



Contents lists available at [Journal ELORA](#)

JRTI (Jurnal Riset Tindakan Indonesia)

ISSN: 2502-079X (Print) ISSN: 2503-1619 (Electronic)

Journal homepage: <https://jrti.eloracenter.org/jrti>



Dakwah by influencers, celebrities, and santri: the production of religious authority in indonesia's digital public sphere

Uli Mardiyah Wulandari*, Muhammad Yusuf

Universitas Sains Al-Qur'an Jawa Tengah, Wonosobo, Indonesia

Article Info

Article history:

Received Jun 25th, 2026

Revised Aug 28th, 2026

Accepted Oct 8th, 2026

Keyword:

Celebrities

Influencers

Preachers

Religious authorities

Santri

ABSTRACT

The development of digital media has transformed how religious authority is constructed and recognized in Indonesia. This study examines how influencers, celebrities, and Santri negotiate religious legitimacy in the digital public sphere and how traditional and digital forms of legitimacy are combined. Using a qualitative multiple case study approach, the study analyzes six digital religious actors: two influencers (Hawariyyun and Dena Haura), two celebrities (Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu), and two Santri (Gus Baha and Ning Shema Huda). One religious post from each account was analyzed, resulting in six posts from TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube, observed during January–July 2026. Actors were purposively selected based on their active engagement in Islamic preaching, follower base, religious content, religious involvement or authority, and activity across the selected platforms. Comments were selected based on their relevance to the da'wah theme and their indication of audience acceptance of religious authority. Data were analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña framework through open and axial coding, focusing on sources of legitimacy, forms of capital, communication strategies, audience recognition, and platform-mediated visibility. The findings identify three pathways of religious legitimacy: digital-affective legitimacy among influencers, popularity-based legitimacy among celebrities, and scholarly legitimacy among Santri. For example, Gus Baha's selected YouTube post received 532,120 views, 4,900 likes, and 274 comments, illustrating how established scholarly authority can be circulated and recognized through digital engagement. Similarly, Ning Shema Huda's TikTok post received 27,200 likes, 316 comments, 3,525 saves, and 2,008 shares, demonstrating the digital dissemination of Santri-based religious authority. These findings indicate that digital media does not simply replace traditional religious authority but mediates its visibility, circulation, and audience recognition, producing a hybrid configuration in which scholarly capital, popularity, digital visibility, and audience engagement interact.



© 2026The Authors.

This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-SA license
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0>)

Corresponding Author:

Uli Mardiyah Wulandari,

Universitas Sains Al-Qur'an Jawa Tengah, Wonosobo, Indonesia

Email: ulimardiyah85@gmail.com

Introduction

Religious authority, which once relied primarily on formal institutions and established religious figures, is undergoing significant transformation with the emergence of increasingly open digital spaces. Digital media enables individuals to access religious knowledge, seek spiritual guidance, express religious identities, and

participate in the circulation of religious discourse through various platforms. This transformation corresponds with Hjarvard's (2013) concept of the mediatization of religion, which emphasizes that media functions not merely as a channel for transmitting religious messages but also as a social force that shapes how religion is understood, practiced, and communicated. Within this process, media logic including algorithms, content formats, audience metrics, and the attention economy increasingly influences how religious messages are produced, circulated, encountered, and recognized as credible in the digital public sphere.

In Indonesia, this transformation has particular significance because religious legitimacy has historically been associated with mastery of religious knowledge, scholarly lineage, pesantren education, and institutional recognition. These conventional sources of legitimacy now coexist with digital mechanisms such as follower counts, audience engagement, personal branding, content strategies, and platform visibility. Turner (2007) describes this development in terms of the fragmentation of religious authority, whereby expanded access to communication technologies enables a wider range of actors to participate in the production and circulation of religious discourse. Consequently, religious authority can no longer be understood solely through the conventional relationship between religious scholars, institutions, and their communities; it must also be examined through the digital practices and platform-mediated interactions through which credibility is constructed and recognized.

This transformation has produced at least three analytically distinguishable categories of actors involved in the production and distribution of religious knowledge in Indonesia's digital public sphere. Religious influencers construct influence through digital content production, audience proximity, personal branding, and sustained interaction with followers. Dakwah celebrities are public figures whose pre-existing popularity in the entertainment industry is subsequently connected to religious identities, particularly through narratives of hijrah and personal transformation. Santri, in contrast, derive legitimacy primarily from religious education, pesantren traditions, mastery of Islamic knowledge, and scholarly chains of transmission. These categories therefore represent different starting points of religious legitimacy: digital and affective capital among influencers, popularity and symbolic capital among celebrities, and scholarly and cultural capital among Santri.

Research on digital religious authority has developed substantially. Campbell (2021), through the framework of digital religious authority, explains that digital platforms have become spaces in which religious legitimacy is formed through content production, audience participation, and communication networks, thereby decentralizing authority from its traditional institutional centers. Bunt (2018) similarly demonstrates through the concept of "cyber-Islamic environments" that digital spaces enable Muslims to access, discuss, and produce religious knowledge across multiple platforms. Eickelman and Anderson (2003) emphasize that the fragmentation of religious authority accompanies the expansion of groups capable of speaking in the name of Islam in the public sphere, while Cheong (2022) proposes the concept of "networked religious authority" to explain how religious credibility increasingly depends on actors' positions within social networks rather than exclusively on textual or institutional credentials.

Despite these important theoretical developments, a specific empirical gap remains in the Indonesian context. Existing studies tend to examine religious influencers, celebrities, and Santri as separate categories rather than as comparable forms of digital religious authority within the same analytical framework. Research on religious influencers has primarily examined personal branding, digital content production, and audience engagement (Aini, 2024; Aida et al., 2024). Studies of hijrah celebrities have focused more strongly on conversion narratives, identity transformation, and the commodification of piety (Slama, 2018). Research concerning Santri and the "new Santri," meanwhile, has emphasized the negotiation between pesantren traditions, scholarly legitimacy, and social change (Saat & Burhani, 2020; Mahfudloh, 2023). What remains insufficiently examined is how these three actor categories construct religious authority through different forms of legitimacy when they operate within the same digital ecosystem, how their forms of capital are converted into publicly recognized authority, and how audience engagement and platform visibility mediate this process.

This gap is particularly important because the three categories do not operate in isolated digital environments. Influencers, celebrities, and Santri may occupy different positions in relation to religious knowledge, popularity, and digital culture, yet they operate on the same social media platforms and are subject to similar mechanisms of audience recognition and algorithmic distribution. Their content can therefore intersect, compete for attention, and adopt strategies associated with other forms of legitimacy. A comparative examination is consequently necessary to determine whether digital religious authority is constructed through fundamentally different mechanisms across the three actor categories or whether these mechanisms converge into a shared and hybrid configuration of authority. Such a comparison also makes it possible to examine the role of algorithmic visibility not as an independent source of religious legitimacy, but as a mediating

mechanism through which existing forms of religious, social, and symbolic capital become publicly visible and potentially recognized as authoritative.

