

HIJRAH GOES VIRAL: MILLENNIAL RELIGIOUS NARRATIVES THROUGH INFLUENCERS ON TIKTOK

Irfan Hermawan¹, Muhamad Supraja¹, Atalia Onitiu²

¹ Department of Sociology, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia

² Department of Sociology, West University of Timisoara, Romania

© 2025 Irfan Hermawan, Muhamad Supraja, Atalia Onitiu

This is an open-access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>)

DOI: 10.2478/eras-2025-0014

Abstract

This study investigates the transformation of Islamic da'wah from conventional practices to digital platforms, with a focus on TikTok as a new medium for religious expression. Using the case of Hanan Attaki, a prominent Islamic influencer, this research analyzes how digital da'wah is strategically constructed and its impact on religious understanding among Indonesian millennials and Gen Z. Employing a qualitative netnographic approach, the study examines digital content, audience interaction, and communication styles. Findings show that Attaki utilizes TikTok's algorithmic and visual features to disseminate concise, emotionally resonant religious messages. Themes such as introspection, self-development, and social ethics are presented through storytelling and relatable aesthetics. However, the study also raises concerns about the erosion of traditional religious authority and the commodification of religious discourse. Drawing on Campbell's Digital Religion and Mosco's Commodification theories, this research highlights the evolving dynamics between media, market forces, and Islamic communication in digital spaces.

Keywords

Digital da'wah, TikTok, Islamic influencers, digital religion

Introduction

The transformation of information and communication technology has revolutionized various aspects of life, including the religious practices of Muslims. In the digital era, da'wah is no longer limited to oral delivery in mosques, or print media, but has developed through social media, mobile applications, and other digital platforms. Da'wah etymologically comes from the Arabic word "da'wah" which means "call" or "invitation", which in Islam is interpreted as an invitation to the way of Allah through various means, both oral, written, and tangible deeds (Iqbal, 2017, 220). This digitalization phenomenon provides a wide space for the dissemination of religious messages in a faster, personal, and massive way. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency in 2019 (Indonesian Data Center of Statistic), internet users in Indonesia reached 175.4 million people, of which 67.05% were in the age range of 19 to 49 years. This shows that the majority of internet users come from millennials and Gen Z, an age group that is very active in using social media as a means of spiritual search and identity (Elvinaro, 2022, 196).

With the development of digital media, traditional religious authorities are experiencing significant challenges. Formal institutions such as religious organizations or conventional clerics began to lose their dominance in producing religious discourses, which

are now also filled by individuals known as Islamic influencers. The position of these contemporary religious actors is increasingly strong and often receives more public attention than formal Islamic figures (Hadiz, 2018, 568). This shift in authority illustrates a shift in the social structure within Indonesia's Muslim community, where religious spaces that were previously institutional are now more individualized and based on digital communities (Hannan, 2023, 87). In the midst of these changes, a new expression has emerged in the form of online religious practices that reflect the formation of a more flexible and reflective Islamic identity. This concept is known as "networked religion", where the digital space allows people to form religious communities based on personal preferences and experiences, no longer solely through institutional affiliation (Campbell, 2016, 79).

This trend suggests that online communities have a tendency to abandon traditional forms of membership and prefer affiliations based on digitally constructed shared values and experiences (Zuhri, 2022b, 422). Another change can be seen from the increasing influence of Islamic movements that are cross-country or transnational. Movements like this are growing rapidly through information technology and show that Islamic ideology is no longer limited by national borders, but spreads globally by utilizing digital media (Zuhri, 2022a, 40). Although these movements often carry conservative and fundamentalist values, they also use modern instruments in their dissemination, including social media (Aksa, 2017, 12). The Internet also influences authority in religious discourse. Anyone now has access to publicly voice religious opinions and interpretations, which reduces the control of authoritative institutions such as clerics and Islamic organizations. Religious authorities are no longer monopolies, but are experiencing fragmentation in an open digital space (Andok, 2024, 41).

