiosity is increasingly shaped through collective religious experiences and social participation. The present study confirms this argument by demonstrating that participants derive religious meaning not only from ritual performance but also from active involvement in helping others. Consequently, Mass Layatan illustrates how communal experiences function as important sites for constructing religious commitment and social responsibility.

The findings regarding social solidarity, Islamic brotherhood, community participation, and cultural preservation strongly support previous studies examining the broader impacts of religious traditions on community life. Nurizzati and Pertiwi, (2026) argued that community-based religious traditions function as mechanisms for strengthening social cohesion and preserving collective identity. The present study confirms this argument by demonstrating that Mass Layatan reinforces social relationships, expands social networks, and strengthens collective responsibility within the community.

Similarly, the findings support (Musyaffa et al., 2025), who found that communal condolence traditions represent expressions of Islamic brotherhood, empathy, and mutual assistance. The current study extends this understanding by demonstrating that such values are not only expressed symbolically but are operationalized through organized forms of social service, funeral assistance, and collective participation facilitated by Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan.

The findings also resonate with Ismail et al., (2024), who reported that religious traditions emerge through continuous interaction between Islamic teachings and local cultural practices. Likewise, the present study demonstrates that Mass Layatan serves as a bridge connecting religious teachings with local social realities. However, unlike the Jayawijaya context examined by Ismail et al., (2024), the current study reveals the important role of religious organizations in sustaining and reproducing cultural traditions across generations.

Additionally, the findings complement Fauzi et al., (2024), who emphasized that local religious traditions function as effective mechanisms for transmitting Islamic values through lived social experiences. The ethnographic evidence from this study confirms that direct participation in Mass Layatan enables younger generations to acquire religious values, social responsibilities, and cultural knowledge through experiential learning. This contribution

highlights the importance of religious traditions as both educational and cultural institutions capable of sustaining community resilience and continuity.

Collectively, these comparisons demonstrate that the findings are broadly consistent with existing scholarship while simultaneously extending previous knowledge by positioning Mass Layatan as a distinctive model of *da'wah bil hal* that integrates religious ritual, social service, emotional support, organizational mobilization, and cultural preservation within a single communal practice.

3. Implications of Findings

a Theoretical Implications

This study contributes to the literature on Islamic da'wah, religious anthropology, and sociology of religion by demonstrating that *da'wah bil hal* functions as a multidimensional social practice embedded within local religious traditions. The findings extend existing understandings of *da'wah bil hal* by showing that Islamic outreach can be institutionalized through collective rituals, social service, emotional support, and community participation. The study also reinforces the relevance of Social Solidarity Theory, Social Action Theory, Symbolic Interactionism, and Interpretive Cultural Theory in explaining how religious meanings, social cohesion, and cultural values are constructed and reproduced through communal religious practices.

b Practical Implications

Practically, the findings indicate that community-based religious traditions such as Mass Layatan remain effective mechanisms for strengthening social cohesion, mutual assistance, and religious commitment. The tradition provides a practical model of *da'wah bil hal* that integrates spiritual guidance with social service. Therefore, religious organizations, community leaders, and policymakers may utilize and preserve similar local traditions as strategic platforms for promoting community resilience, intergenerational value transmission, and socially responsive religious outreach.

4. Research Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, it was conducted within the Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan community in East Lombok, limiting the transferability of findings to different socio-cultural contexts. Second, the study involved a relatively small number of

participants selected through purposive sampling, which may not fully represent the diversity of perspectives within the broader community. Third, as an ethnographic study, data interpretation remains subject to researcher interpretation despite the use of triangulation, member checking, and prolonged engagement. Finally, the study focused primarily on face-to-face practices and did not examine the role of digital technologies in shaping the continuity and transformation of *da'wah bil hal*. Future research may employ comparative and multi-site approaches to explore similar traditions in different cultural and organizational contexts.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the Mass Layatan Tradition of Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan represents a culturally embedded form of *da'wah bil hal* in which Islamic teachings are transmitted through collective religious practices, social service, and direct community engagement. The findings reveal that the tradition is sustained through historical continuity, organizational commitment, and active community participation, transforming it into an enduring socio-religious institution within the Nahdlatul Wathan community. Beyond its function as a funeral-related activity, Mass Layatan serves as a practical medium for expressing religious responsibility, social devotion, *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood), *ta'awun* (mutual assistance), empathy, and collective cooperation. Through the integration of ritual activities, funeral assistance, emotional support, and community service, the tradition demonstrates how *da'wah bil hal* operates as a lived Islamic practice that connects religious values with everyday social realities.

The study further finds that the Mass Layatan Tradition generates significant social and religious implications. It strengthens social relationships, enhances collective participation, reinforces Islamic brotherhood, expands religious-based social networks, and contributes to the preservation and intergenerational transmission of local religious culture. These findings suggest that *da'wah bil hal* should be understood not merely as a method of religious communication but as a multidimensional mechanism for social integration, cultural continuity, and community resilience. Theoretically, the study highlights the interconnectedness of religion, culture, ritual, and social action, while empirically demonstrating how local religious traditions function as effective vehicles for sustaining both Islamic values and communal solidarity.

Nevertheless, this study is limited by its focus on a specific socio-cultural setting within the Hizbullah Nahdlatul Wathan community in East Lombok and by the relatively limited number of participants involved. As an ethnographic inquiry, the interpretation of meanings and practices is also influenced by the contextual nature of qualitative research. Therefore, caution should be exercised when generalizing the findings to other Muslim communities with different cultural and organizational characteristics.

Future research is recommended to undertake comparative studies across different Islamic organizations, regions, and local religious traditions to examine similarities and variations in the practice of *da'wah bil hal*. Further investigations may also explore the role of digital communication technologies in transforming community-based religious traditions and assess how traditional forms of Islamic outreach adapt to contemporary social and technological changes. Such studies would contribute to a broader understanding of the evolving relationship between religion, culture, and social engagement in contemporary Muslim societies.

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