Accordingly, this study adopts a qualitative multiple-case study design to conduct a cross-case comparison of influencers, celebrities, and Santri operating in Indonesia's digital religious public sphere. Rather than treating the three categories merely as descriptive classifications, the study uses them as comparative cases for analyzing differences and similarities in the construction of religious authority. The analysis focuses on three interconnected dimensions: (1) the primary sources of legitimacy employed by each actor, including scholarly capital, popularity, social-affective capital, and digital visibility; (2) the mechanisms through which these forms of capital are converted into publicly recognized religious authority; and (3) the role of audience engagement and algorithmic visibility in mediating that recognition. Through this analytical structure, the study compares the authority-construction strategies of the three actor categories and identifies the configurations that emerge from their interaction with digital platform logic.

The novelty of this study therefore lies not in proposing an entirely new theory of religious authority, but in bringing three distinct categories of religious actors into a single comparative analytical framework. The study extends the discussion of negotiated digital religious authority (Campbell, 2021) by examining how different forms of capital are converted into religious legitimacy under conditions of platform-mediated visibility. It further incorporates algorithmic visibility as a mediating dimension in the production and recognition of religious authority, while retaining attention to audience participation as an essential mechanism of social validation. In this sense, algorithmic visibility is understood not as authority generated by algorithms themselves, but as a platform-mediated condition that can amplify, constrain, or redistribute the visibility through which religious legitimacy becomes publicly recognizable.

Based on this research gap and analytical framework, this study has three operational objectives. First, to compare how influencers, celebrities, and Santri construct religious authority through their respective forms of legitimacy in Indonesia's digital public sphere. Second, to analyze how scholarly capital, popularity, social-affective capital, and digital visibility are converted into publicly recognized religious authority through digital content and audience interaction. Third, to identify and compare the configurations of religious authority that emerge from the interaction between actor-specific legitimacy, audience validation, and platform-mediated visibility. These objectives guide the multiple-case and cross-case analysis presented in the subsequent sections of this article.

Method

Research Design

This study employed a qualitative approach using a multiple case study design to examine how religious authority is constructed, negotiated, and recognized among different types of digital religious actors in Indonesia. A multiple case study design was selected because it enables an in-depth examination of bounded cases while allowing systematic comparison across cases to identify similarities, differences, and recurring patterns in the production of religious authority (Yin, 2018). The study followed the qualitative research principles outlined by Creswell and Poth (2018), particularly the use of purposive case selection, contextual interpretation, and systematic comparison of qualitative evidence.

The cases were organized into three analytically distinct categories of digital religious actors: influencers, celebrities, and Santri associated with the pesantren tradition. These categories were selected because they represent different initial sources of legitimacy. Influencers primarily rely on digital visibility, personal branding, and affective relationships with audiences; celebrities draw on pre-existing popularity and public image; while Santri derive authority primarily from religious education, pesantren traditions, scholarly knowledge, sanad keilmuan, and familiarity with classical Islamic texts. The comparative design therefore enabled the study to examine how different forms of capital are converted into religious legitimacy within the same digital public sphere.

The analysis was informed by Bourdieu's (1983) concept of capital and Campbell's (2021) framework of digital religious authority. Bourdieu's framework was used to examine how scholarly, social, symbolic, popularity-related, and digital resources function as forms of capital, while Campbell's framework was used to interpret the negotiated character of religious authority in digital environments. In this study, hybrid religious authority was operationally understood as a configuration in which at least two sources of legitimacy intersect within a digital religious communication process, particularly the interaction between established religious legitimacy and platform-mediated visibility or audience recognition.

Case Selection and Sampling

Cases were selected using purposive sampling. The sampling strategy was intended to identify information-rich cases that could support analytical comparison rather than statistical generalization. The selection criteria were: (1) the account was actively involved in da'wah or religious communication through social media; (2) the account had an established follower base; (3) the account had published religious content; (4) the actor demonstrated some form of religious involvement or recognized religious authority; and (5) the actor actively used TikTok, Instagram, or YouTube as a medium for religious communication.

Based on these criteria, six digital religious actors were selected, consisting of two influencers, two celebrities, and two Santri. The influencer category comprised Hawariyyun (@hawariyyun7) and Dena Haura (@denaahaura); the celebrity category comprised Teuku Wisnu (@teukuwisnu) and Arie Untung (@ceritauntungs); and the Santri category comprised Ning Shema Huda (@shemahuda) and the YouTube account @ppdamaran78mazratululumof62 containing Gus Baha's religious study content. The cases were selected to provide balanced representation across the three actor categories, with two cases representing each category.

The purpose of selecting six cases was not to represent the entire population of Indonesian digital da'wah actors, but to facilitate an analytical comparison of different pathways through which religious authority is constructed. Thus, case adequacy was determined by the comparative scope and information richness of the selected cases rather than by statistical representativeness. Because the study uses a bounded multiple-case design, it does not claim theoretical saturation in the conventional sense of grounded theory; instead, the six cases were considered adequate for comparing three analytically distinct forms of digital religious authority.

Units of Analysis

The primary units of analysis were six selected religious posts, with one post selected from each account, resulting in a total corpus of six posts. The posts were selected because they contained religious or da'wah-oriented messages and provided observable evidence of the actor's communication strategy and audience response.

The six cases and their respective platforms were as follows:

Table 1. <Research Units of Analysis>

Actor Category	Actor/Account	Platform	Primary Basis of Authority
Influencer	Hawariyyun (@hawariyyun7)	TikTok	Digital visibility and personal branding
Influencer	Dena Haura (@denaahaura)	Instagram	Digital visibility and emotional connection
Celebrity	Teuku Wisnu (@teukuwisnu)	Instagram	Popularity and public image
Celebrity	Arie Untung (@ceritauntungs)	YouTube	Popularity capital and spiritual experience
Santri	Ning Shema Huda (@shemahuda)	TikTok	Scholarly knowledge, pesantren traditions, and religious legitimacy rooted in Islamic education
Santri	Gus Baha content (@ppdamaran78mazratululumof62)	YouTube	Scholarly knowledge, sanad keilmuan, and classical Islamic texts

This case structure was maintained throughout the analysis so that each selected post could first be examined as an individual case and subsequently compared within and across actor categories.