Despite this, Islam has a relatively stable authoritative force, as it is rooted in sacred texts such as the Qur'an and Hadith. The existence of scholars in Islam plays the role of interpreter and director, not the holder of the single absolute truth. Therefore, Islam is better able to withstand the challenges of digitalization than other religions that rely on individual figures (Setia & Iqbal, 2022a, 48). Through these various dynamics, it is clear that digital da'wah is not only about modernizing the media, but also creating a new ecosystem in conveying Islamic teachings. These changes influenced the formation of religious identity of the younger generation and strengthened the emergence of new authorities in Islamic discourse. This research will specifically explore the phenomenon of digital da'wah carried out by Ustadz Hanan Attaki on the TikTok platform as a representation of this development.

Methods

This research uses a netnography approach, which is a qualitative method developed by Robert Kozinets as an adaptation of ethnography into a digital context. This method allows researchers to understand the culture of online communities through digital footprints such as videos, texts, comments, and other interactions. In this study, TikTok was chosen as the digital space where Hanan Attaki's da'wah took place, citing the platform's high interaction and reach to millennials and Gen Z. Research steps include community selection, data collection, analysis, interpretation, and report preparation (Kozinets, 2010). The content of da'wah analyzed included short lectures, sermons, as well as audience comments and reactions, which were then analyzed to understand da'wah communication strategies and public responses to the messages conveyed. The analysis was carried out through a thematic approach and sentiment analysis to identify Hanan Attaki's communication patterns, da'wah narratives, and delivery styles in conveying Islamic values contextually and communicatively. In this process, the theory of Mediatization (Hjarvard, 2013) and Digital Religion (Campbell, 2016) are used to understand how digital technology affects religious practices and shifts in religious authority in society.

Researchers also observed Hanan's relaxed, inspiring, and often humorous communication style, which proved effective in reaching and retaining young audience engagement. This analysis shows that digital da'wah is not only about conveying religious messages, but also about adapting the form, style, and medium of communication to today's digital culture. The researcher conducted active participatory observations on @hanan_attaki_ TikTok accounts, collecting primary data in the form of videos, comments, and other interactions. This data is then analyzed using coding techniques, thematic analysis, and comparative approaches to uncover trends, dominant narratives, and changes in da'wah strategies over time. Secondary data in the form of academic literature is used to strengthen the theoretical context and interpretation of the results. This study not only highlights relevant and effective da'wah communication strategies in the digital age, but also describes new dynamics in the dissemination of Islamic teachings on social media and its impact on the understanding and practice of religion among the younger generation in Indonesia.

Results

The Transformation of Conventional Da'wah into a Digital Platform in Indonesia

Da'wah, as an instrument for conveying Islamic values, has undergone significant transformation along with the development of digital technology. If in the past da'wah was carried out through mosque pulpits, conventional recitations, and print media, now social media, mobile applications, and other digital platforms have become the main channels to convey Islamic messages. This change is not just a form of technological adaptation, but a comprehensive transformation of the paradigm of religious communication.

Within the framework of transformative da'wah, the da'wah approach focuses not only on the delivery of religious doctrine, but also on the formation of a social structure that is just and responsive to the challenges of the times. Da'wah is aimed at driving social change through active community participation, problem-solving, and emotional engagement (Fahrurrozi, 2017, 15).

One of the important figures in contemporary Indonesian digital da'wah is Ustadz Hanan Attaki. He began his da'wah with a conventional approach through live lectures in mosques and television media. However, on his journey, he adopted social media as the primary means to reach a wider and younger audience. This approach is in line with the reality that millennials and Gen Z are more actively consuming religious information through digital media (Afifah, 2023, 37). In 2012, Hanan Attaki founded the Hijrah Youth da'wah community (Shift), which focuses on fostering the Islamic of the younger generation in more casual public spaces such as city parks and community centers. This strategy is different from the traditional da'wah approach, because it targets non-formal groups such as the skateboarding, BMX, and automotive enthusiast communities. Through this activity, da'wah becomes more inclusive and contextual (Setia & Visited, 2021, 10).

Hanan Attaki's da'wah approach has undergone three main transformation phases: traditional, conventional, and digital. The initial phase is characterized by the method of lectures based on the interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith that are delivered formally through conventional media such as Islamic television. However, this approach has limitations in reaching young people because its delivery style is considered too rigid (Tania, 2019, 20). In the next phase, da'wah begins to be community-oriented through an experiential approach and emotional closeness. Da'wah is carried out in an open space, is more interactive, and involves direct participation from the audience. However, challenges arise when this approach is rejected by conservative groups, particularly in certain areas that consider it too progressive or even deviant (CNN, 2023, 2).

The third phase is digital transformation, where Hanan Attaki actively uses social media such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube as the main medium of da'wah. The content produced tends to be concise, visual, emotional, and utilize aesthetic elements such as background music, dynamic text, and visual effects. This strategy makes it easier for young audiences to understand the message of da'wah quickly and interestingly (Afifah, 2023, 40). In terms of communication, Hanan Attaki uses a language style that is communicative, simple, and relevant to everyday life. He often raises the theme of overthinking, romantic relationships, and mental health, then associates it with spiritual concepts such as tawakkal (trustful reliance on God) and sincerity. One example is when he says that "we are not God, we cannot control everything", which invites the listener to leave the affairs of life to Allah sincerely and consciously the limits of human ability (Baidawi & Bin Ismail, 2023, 21).

In addition to simplifying language, he also uses the strategy of repetition and visualization of concepts to make the message easier for the audience to remember. For example, the phrase "every good in Islam is multiplied by at least 10 times" is repeated with numerical variations to emphasize that every good intention is worth a reward even before it is realized (Arfian Suryasuciramdhan et al., 2024, 15). The da'wah strategy used by Hanan Attaki can be categorized as a sentimental approach, which is a da'wah method that prioritizes empathy and emotional touch to the audience. This approach is also called a heart-based da'wah strategy, because it seeks to build a spiritual and emotional connection between the preacher and the congregation (Handaru, n.d., 13). In managing his content on TikTok, Hanan's communication strategy also reflects adaptation to algorithms and social media trends. It utilizes short video formats, dynamic text, and visual elements such as soft colors and vibrating effects to reinforce the message conveyed. This strategy has succeeded in increasing audience engagement in the form of reflective comments and emotional support for the content of da'wah (Roslan et al., 2025, 1132).

The content also often contains inspirational narratives related to the journey of migration, spiritual anxiety, or the search for meaning in life. One of the videos with the theme of hijrah received more than 500,000 likes and thousands of comments that reflect the emotional connection between the message of da'wah and the audience's life experience. Viewers often write personal testimonials that show that they are inspired to change or improve themselves after watching the video (Setiawan, 2025, 15). By combining narrative, visual, and emotional approaches, Hanan Attaki creates a style of da'wah that is relevant and widely accepted by the younger generation. This strategy allows for the creation of an emotional attachment between the audience and the teachings of Islam that are conveyed, which leads to a transformation of religious values and practices.

However, this approach also presents a number of challenges. One of them is the potential for oversimplification of Islamic teachings, which risks obscuring the theological depth of the da'wah message. In addition, there is also the issue of religious authority, where some audiences trust digital figures more than traditional clerics. This can lead to fragmentation of understanding and a reduction in the role of formal Islamic institutions in shaping people's religious consciousness (Ningsih, 2023, 30). Thus, although digital approaches such as Hanan Attaki's have proven to be effective in reaching and touching the hearts of the younger generation, caution is still needed so that da'wah remains in line with substantial Islamic principles and does not lose its spiritual depth dimension.