Data Collection

Data were collected through non-participant digital observation conducted during January–July 2026. Non-participant observation was used because the researcher observed publicly available digital content and audience interactions without directly participating in the posts, discussions, or comment sections.

The data collection procedure consisted of four interconnected activities. First, the researcher mapped the selected accounts and identified the observation period. Second, one religiously relevant post from each selected account was identified and documented, producing a total of six posts for analysis. For each selected post, the researcher archived the available digital material and recorded relevant metadata, including the platform, posting date, likes, comments, shares, reposts, saves, and views where these indicators were available.

Third, the researcher prepared digital field notes documenting the visual presentation, language style, religious messaging, narrative strategy, and communication patterns appearing in each selected post. For video-based content, the spoken religious message was documented through video narration transcripts. Captions and other textual components accompanying the selected posts were also included as qualitative data.

Fourth, audience comments associated with each selected post were collected as supporting evidence for examining the recognition and negotiation of religious authority. Comments were purposively selected when they were relevant to the da'wah theme and indicated acceptance or recognition of the actor's religious message or authority. The comments were therefore not treated simply as indicators of popularity but as qualitative evidence of how audiences responded to, interpreted, and recognized the religious content.

Coding Procedure

Data analysis followed the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2020), consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The coding procedure combined inductive and deductive strategies so that themes could emerge from the empirical material while remaining connected to the theoretical framework.

The first stage involved open coding. Textual and visual data were examined line by line or segment by segment, including captions, video narration transcripts, observable communication strategies, post characteristics, and selected audience comments. Initial codes were assigned to identify recurring expressions and patterns related to religious legitimacy, personal branding, popularity, audience engagement, religious knowledge, emotional connection, and digital visibility.

The second stage involved axial coding, in which related initial codes were grouped into broader analytical categories. The main coding categories were: (1) sources of religious legitimacy; (2) forms of capital; (3) personal branding and digital communication strategies; (4) popularity and audience engagement; (5) audience acceptance or recognition of religious authority; (6) platform-mediated visibility; and (7) negotiation or hybridization of religious authority.

Bourdieu's (1983) framework was used as a deductive lens for identifying the forms of capital underlying each actor's authority. In particular, the analysis examined scholarly or cultural capital, popularity-related capital, social or affective capital, and symbolic capital. Campbell's (2021) concept of negotiated digital religious authority was then used to interpret how these resources became socially recognized through interaction between religious actors, digital platforms, and audiences.

The coding of hybrid religious authority followed an explicit analytical rule. A case was interpreted as demonstrating hybrid authority when the digital artifact showed the interaction of at least two forms of legitimacy, such as established scholarly or pesantren-based legitimacy combined with platform-mediated visibility and audience recognition, or pre-existing popularity combined with religious transformation narratives and audience acceptance. This operationalization allowed the concept of hybrid authority to be traced directly to observable characteristics in the digital data rather than being treated as an abstract conclusion.

Data Analysis and Cross-Case Comparison

The analysis was conducted in three sequential levels. First, each of the six selected posts was analyzed as an individual case. Within-case analysis examined the actor's source of legitimacy, communication strategy, form of capital, observable audience response, and indicators of platform-mediated visibility.

Second, cases were compared within each actor category. The two influencer cases were compared to identify similarities and differences in the use of digital visibility, personal branding, and affective relationships. The two celebrity cases were compared in terms of popularity capital, public image, spiritual narratives, and the conversion of celebrity recognition into religious legitimacy. The two Santri cases were compared according to scholarly knowledge, pesantren traditions, sanad keilmuan, classical Islamic texts, and the adaptation of scholarly content to digital communication.

Third, a cross-case comparison was conducted across the three actor categories. A comparative matrix was used to examine five dimensions: (1) primary source of legitimacy; (2) form of capital mobilized; (3) mechanism through which capital was converted into religious authority; (4) role of audience recognition; and (5) role of platform-mediated visibility. This comparison made it possible to identify both divergent and convergent pathways of authority production.

The final stage involved synthesizing the cross-case findings with Bourdieu's (1983) theory of capital and Campbell's (2021) concept of negotiated digital religious authority. The synthesis focused on how different forms of capital interact with audience recognition and digital visibility to produce distinct configurations of religious authority. The analysis therefore did not assume that digital visibility itself constitutes religious legitimacy; rather, visibility was examined as a mediating condition through which existing or emerging forms of legitimacy could become more publicly accessible and recognizable.

Trustworthiness and Data Triangulation

To strengthen the credibility of the interpretation, the study used triangulation across different types of digital evidence. The analysis did not rely solely on the content of the selected posts but considered the relationship among post content, captions, video narration, observable engagement metadata, and selected audience comments. Comparing these sources enabled the researcher to assess whether interpretations of religious authority were supported consistently across the available digital artifacts.

An analytical audit trail was maintained through the documentation of case selection, archived digital materials, field notes, coding categories, and cross-case comparison. The use of the same analytical dimensions across all six cases also supported consistency in comparison. Because the present study does not employ multiple independent coders, no inter-coder reliability coefficient is reported. Instead, analytical consistency was supported through explicit coding categories, the documented coding procedure, theoretical cross-checking, and systematic comparison across all six cases. Overall, this methodological procedure enabled the study to move from the observation of individual digital religious posts toward a systematic comparison of how influencers, celebrities, and Santri construct, negotiate, and obtain recognition for religious authority in Indonesia's digital public sphere.

Results and Discussions

Overview of the Empirical Corpus and Analytical Structure

The analysis was based on six purposively selected religious posts, with one post drawn from each of the six selected accounts. The corpus therefore consisted of two influencer cases (Hawariyyun and Dena Haura), two celebrity cases (Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu), and two Santri cases (Gus Baha and Ning Shema Huda). Rather than treating the selected posts as isolated examples, the analysis compared the cases systematically according to five dimensions: the primary source of religious legitimacy, the form of capital mobilized, the communication strategy used to present religious messages, the nature of audience recognition, and the role of platform-mediated visibility.

The analysis generated three recurring patterns of authority construction across the six cases. First, both influencer cases were characterized by the use of personal branding, affective communication, and audience proximity as resources for establishing religious legitimacy. Second, both celebrity cases demonstrated the conversion of pre-existing popularity and public recognition into religious legitimacy through religious identity and spiritual transformation narratives. Third, both Santri cases were primarily grounded in scholarly and pesantren-based legitimacy, particularly religious knowledge, classical Islamic texts, and scholarly transmission. These patterns were not interpreted as mutually exclusive categories; rather, the cases demonstrate different starting points from which digital religious authority is constructed and subsequently negotiated with audiences.