Religious Commodification by Influencers

The development of digital media has changed the way humans produce, distribute, and consume information, including in the religious realm. One of the important impacts of this development is the emergence of the phenomenon of religious commodification, which is

the transformation of religious values into objects of consumption in market logic. In this context, religious messages are no longer simply conveyed as teachings, but also as products that can be packaged, marketed, and consumed by mass audiences. This phenomenon is clearly seen in the activities of religious influencers who combine da'wah with elements of entertainment, lifestyle, and marketing strategies. The religious content presented not only aims to increase spiritual awareness, but also to build personal branding, attract followers, and create engagement that can be monetized through various digital platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram (Einstein, 2024, 33). The commodification of religion in social media is rooted in the algorithmic logic of digital platforms, where popularity, visual appeal, and frequency of uploads are the main factors in reaching the audience. As a result, digital preachers are driven to produce content that is "watchable" and easily viral, often prioritizing aesthetic and emotional aspects over theological depth. This creates a change in orientation in da'wah activities from spiritual to commercial (Sierocki, 2024, 25).

With the increasing intensification of digitalization in people's lives, religious teachings are now becoming more accessible through various digital platforms. However, this convenience is also accompanied by an increasing potential for the commodification of religious teachings themselves. In the digital media ecosystem, the consumption of religious content is no longer only based on spiritual needs, but is also controlled by the logic of the digital market that is oriented towards user engagement and popularity. This creates a paradox: on the one hand, social media expands the reach of da'wah and allows for wider access to Islamic teachings; but on the other hand, religious teachings are vulnerable to being reduced to a trend that is quickly consumed without a deep understanding (Possamai, 2017, 17).

According to the results of a study conducted by Ismiati et al. (2024, 31), the use of light and personal communication styles in digital da'wah is often associated with content marketing strategies. Religious influencers do more than share Islamic teachings. They also build a personal image that fits modern youth culture. Some present themselves as a "slang ustadz" or "millennial ustadz," meaning a religious teacher who speaks in a relaxed, informal style, uses contemporary language, and connects with young audiences through everyday topics. This approach makes religious messages feel more relatable and accessible, especially on social media. Hanan Attaki is one of the figures often associated with this model. Although he has a strong Islamic educational background, the communication style and aesthetic of the content he presents reflect an adjustment to the tastes of the digital market. Casual dress styles, the use of visual effects in videos, and narratives that touch the emotional side of the audience are part of the da'wah strategy that also meets the logic of the media industry (Afifah, 2023, 39).

This approach has succeeded in attracting the interest of young audiences who previously felt alienated from conventional da'wah. However, this success also raises critical questions about the extent to which religious values are preserved in the process of commodification. When da'wah turns into competing digital content amid the flow of popular information, there is a risk of triviality, where Islamic teachings are oversimplified to meet market expectations (Roslan et al., 2025, 1133). The commodification of da'wah also creates a complex relationship between spirituality and capitalism. On the one hand, social media allows the widespread and rapid spread of Islamic teachings, but on the other hand, it also changes the character of da'wah into a commodity that is subject to the logic of likes, views, and monetization. This is in line with Baudrillard's idea of hyper-reality, in which symbols and signs (in this case, religious symbols) lose their original meaning as they are reduced to objects of consumption (Al-Rasyid et al., 2023, 35). In addition, the existence of sponsorships, endorsements, and advertisements in da'wah content strengthens the capitalistic

logic in the dissemination of religious messages. Religious influencers are often part of the creative economy that sells merchandise, opens digital donations, or collaborates with certain brands, including products that are not always directly related to Islamic values. In this context, the line between da'wah and business has become increasingly blurred (Handaru, n.d., 23).

This phenomenon reflects a shift in the character of religion that was originally transcendental and sacred, but is now also affected by the dynamics of digital capitalism that turns it into a commodity. Such commodification is facilitated by the elective affinity between religion and neoliberalism, in which religion not only adapts, but also embraces the changes brought about by market logic. This adaptation has led to the standardization of religiosity and the instrumentalization of religious messages for capitalistic purposes (Goh, 2016, 27). Digitalization also facilitates the mediation of religious practices, turning them into a form suitable for marketing as a consumer product. Poon et al. (2012, 11) explain how large religious organizations integrate media within their sacred spaces, creating hybrid spaces that blend digitally as well as physically accessible retail, entertainment, and religious performances. In the context of Hanan Attaki's da'wah, the process of commodification can be seen from various forms of monetization of da'wah, both online and offline. He uses social media such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube to spread da'wah, while offering paid study classes and public lectures to exclusive communities. Thus, da'wah is not only an instrument for spreading Islamic values, but also a sustainable and structured source of income (Afifah, 2023, 39).