To improve analytical transparency, the coding was organized into five principal thematic dimensions: (1) legitimacy source, (2) capital mobilization, (3) communication and self-presentation, (4) audience recognition, and (5) platform-mediated visibility. The six cases were first analyzed individually and subsequently compared within and across the three actor categories. The resulting pattern is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 <Cross-Case Thematic Coding of Religious Authority Construction>

Analytical Dimension	Influencers: Hawariyyun and Dena Haura		Celebrities: Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu		Santri: Gus Baha and Ning Shema Huda	
Primary legitimacy source	Digital personal affective proximity	visibility, branding, transformation	Popularity, recognition, religious identity	public knowledge, pesantren tradition, sanad, classical Islamic texts		
Dominant capital	Social-affective digital visibility	capital	Popularity and symbolic capital		Cultural/scholarly capital	

Analytical Dimension	Influencers: Hawariyyun and Dena Haura	Celebrities: Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu	Santri: Gus Baha and Ning Shema Huda
Main communication pattern	Personal, relatable, informal, emotionally accessible	Public religious identity, spiritual transformation, everyday moral issues	Knowledge-oriented communication adapted to digital formats
Audience recognition	Emotional identification, affirmation, personal reflection	Recognition of religious identity and moral/spiritual positioning	Recognition of knowledge, religious learning, and scholarly credibility
Observable visibility indicators	Likes, comments, saves, reposts/shares	Views, likes, follower base, public visibility	Views, likes, comments, saves, shares
Authority configuration	Affective-participatory	Charismatic-conversive	Epistemic-traditional
Digital adaptation	Strong reliance on intimacy and relatable presentation	Conversion of established public visibility into religious communication	Adaptation of scholarly content to short-form and accessible digital presentation

The table indicates that the differences among the three groups are not simply differences in communication style. They represent different pathways of legitimacy formation. Influencers begin from social and affective relationships cultivated through digital communication; celebrities begin from recognition accumulated outside the religious field; while Santri begin from institutionalized scholarly and cultural capital. This differentiation is consistent with Bourdieu's (1983) argument that actors enter social fields with unequal distributions of capital, while Campbell's (2021) framework helps explain how authority in digital environments becomes negotiated through interaction among actors, audiences, and media environments.

1. Influencers: Affective and Participatory Construction of Religious Authority

The two influencer cases, Hawariyyun and Dena Haura, exhibit a consistent pattern in which religious communication is closely connected to personal identity, emotional accessibility, and audience interaction. Both cases contain religious messages presented through relatively informal and relatable forms of communication rather than through explicit institutional claims to scholarly authority. Accordingly, the analysis does not treat the two accounts as statistically "representative" of all religious influencers. Instead, they constitute two purposively selected cases within the influencer category and provide comparative evidence of a particular pathway of authority construction based on digital visibility and social-affective connection.

The Hawariyyun case illustrates this pattern through the use of religious communication that connects Islamic reflection with followers' everyday experiences. The selected TikTok post received 5,722 likes, 39 comments, 1,212 saves, and 268 reposts. These metrics are not interpreted as direct measurements of religious authority. Rather, they are treated as observable indicators of audience interaction and digital visibility, which must be interpreted together with the qualitative content of the post and the audience responses.



Figure 1. Hawariyyun's Content and Interaction with the Audience in the Digital Space

(resource: TikTok @hawariyyun7/<https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSqC61u39/>)

The qualitative evidence provides a more substantive basis for interpreting these engagement indicators. The selected audience responses include reflections on life purpose, worship, marriage, loss, and the desire to live in accordance with Islamic values. These responses indicate that the religious message was interpreted through personal experience rather than received merely as abstract religious information. The analytical significance of these comments therefore lies in the type of response they represent: audience members connect the religious message to their own circumstances, thereby demonstrating affective and participatory engagement.

This pattern is consistent with Campbell's (2021) concept of negotiated authority, in which digital religious authority is not simply transmitted from a religious communicator to a passive audience but emerges through interaction and recognition. Similarly, Slama (2018) shows that social media has become an important environment for Indonesian Muslims to express religious identity and participate in new forms of religious communication. The audience responses observed in the Hawariyyun case therefore function as qualitative evidence of social recognition, while likes, saves, comments, and reposts provide observable traces of participation and visibility.

The Dena Haura case reinforces the same thematic pattern but demonstrates a somewhat stronger emphasis on motivational and introspective communication. Her selected Instagram post received 43,500 likes, 85 comments, 4,131 reposts, and 3,140 shares. As with the Hawariyyun case, these metrics are not treated as independent evidence that religious authority has been established. Instead, they indicate the extent to which the religious message generated observable forms of interaction, which are then interpreted alongside the content and selected audience responses.



Figure 2. Dena Haura's Da'wah Content and Audience Responses

(resource: Instagram @denaahaura <https://www.instagram.com/reel/DSHSig6kZyB/?stkn=dGZ0MWdna2F6aGVl>)

The content and audience responses indicate that religious communication is framed through everyday emotions and personal reflection. One audience response, for example, interprets the message as a personal reminder to improve worship and spiritual practice. Rather than relying on the comment as an isolated anecdote, the analysis categorizes this type of response under the broader theme of personal spiritual reflection and affective recognition. This thematic category also corresponds with the broader pattern observed in the influencer cases, in which religious communication becomes meaningful through its connection to followers' everyday emotional and social experiences.

The two influencer cases therefore converge on three analytical characteristics: personalized religious communication, affective proximity, and audience participation. This pattern supports previous research showing that religious influencers use personalized presentation, authenticity, storytelling, and continuing audience interaction to develop credibility in digital environments (Zaid et al., 2022). Febrian (2024) similarly emphasizes the importance of relatable presentation in the formation of relationships between religious influencers and their audiences.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, the findings suggest that social-affective resources can be converted into symbolic recognition when audiences acknowledge the actor as a meaningful source of religious reflection. The conversion does not mean that social media engagement itself automatically produces religious legitimacy. Rather, engagement becomes analytically significant when it is accompanied by forms of recognition, affirmation, interpretation, or personal identification with the religious message. In this sense, the influencer cases demonstrate an affective-participatory form of religious authority.

2. Celebrities: Conversion of Popularity into Religious Legitimacy

The two celebrity cases, Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu, demonstrate a different pathway of authority construction. Unlike the influencer cases, their initial visibility was accumulated through public recognition outside the religious field, particularly through their careers as entertainment figures. The analysis therefore identifies popularity and symbolic recognition as the initial resources that facilitate their entry into digital religious communication.

The Arie Untung case provides an example of how celebrity visibility can be connected with religious moral framework, thereby translating religious teachings into a topic that is accessible to a broader digital audience communication. His selected YouTube video discusses a warning attributed to the Prophet Muhammad concerning people who destroy animal habitats. The message connects an everyday environmental issue with an Islamic.

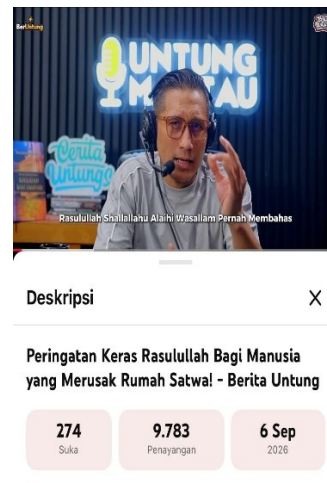


Figure 3. Arie Untung's Da'wah Content

(resource: YouTube @CERITAUNTUNG/ <https://youtube.com/watch?v=IWw1NQVMiio&si=yiXbbO6GMZWkPK9S>)

The selected video had approximately 2.65 million subscribers on the channel at the time documented in the manuscript, while the analyzed video received 9,783 views and 274 likes. These figures demonstrate the visibility of the content but should not be interpreted as direct measurements of religious authority. Their analytical value lies in demonstrating the public reach through which an already recognized public figure can circulate religious messages. This distinction is important because popularity and authority are conceptually different: popularity provides attention and visibility, whereas religious authority requires some form of recognition of the actor's legitimacy to communicate religious meaning.

The Arie Untung case therefore illustrates what can be described as capital conversion. Symbolic capital accumulated through public recognition is brought into the religious field and combined with religious narratives and practices. Hoesterey (2020) describes this type of transformation as a process in which public identity and pious self-presentation become intertwined. Similarly, Muna (2020) demonstrates that celebrity hijrah narratives can acquire social significance when personal spiritual transformation is publicly communicated and recognized by audiences. Teuku Wisnu demonstrates a similar but somewhat broader form of religious identity construction. His Instagram account combines his identity as a public figure with representations of family, social activities, and religious life.

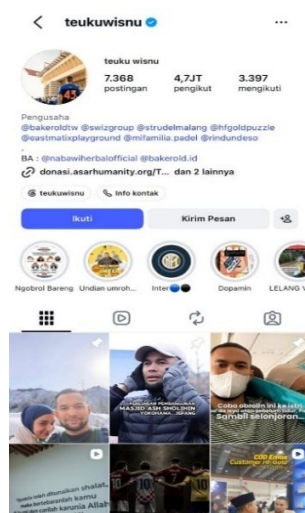


Figure 4. Teuku Wisnu's Instagram Profile as a Representation of Celebrity Da'wah

(resource: akun Instagram @teukuwisnu/ <https://www.instagram.com/teukuwisnu?stkn=MTRrbGFjZWJmY2J0NA==>)

At the time documented in the original study, the account had approximately 4.7 million followers and 7,368 posts. These figures are used here as contextual indicators of pre-existing digital visibility rather than as evidence that follower numbers themselves constitute religious authority. The distinction is methodologically

important because the reviewer correctly notes that engagement metrics cannot automatically be equated with authority construction.

The two celebrity cases nevertheless show a consistent pattern: public recognition precedes and facilitates religious communication. Their authority construction therefore involves a process of transferring recognition from the entertainment field into a religiously framed digital identity. This process is not automatic. The religious identity must be publicly presented, repeated, and socially acknowledged before popularity can contribute to religious legitimacy. In Weberian terms, authority depends on recognition by others rather than merely on the actor's possession of visibility or status (Weber, 1978).

The celebrity cases also demonstrate the importance of mediated self-presentation. Slama (2018) explains that social media provides Indonesian Muslims with new spaces in which religious identity can be performed and negotiated. The cases of Arie Untung and Teuku Wisnu extend this argument by showing how pre-existing celebrity identity can coexist with, and become incorporated into, a religious public identity.

Thus, the celebrity pathway can be characterized as charismatic-conversive authority: public recognition is converted into a religiously framed form of legitimacy through narratives of spiritual transformation, moral positioning, and continued participation in religious communication. The evidence does not indicate that celebrity status replaces scholarly authority; rather, it creates another pathway through which religious messages can gain initial public attention and recognition.

3. Santri: Scholarly and Epistemic Foundations of Religious Authority

The two Santri cases, Gus Baha and Ning Shema Huda, reveal the strongest continuity with traditional forms of religious authority. In both cases, religious legitimacy is associated primarily with scholarly knowledge, pesantren traditions, Qur'anic and hadith-based references, classical Islamic texts, and scholarly transmission. This distinguishes the Santri cases from influencers and celebrities, whose authority construction depends more heavily on social-affective or popularity-related resources.

The Gus Baha case provides particularly clear evidence of the continuity between traditional religious learning and digital dissemination. The selected YouTube content presents religious study through a format associated with pesantren-based learning and the use of classical religious references

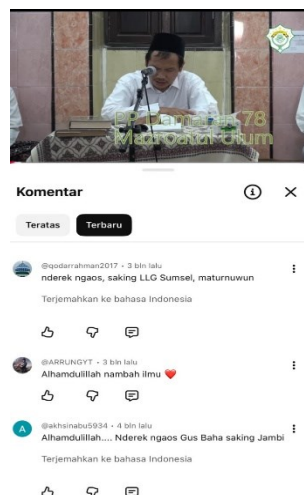


Figure 5. Gus Baha's Study Using the Kitab Kuning

(resource: YouTube/<https://youtube.com/@ppdamaran78mazroatululumof62?si=rXUSpEwHYtlus1x4>)

The selected post received 532,120 views, 4,900 likes, and 274 comments. Several audience comments indicate that viewers understood the content as a form of religious learning, including expressions of participation in the study and appreciation for acquiring additional religious knowledge. These responses are analytically important because they demonstrate a form of recognition that differs from the affective responses observed in the influencer cases. Here, audience recognition is more explicitly connected to the acquisition of religious knowledge and participation in an online learning environment.

Berger and Golan (2024) argue that online religious learners assess authoritative sources through criteria such as reliability, prestige, social affiliation, and epistemic norms. The Gus Baha case corresponds with this pattern because the audience response is oriented toward learning and the perceived value of religious

knowledge. Mahfudloh (2023) similarly emphasizes the role of sanad keilmuan in strengthening public trust in pesantren-based religious authority.

The Ning Shema Huda case shows that scholarly legitimacy can coexist with significant adaptation to digital communication formats. Her TikTok content presents Qur'anic values through a short-form video that emphasizes peace and spiritual strength.



Figure 6. Ning Shema Huda's Digital Da'wah Content and Audience Responses on the TikTok Platform

(resource: akun TikTok @shemahuda/ <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSqtW7Ffd/>)

The selected post received 27,200 likes, 316 comments, 3,525 saves, and 2,008 shares. These figures demonstrate substantial observable interaction with the content. However, consistent with the analytical framework used throughout this study, these indicators are interpreted as evidence of digital engagement and visibility, not as direct measurements of religious authority.