One prominent form of monetization is paid studies held offline. Each participant is charged IDR 100,000 for one session, and each theme consists of three sessions with a total of 2,625 participants. Thus, the gross income from one study theme can reach IDR 262,500,000. In addition to the study materials, participants also received a notebook with Hanan Attaki's pictures, mineral water, e-certificates, and pens. This facility not only increases the appeal of the program, but also strengthens the branding strategy inherent in the figure of Hanan Attaki (Fianto & Ghofur, 2023, 23). Mosco (2010, 29) identified three forms of commodification in digital media, namely the commodification of content, audience, and labor. In the context of Hanan Attaki, all three look very prominent. Content commodification occurs when Islamic da'wah is packaged into products that can be sold or monetized. The content of lectures, religious reflections, and verse excerpts is arranged in a short video format that is visually appealing and in accordance with digital consumption algorithms.

Fianto and Ghofur (2023, 23) emphasized that digital preachers who adapt their religious messages to the logic of the media have modified religious science itself. Da'wah content is wrapped in attractive thumbnails, dynamic text, and high production quality that increases the market value of the content.

The second dimension is audience commodification, where user engagement—through likes, comments, and shares—is converted into algorithmic value that can be monetized. Wahid (2018, 25) explained that digital preachers use audience engagement as an economic asset to access advertising, sponsorships, and brand partnerships. In this case, the audience is not only the recipient of the message, but also the economic contributor to the influencer. The last dimension is the commodification of labor, where preachers transform into professional content creators. Sari & Hidayat (2025, 27) noted that religious figures are now public figures who monetize their expertise through exclusive programs, paid subscriptions, and online consultation sessions.

Hanan Attaki's da'wah, for example, offers merchandise such as exclusive notebooks, greeting cards, and e-certificates that are part of the study package. This strategy transforms spiritual experiences into shoppable experiences, while expanding the preacher's personal

branding network. However, the success of the commodification of da'wah also presents a number of ethical and theological problems. Lestari et al. (2023, 25) warn that the commercialization of religious figures can blur the line between the sincerity of spiritual guidance and economic motives. When popularity and income are the primary considerations, there is a risk of neglecting the depth of theological and spiritual values.

Even so, Wahid (2024, 23) stated that commodification does not always negate the sincerity of da'wah. In many cases, commodification has opened up new space for the spread of Islamic values that are broader and relevant to the context of the times. This is in line with Mosco's view that commodification is an inevitable part of modern communication, and that its impact depends heavily on the integrity of the actor in balancing economic and ethical aspects (Fuchs & Mosco, 2016, p. 50). Thus, the commodification of da'wah through digital media, as Hanan Attaki does, is a complex representation of how religion responds to digital capitalism. Da'wah is no longer just a spiritual activity, but also a part of a cultural industry governed by algorithms, markets, and audience preferences.

Discussion

The Implications of Digital Da'wah on Religious Understanding and Practice in Indonesia

Digital da'wah not only affects the way religious messages are conveyed, but also has an impact on the formation of religious understanding and practices of Muslims in Indonesia, especially among the younger generation. The move of the da'wah space to digital platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube has made the interaction between preachers and congregations more open, flexible, and two-way. This dynamic results in new forms of religiosity that are more personal, visual, and often selective towards the aspects of Islamic teachings that are consumed. This transformation shows how social media has become an important arena in the process of constructing religious identity. Easy access to da'wah content allows people to quickly adopt Islamic narratives conveyed by certain figures. In many cases, such content emphasizes emotional and motivational aspects, which makes religious messages feel more relatable. However, this approach also carries the risk of simplifying Islamic teachings to the point of losing its deep dimension (Abanoz, 2022, 45).