The qualitative responses associated with the post indicate that audiences connected the Qur'anic message with their own spiritual experiences and everyday lives. One response describes the Qur'anic message as personally relatable, while another expresses appreciation for receiving a religious reminder through the platform. These responses were coded under the themes of spiritual identification, accessibility of religious content, and audience recognition.

The Ning Shema Huda case therefore demonstrates an important mechanism of digital adaptation. The scholarly basis of religious legitimacy remains present, but the mode of presentation changes to accommodate short-form visual communication. This finding is consistent with Saat and Burhani (2020), who describe the emergence of the "new Santri" as involving negotiation between pesantren traditions and contemporary social change. It also supports Campbell's (2021) argument that digital media does not necessarily replace traditional religious authority but can provide additional spaces through which established authority is communicated and negotiated.

The two Santri cases therefore converge around epistemic-traditional authority. Their legitimacy is primarily grounded in religious knowledge rather than popularity. Nevertheless, their digital reach is facilitated when scholarly content is presented in forms that are accessible within social media environments. The digital medium thus modifies the circulation of scholarly authority without necessarily replacing its epistemic foundation.

4. Cross-Case Comparison: Three Pathways of Religious Authority Construction

The comparison of all six cases demonstrates that religious authority is constructed through three differentiated pathways. Influencers mobilize social-affective and digital visibility resources; celebrities mobilize pre-existing popularity and symbolic recognition; while Santri mobilize scholarly and cultural capital rooted in religious education and pesantren traditions

Table 3. <Cross-Case Conversion of Capital into Religious Authority>

Actor Group	Initial Capital	Conversion Mechanism	Audience Recognition	Resulting Authority
Influencers	Social-affective and digital visibility capital	Personal branding, relatable communication, emotional proximity, and interaction	Personal affirmation, identification	reflection, Affective-emotional participatory authority
Celebrities	Popularity and symbolic capital	Religious identity transformation, spiritual narratives, and public religious engagement	Recognition of moral/spiritual transformation continued engagement	Charismatic- and conversive public authority
Santri	Scholarly/cultural capital	Dissemination and digital adaptation of religious knowledge	Recognition based on learning, knowledge, sanad, and epistemic credibility	Epistemic-traditional authority

The comparison indicates that no single form of capital is sufficient to explain the construction of religious authority in the six cases. Instead, the relevant question is how an actor's existing resources are translated into forms of recognition within the digital environment. This finding extends Bourdieu's (1983) perspective by showing that capital conversion in the digital religious field is increasingly mediated through communication infrastructures and audience interaction.

The findings also support Turner's (2007) argument concerning the fragmentation of religious authority. The fragmentation observed in this study does not mean that traditional scholarly authority disappears. Instead, it means that the production and circulation of religious legitimacy involve a wider range of actors and resources than those traditionally associated with religious institutions.

Campbell's (2021) concept of negotiated authority is particularly useful for explaining the role of audiences in this process. Across the six cases, audience interaction provides observable evidence that religious messages are being received, interpreted, affirmed, or incorporated into personal and communal understandings. The nature of recognition, however, differs according to the actor's legitimacy base. Influencer audiences tend to respond through affective identification and personal reflection; celebrity audiences encounter religious identity through public narratives of transformation; and Santri audiences more explicitly engage with religious learning and epistemic credibility.

5. Engagement Metrics as Indicators of Digital Recognition, Not Direct Measures of Religious Authority

One important methodological distinction emerging from the cross-case analysis concerns the interpretation of engagement metrics. Likes, comments, views, saves, reposts, and shares are observable traces of audience activity, but they cannot independently establish that an actor possesses religious authority. A large number of likes may indicate visibility or audience interest, but it does not necessarily demonstrate acceptance of the actor as a legitimate religious authority.

For this reason, engagement metrics in this study were interpreted in conjunction with qualitative evidence. Three forms of evidence were considered together: (1) the religious content itself, (2) observable engagement indicators, and (3) audience responses that explicitly or implicitly indicate recognition, acceptance, learning, identification, or interpretation of the religious message. This approach follows the broader understanding of authority as a relational phenomenon rather than an intrinsic attribute of an individual (Weber, 1978).

The six cases illustrate why this distinction is necessary. Hawariyyun's post generated 5,722 likes and 39 comments, while Dena Haura's post generated 43,500 likes, 85 comments, 4,131 reposts, and 3,140 shares. Gus Baha's post generated 532,120 views, 4,900 likes, and 274 comments, whereas Ning Shema Huda's post generated 27,200 likes, 316 comments, 3,525 saves, and 2,008 shares. Arie Untung's selected video received 9,783 views and 274 likes. These figures demonstrate substantial variation in observable digital engagement across cases, but they do not establish a simple linear relationship between engagement volume and religious legitimacy.

Instead, the qualitative evidence shows that engagement becomes relevant to authority construction when it contains forms of recognition that correspond with the actor's legitimacy pathway. This is particularly evident in comments expressing personal spiritual reflection in the influencer cases and religious learning in

the Santri cases. Thus, engagement is treated as a mediating empirical trace of audience recognition, rather than as a standalone measure of authority.

This interpretation is consistent with Campbell's (2021) negotiated-authority framework and with research emphasizing the role of audience interaction in digital religious communication. It also avoids equating popularity with legitimacy, an important distinction because religious authority may be recognized through epistemic credibility even when it is not accompanied by the highest level of digital engagement.

6. Platform-Mediated Visibility and the Emergence of Hybrid Religious Authority

The cross-case comparison further indicates that the digital environment introduces an additional layer into the construction of religious authority: platform-mediated visibility. However, the evidence does not permit direct observation of proprietary algorithmic systems. Therefore, the findings are framed in terms of platform-mediated visibility, referring to observable differences in how religious content becomes publicly visible through platform-specific formats and audience interaction.

The three platforms represented in the corpus—TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube—provide different communicative environments. The cases demonstrate that actors adapt their religious messages to these environments in different ways. Influencers rely heavily on personal and relatable presentation; celebrities combine public identity with religious narratives; and Santri adapt scholarly content into more accessible digital formats. These adaptations demonstrate what Hjarvard (2013) describes as the mediatization of religion, in which media environments increasingly shape how religious communication is produced and circulated.