Hanan Attaki, as one of the main figures of digital da'wah, represents how spiritual narratives can be wrapped in a personal and intimate way. He often conveys religious messages in the context of daily life such as anxiety, love, the search for meaning, and mental problems faced by young people. Its audience responds emotionally through comments and testimonials that show an inner connection to the content. This pattern suggests that religious understanding is no longer formed only through in-depth study or formal religious institutions, but also through affective digital interactions (Stolz & Usunier, 2019, 50). In the realm of religious practice, digital da'wah also encourages the formation of online communities based on shared values and experiences. TikTok or Instagram users who follow religious content can form social networks that strengthen their Islamic identity virtually. This space often replaces the function of offline communities or conventional recitations. However, according to Setia and Iqbal (2022b, 33), while digitalization allows for a wider dissemination of religious values, it also opens up opportunities for the fragmentation of authority and diversity of interpretations that are not always controlled by formal religious institutions.

One of the key developments in digital religious practice is the constant flow of religious content in online spaces. Uploading Islamic content often does not solely reflect the intention of worship, but also aims to build a religious self-image in the digital public space. An individual who shares a video while reciting, praying, or sharing alms may be motivated

by the value of da'wah, but also by the need to gain social recognition in the form of likes and comments. This practice blurs the line between spiritual expression and social performance (Resane, 2017, 50). On the other hand, digital platforms also present great opportunities for the informal internalization of Islamic values. Digital da'wah can reach people who were not previously involved in conventional religious activities. With an empathetic and communicative approach, many young people feel more comfortable learning Islam from social media than following rigid and authoritative formal recitations (Febrian, 2024, 33).

However, the digital space is also a fertile ground for contesting religious understanding. Anyone with a device and an internet connection can produce religious content without obvious theological accountability. As a result, various interpretations of Islam are circulating on social media, ranging from moderate to extreme. This poses a challenge for formal religious institutions in maintaining the authority of interpretation of Islamic teachings (Ningsih, 2023, 30). The presence of religious narratives on social media also affects the time and way Muslims access worship practices. For example, some individuals have begun to rely on notifications from Islamic accounts to remind them of prayer times, read daily prayers, or even take part in online studies while doing other activities. This convenience gives rise to a new form of multitasking spirituality, in which worship is carried out in parallel with daily activities without losing its religiosity value, but still raises debates about the solemnity and depth of the worship experience (Sari & Hidayat, 2025, 27).

Another implication is the emergence of the pop Islamic trend, which is a form of Islamic expression mixed with a popular lifestyle. This phenomenon creates opportunities as well as challenges for da'wah. On the one hand, Islam is becoming more inclusive and accepted in the lives of young people, but on the other hand there are concerns about the banality of religious values. Da'wah becomes part of the lifestyle, and in some cases, loses its spiritual depth (Lestari, 2023, 23). Thus, digital da'wah has a great impact on the understanding and religious practices of Muslims, especially in shaping new ways of learning, living, and expressing religious values. This transformation creates new opportunities for Islamic teachings to spread more widely, but it also highlights the need for stronger digital religious literacy. This is important so that the Muslim community can distinguish between meaningful religious guidance and content that is merely performative.

Conclusion

The development of digital technology has brought fundamental changes in the practice of Islamic da'wah in Indonesia. Da'wah is no longer exclusively carried out in conventional religious spaces, but has moved to digital platforms that are dynamic, interactive, and algorithmic. This transformation has opened up new spaces for non-institutional religious figures such as Hanan Attaki to form religious authority through a more personalized, visual, and emotional approach. In this context, the young generation is the most significant group affected by digital da'wah. They are not only passive consumers, but also play an active role in shaping religious discourse through interactions, comments, and participation on social media. The da'wah narrative conveyed is no longer top-down, but is constructed together through language that is close to everyday experience, and packaged in a light and attractive format.

However, ease of access and flexibility in digital da'wah also bring great challenges. One of them is the commodification of da'wah, where religious messages are packaged as products that follow the logic of the digital market. Through monetization strategies, personalized branding, and content visualization, da'wah becomes part of the digital economy industry that is subject to algorithms and market trends. This phenomenon, although it opens up opportunities for the widespread spread of Islamic values, also poses a risk to the depth of

religious understanding and sincerity of da'wah itself. Hanan Attaki's da'wah represents all of these dynamics: how a preacher uses aesthetic and communicative approaches to build a spiritual closeness with a young audience; how religious content is systematically commodified; and how religious practices are mediated by technology that changes the way we believe and belong. The overall findings in this study show that digital da'wah is a field of contestation between values, authority, and capital. Therefore, it is important to continue to develop religious digital literacy that not only emphasizes technological capabilities, but also critical awareness of the substance of da'wah messages, content production mechanisms, and its impact on the understanding of Islam among the people.

REFERENCES

- Abanoz, E. (2022). The reactions to Muslim identity building through social media: User comments on YouTube street interview videos. *Religions*, 13(6). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13060498>
- Afifah, N. (2023). *Hanan Attaki's digital da'wah strategy on YouTube* (Doctoral dissertation). Datokarama State Islamic University. <http://repository.uindatokarama.ac.id/id/eprint/3521/>
- Al-Rasyid, H. H., Juhannis, H., & Hanafi, S. (2023). Holier than thou: The contestation of Islamic theology among Indonesian social media users. *European Journal for Philosophy of Religion*, 15(2), 314–329. <https://doi.org/10.24204/ejpr.2023.4202>
- Andok, M. (2024). The impact of online media on religious authority. *Religions*, 15(9). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15091103>
- Arfian Suryasuciramadhan, A., Salma, Q., Khaira, A. A., Aulia, R. A., & Zulfia, H. (2024). YouTube as a da'wah medium: Analysis of Ustadz Hanan Attaki's da'wah message on the theme "Overcoming the trait of often complaining." *Al Fuadiy: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 6(1), 21–29. <https://doi.org/10.55606/af.v6i1.882>
- Baidawi, B., & Ismail, M. A. B. (2023). Study of Ustaz Hanan Attaki's da'wah message on Instagram account @hanan_attaki. *Lentera: Journal of Da'wah and Communication*, 84–99. <https://doi.org/10.21093/lentera.v7i2.7327>
- CNN Indonesia. (2023, May 12). *Hanan Attaki's preaching trails, rejected here and there led to joining NU*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230512134231-20-948752/jejak-dakwah-hanan-attaki-ditolak-sana-sini-berujung-gabung-nu>
- Einstein, M. (2024). Faith-centric TikToks: Promoting religion through personalized experience and engagement. In M. Einstein, *Selling the sacred: Religion and marketing from CrossFit to QAnon* (pp. 139–153). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003342229-12>
- Elvinaro, Q. (2022). Millennials and religious moderation: Promotion of religious moderation by Peace Generation on social media. *JISPO Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 11(2), 195–218. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v11i2.14411>
- Fahrurrozi, F. (2017). *Da'wah models in the contemporary era: Strategies for restoring the ummah towards moderation and deradicalization*. LP2M UIN Mataram.
- Febrian, H. (2024). Visualizing authority: Rise of the religious influencers on Instagram. *Social Media and Society*, 10(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241286850>
- Fianto, L., & Ghofur, M. A. (2023). *Commodification of religion: Disruption and shallowing of religious values in the digital era*. (Unpublished manuscript).
- Fuchs, C., & Mosco, V. (2016). *Marx in the age of digital capitalism*. Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004291393>
- Goh, R. B. H. (2016). Christian capital: Singapore, evangelical flows and religious hubs. *Asian Studies Review*, 40(2), 250–267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1156052>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2018). Imagine all the people? Mobilizing Islamic populism for right-wing politics in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(4), 566–583. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1433225>
- Handaru, B. I. W. (n.d.). *Challenges of religion in the era of globalization: An analysis of communication strategies and da'wah materials*. (Unpublished manuscript).
- Hannan, A. (2023). Social media and the fragmentation of religious authority among Muslims in contemporary Indonesia. *Digital Muslim Review*, 1(2), 84–104. <https://doi.org/10.32678/dmr.v1i2.10>
- Iqbal, A. M. (2017). Religion and the adoption of new media: The use of the Internet by the Salafist movement in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Communication*, 2(2), 77–88. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v2i2.7834>