The findings therefore suggest that digital religious authority is neither entirely traditional nor entirely platform-generated. Instead, established forms of legitimacy interact with digital visibility and audience recognition. In the Santri cases, scholarly capital remains the primary basis of legitimacy, but its circulation is facilitated by digital presentation. In the celebrity cases, popularity provides initial visibility, but religious legitimacy requires a religiously meaningful narrative and public recognition. In the influencer cases, affective relationships and personal branding create proximity, while audience interaction provides social recognition.

This intersection can be conceptualized as hybrid religious authority. Importantly, hybridization in this study does not mean that all actors possess identical forms of legitimacy. Rather, it refers to the interaction between different sources of authority and the digital conditions through which those sources become visible and socially recognized.

Table 4. <Emerging Configuration of Digital Religious Authority>

Dimension	Influencers	Celebrities	Santri
Starting point	Digital/social-affective capital	Pre-existing popularity	Scholarly/pesantren capital
Main legitimacy strategy	Relatability and emotional proximity	Spiritual transformation and public identity	Religious knowledge and scholarly credibility
Audience recognition	Identification and personal reflection	Recognition of transformation and public religious identity	Learning, epistemic trust, and religious affiliation
Role of digital media	Builds intimacy and visibility	Extends public identity into religious communication	Expands circulation of scholarly knowledge
Form of authority	Affective-participatory	Charismatic-convertive	Epistemic-traditional
Hybrid element	Social recognition + digital visibility	Popularity + religious legitimacy	Scholarly legitimacy + digital visibility

The table demonstrates that hybridization occurs through different mechanisms rather than through a single universal process. For influencers, digital visibility and affective proximity become important conditions for social recognition. For celebrities, pre-existing popularity provides access to public attention, while religious narratives facilitate its conversion into religious legitimacy. For Santri, established scholarly legitimacy remains primary, while digital adaptation expands the circulation and accessibility of that authority.

This finding contributes to the discussion of fragmented and networked religious authority (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003; Turner, 2007; Cheong, 2022). The digital public sphere does not simply produce a new type

of religious authority that replaces traditional authority. Instead, it produces an environment in which multiple legitimacy systems coexist and interact.

7. Discussion: Religious Authority as a Relational and Mediated Process

Taken together, the six cases demonstrate that the production of religious authority in Indonesia's digital public sphere is better understood as a relational and mediated process than as a simple transfer of authority from religious institutions to social media personalities. The cases reveal three distinct starting points—digital-social affective capital, celebrity popularity, and scholarly capital—but all three ultimately require some form of public recognition.

The influencer cases demonstrate that authority can emerge through intimacy and participation. The celebrity cases demonstrate that public recognition accumulated in one field can be converted into religious legitimacy when combined with a credible religious identity. The Santri cases demonstrate that traditional scholarly capital remains highly relevant in digital environments, particularly when audiences seek religious knowledge rather than merely entertainment or emotional identification.

This finding is consistent with Bunt's (2018) concept of cyber-Islamic environments, in which digital spaces facilitate the circulation, discussion, and production of Islamic knowledge. It also supports Cheong's (2022) argument concerning networked religious authority, whereby credibility increasingly operates through networks of interaction rather than through institutional structures alone. At the same time, the findings qualify the stronger claim that digital visibility itself produces religious authority. The empirical evidence suggests instead that visibility creates opportunities for messages and identities to become publicly accessible, while legitimacy depends on how audiences interpret and recognize those messages.

The role of engagement metrics should therefore be understood cautiously. Likes, comments, shares, saves, reposts, and views provide measurable traces of audience activity, but they do not constitute equivalent measures of religious legitimacy. Their significance emerges when they are interpreted alongside qualitative evidence of audience recognition. In this study, comments expressing spiritual reflection, appreciation for religious learning, and participation in digital study provide stronger evidence of negotiated authority than engagement volume alone.

The findings consequently refine the concept of algorithmically mediated religious authority proposed in the broader framework of this study. Rather than claiming that algorithms directly determine who becomes religiously authoritative, the evidence supports a more cautious interpretation: digital platforms mediate the visibility through which existing and emerging forms of religious legitimacy become available for public recognition. The platform therefore constitutes a mediating environment rather than an independent source of religious legitimacy.

Overall, the six cases demonstrate that religious authority in Indonesia's digital public sphere is characterized by differentiated pathways of legitimacy combined with increasing mediation through digital visibility and audience participation. Traditional scholarly authority remains present, but its circulation is increasingly digital; celebrity popularity can be converted into religious recognition; and influencer authority can emerge from affective and participatory relationships. The resulting configuration is therefore hybrid, not because all forms of authority become identical, but because multiple forms of capital and recognition increasingly operate within the same digital environment.

8. Analytical Limitation and Interpretation of the Findings

The findings should be interpreted within the boundaries of the research design. The study analyzes six purposively selected posts from six accounts and therefore does not claim statistical generalization to all Indonesian religious influencers, celebrities, or Santri. Similarly, the engagement metrics reported in the study represent the observable status of the selected posts and should not be interpreted as stable measures of long-term audience influence.

The analysis also does not provide direct evidence of proprietary platform algorithms. Consequently, references to digital or algorithmic visibility concern observable platform-mediated conditions rather than the internal operation of recommendation systems. Finally, because the coding was conducted within a single-researcher qualitative design, the study does not report a Cohen's kappa coefficient. Instead, methodological transparency is supported through an explicit coding framework, consistent analytical dimensions across all six cases, triangulation of post content and audience responses, and systematic within-case and cross-case comparison.

These limitations do not invalidate the comparative findings; rather, they define the appropriate level of inference. The contribution of the study lies in identifying analytically distinct pathways through which

religious authority is constructed and recognized across influencers, celebrities, and Santri, and in showing how these pathways intersect with digital visibility and audience participation.

Conclusions

This study demonstrates that religious authority in Indonesia's digital public sphere is increasingly constructed through three legitimacy pathways: digital visibility and affective connection among influencers, the conversion of pre-existing popularity into religious legitimacy among celebrities, and scholarly capital among Santri. These patterns were observed across six purposively selected actors and six religious posts on TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube during January–July 2026.

The study conceptualizes this process as platform-mediated religious authority, defined as the process through which religious legitimacy becomes visible, circulated, and recognized through the communicative affordances of digital platforms. Its observable indicators include the source of legitimacy, forms of capital, communication strategies, audience recognition, and platform-mediated visibility. Engagement metrics such as views, likes, comments, saves, and shares are treated as indicators of digital visibility and audience activity, rather than direct measures of religious authority.

The findings do not suggest that digital media replaces traditional religious authority. Rather, platforms reshape how scholarly knowledge, popularity, social-affective connection, and audience recognition interact in the production of religious legitimacy. However, the findings are limited to six purposively selected actors, three platforms, and the January–July 2026 observation period. They therefore provide analytical rather than statistically generalizable conclusions and should not be generalized to all Indonesian Muslim digital communities. In addition, because proprietary algorithmic data were unavailable, the study cannot establish causal effects of platform algorithms on religious authority. Future research should examine larger samples over longer periods and incorporate platform analytics or longitudinal measures of digital circulation.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank the academic advisor for the guidance, mentoring, and feedback provided throughout the research process and the writing of this article. The author would also like to thank Mom and Dad, family, and friends for their prayers, support, and encouragement during the completion of this research. The author appreciates all the help and support provided, both directly and indirectly, throughout the research and the writing of this article.

References

- Abidin, C. (2016). Visibility labour: Engaging with Influencers' fashion brands and #OOTD advertorial campaigns on Instagram. *Media International Australia*, 161(1).
- Achmad Sulfikar, D. I. Y. (2025). *Epistémé*. 20(02).
- Aida, B., Supena, I., Sulthon, M., Islam, U., & Walisongo, N. (2024). Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah content creator in digital da'wah.
- Aini, R. P. N. (2024). Selebriti Mikro Keagamaan: Otoritas Baru Keagamaan di Ruang Digital Islam Indonesia. Institutional Repository UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Beer, D., & Beer, D. (2017). The social power of algorithms The social power of algorithms. 4462. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1216147>
- Berger, A., & Golan, O. (2024). Online religious learning : digital epistemic authority and self-socialization in religious communities. 9884. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2023.2169833>
- Bourdieu, P. (1983). *THE FORMS OF CAPITAL*. Greenwood Press.
- Bucher, T. (2018). *If...Then: Algorithmic Power and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bunt, G. R. (2018). *How Cyber-Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority*.
- Campbell, H. A. (2021). *Digital Creatives and the Rethinking of Religious Authority Marketing Religion in a Commercial Age*. Routledge.
- Cheong, P. H. (2022). *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in Digital Worlds*, 2nd Ed . 87–102.

- Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2017). *The mediated construction of reality*. Polity Press.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Desnas Artanti, A. S. (2025). No Title. 9(2), 327–340.
- Dhofier, Z. (2011). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. LP3ES.
- Eickelman, D. F., Anderson, J. W. (Eds.). (2003). *New media in the Muslim world: The emerging public sphere* (2nd ed.). Indiana University Press.
- Febrian, H. (2024). *Visualizing Authority: Rise of the Religious Influencers on the Instagram*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241286850>
- Ghourri, A. M., Wang, J., Lin, C., & Eller, J. D. (2025). Digital religion and Generation Z : an empirical study in the context of China. October, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2025.1536644>
- Gillespie, T. (2014). The relevance of algorithms. In T. Gillespie, P. J. Boczkowski, & K. A. Foot (Eds.). *Media technologies: Essays on communication, materiality, and society* (pp. 167–194). MIT Press.
- Hakim, L. (2025). *Dakwah Interaktif di Media Sosial: Analisis Pola Komunikasi dan Respon Audiens di Platform TikTok dan Instagram Reels*.
- Hannan, A. (2023). *Social Media and the Fragmentation of Religious Authority among Muslims in Contemporary Indonesia*.
- Haselbacher, M., Limacher, K., Mattes, A., & Novak, C. (2025). *Curating Religion Online : Young Users ' Everyday Religious Consumption and Expression on Social Media*. June.
- Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The MEDIATIZATION of CULTURE AND SOCIETY THE MEDIATIZATION OF*. Routledge.
- Hoesterey, J. B. (2020). *Rebranding Islam: Piety, Prosperity, and a Self-Help Guru*. Stanford University Press.
- Jones, C. (n.d.). *Mualaf Chic : Conversion and Mediation in Indonesian Pious Sociality*.
- Lohlker, R., & Wahid, S. H. (2026). *The Transformation of Islamic Religious Authority*. 1–22.
- Mahfudloh, R. I. (2023). *Peran Sanad Keilmuan Dalam Pengembangan Pondok Pesantren*. 01(01), 23–30.
- Marei, F. G. (2024). *God's Influencers: How Social Media Users Shape Religion and Pious Self-Fashioning*. 13, 143–172. <https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-bja10140>
- Mhd. Harvinsyah Rozi Harahap, Rubino Rubino, A. S. T. (2026). *Journal Analytica Islamica*. 15(1).
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Missier, C. A. (2025). *A Qualitative Study of Digital Religious Influence : Perspectives from Christian , Hindu , and Muslim Gen Y and Gen Z* in. 29–33.
- Mokhammad A'lan Tabaika, Ahmad Barizi, Y. M. A. (2025). *DIGITAL DA ' WAH AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ISLAMIC*. 10(2), 371–410.
- Muna, A. A. (2020). *Religious expression of hijrah celebrity: A form of accommodating protest and political economy of public piety*. 6(1).
- Nafisah, K., Maksum, A., Kholifah, S., & Prasetyo, B. D. (2026). *From Stage to Feed : Reconfiguring Piety in Indonesia ' s Digital Islamic Youth Culture From Stage to Feed : Reconfiguring Piety in Indonesia ' s Digital*. *Journal of Media and Religion*, 00(00), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2026.2699084>
- Norshahril Saat, A. N. B. (2020a). *The new santri: Challenges to traditional religious authority in Indonesia*. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Norshahril Saat, A. N. B. (2020b). *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia*. ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Raya, M. K. F. (2024). *M OCH . K HAFIDZ F UAD R AYA DIGITAL RELIGION* : 23(67), 80–94.

- Rohmatulloh, D. M., Asy, U. H., Robi, I., Malayati, M., Asy, U. H., & Corresponding, I. (2022). GUS BAHA , SANTRI GAYENG , AND THE RISE OF. 16(02), 303–325.
- Saxton, G. D., & Guo, C. (2020). International Journal of Accounting Information Systems Social media capital: Conceptualizing the nature , acquisition , and expenditure of social media-based organizational resources. *International Journal of Accounting Information Systems*, 36, 100443. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.accinf.2019.100443>
- Shin, J., Lew, Y. K., & Seo, M. (2025). Between Fashion and Piety : Hijab In fl uencers and Religious Communities in the Consumer Socialization of Indonesian Muslims. 43(1), 3–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X231191238>
- Slama, M. (2018). Practising Islam through social media in Indonesia. 9811. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1416798>
- Turner, B. S. (2007). *Religious Authority and the New Media*. Theory, Culture & Society.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (G. Roth & C. Wittich, Eds.). University of California Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Zaid, B., Fedtke, J., Shin, D. D., Kadoussi, A. El, & Ibahrine, M. (2022). Digital Islam and Muslim Millennials : How Social Media Influencers Reimagine Religious Authority and Islamic Practices.