- Ismiati, I., Sofiatin, S., & Zuhriyah, L. F. (2024). The design of Ustadz Hanan Attaki's da'wah through Instagram @ayah_amanah. *Anida: Actualization of Da'wah Sciences*, 24(1), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.15575/anida.v24i1.34626>
- Lestari, S. K. F. W. (2023). Transformation of traditional da'wah style to the digitalization era. *Aswalalita: Journal of Da'wah Studies*, 227–238. <http://ejournal.iainutuban.ac.id/index.php/aswalalita/article/view/411>
- Mosco, V. (2010). *The political economy of communication* (2nd ed.). Sage.
- Ningsih, D. S. (2023). Conceptualization of Hanan Attaki's da'wah and strengthening religious moderation among millennials. *Sec*, 4(2).
- Poon, J. P. H., Huang, S., & Cheong, P. H. (2012). Media, religion, and the marketplace in the information economy: Evidence from Singapore. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(8), 1969–1985. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a44272>
- Resane, K. T. (2017). Commercialization of theological education as a challenge in neo-Pentecostal charismatic churches. *HTS Theological Studies*, 73(3). <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i3.4548>
- Roslan, M. H., Zahari, S. Z. M., & Ghani, M. Z. A. (2025). Da'wah on social media: Youth engagement in digital Islamic content. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 9(1), 1162–1174. <https://doi.org/10.47772/ijriss.2025.9010098>
- Sari, S., & Hidayat, E. (2025). Religious moderation in da'wah in the industrial era 4.0. *Journal for Islamic Studies*, 8(1).
- Setia, P., & Dilawati, R. (2021). New trends in Islam through the hijrah movement: A case study of Hijrah Youth Shifts. *Khazanah Theologia*, 3(3), 131–146. <https://doi.org/10.15575/kt.v3i3.12708>
- Setia, P., & Iqbal, A. M. (2022). Adaptation of social media by religious organizations in Indonesia: A study of the Nahdlatul Ulama YouTube channel (NU Channel). *JISPO Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 11(2), 359–378. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v11i2.14572> (Note: Duplikasi 2022a/2022b telah dihapus seperti permintaan reviewer.)
- Setiawan, D. (2025). Multicultural da'wah strategy: An inclusive approach in promoting tolerance and social harmony in plural societies. *Islamic Perspective on Communication and Psychology*, 2(1).
- Sierocki, R. (2024). Algorithms and faith: The meaning, power, and causality of algorithms in Catholic online discourse. *Religions*, 15(4). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15040431>
- Stolz, J., & Usunier, J.-C. (2019). Religions as brands? Religion and spirituality in consumer society. *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion*, 16(1), 6–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766086.2018.1445008>
- Tania, G. (2019). *Analysis of the content of Ustadz Hanan Attaki's da'wah message on Instagram* (Doctoral dissertation). UIN Raden Intan Lampung. <https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/8787/1/Skripsi%20guesty%20tania.pdf>
- Wahid, S. H. (2024). Exploring the intersection of Islam and digital technology: A bibliometric analysis. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 10, 101085. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2024.101085>
- Wahid, U. (2018). Media and commodification of Islamic symbols in political campaigns toward the 2017 Jakarta election. *Advanced Science Letters*, 24(4), 2213–2217. <https://doi.org/10.1166/asl.2018.10919>
- Zuhri, A. M. (2022a). Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council and the challenge of new religious authorities in the digital era. *Miyah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18(2), 413–438. <https://doi.org/10.33754/miyah.v18i2.698>
- Zuhri, A. M. (2022b). *Moderate Islam concept and its actualization in the dynamics of Islamic movements in Indonesia*. Academia Publication. <http://repository.uinsa.ac.id/id/eprint/2359/>