

# Digital Behaviorism among Muslim Communities on Social Media from the Perspective of Islamic Law

Firdaus Arifin<sup>1</sup>, Deni Fadly<sup>2\*</sup>, Habibul Akhlar<sup>3</sup>, Damarkunsi Majasius<sup>4</sup>, Sri Rahmadhani<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi, Indonesia. Email: [firdausarifin459@gmail.com](mailto:firdausarifin459@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi, Indonesia. Email: [denifadly.01061978@gmail.com](mailto:denifadly.01061978@gmail.com)

<sup>3</sup> Al-Azhar University, Egypt. Email: [habibulakhlar2002@gmail.com](mailto:habibulakhlar2002@gmail.com)

<sup>4</sup> Karabük Üniversitesi, Turkey. Email: [damarkunsimajasius@gmail.com](mailto:damarkunsimajasius@gmail.com)

<sup>5</sup> Universitas Andalas, Indonesia. Email: [sri.rahmadhani01@gmail.com](mailto:sri.rahmadhani01@gmail.com)

|| Submitted: January 27, 2025 || Accepted: June 15, 2025 || Published: July 12, 2025 ||

**Abstract:** This study aims to analyze the transformation of Islamic law in response to the growing influence of digital behaviorism within modern Muslim communities, particularly through behavioral patterns observed on social media platforms such as Facebook and X (formerly Twitter). Digital behaviorism, rooted in classical behaviorist theories of Watson and Skinner, interprets human actions as stimulus-response mechanisms. In the digital era, this concept has evolved into data-driven models powered by algorithms that track, predict, and influence user behavior. Using a qualitative approach enhanced by big data analysis, this research collects and examines digital user interactions through sentiment analysis, metadata tracking, and keyword mapping related to religious expressions, ethical judgments, and social engagement. The findings show that digital behaviorism reduces human conduct to observable patterns and external stimuli, excluding key Islamic legal concepts such as *niyyah* (intention), *ikhtiyar* (free will), and *taklif* (moral responsibility). This creates a fundamental epistemological conflict with Islamic law, which views human beings as spiritual and moral agents accountable to divine guidance. The study concludes that while digital behaviorism provides useful insights for understanding contemporary social behavior, it cannot be used as a foundational framework for Islamic legal reasoning. Instead, it should serve as a supplementary analytical tool that supports a broader, value-based legal framework rooted in the objectives of Islamic law (*maqasid al-shariah*). The academic contribution of this research lies in its proposal for an integrative model that bridges modern behavioral science and Islamic jurisprudence, offering a responsive and ethically grounded legal approach in the digital age.

**Keywords:** Big Data, Digital Behaviorism, Islamic Law, Moral

## 1. Introduction

The development of digital technology has fundamentally transformed human interaction patterns across various aspects of life,<sup>1</sup> including the manifestation of religious identity and expression. Amid the widespread use of social media platforms such as Facebook and X (formerly Twitter),<sup>2</sup> Muslim communities have shown a growing tendency to articulate their religiosity through visual and symbolic media,<sup>3</sup> including Qur'anic verses, da'wah posters, digital calligraphy, and affirmational expressions of faith.<sup>4</sup> Such digital practices not only reflect personal dimensions of religious conviction but also illustrate the social and cultural pressures that implicitly compel individuals to construct a publicly accepted and collectively affirmed religious persona in digital spaces. Within an ecosystem governed by algorithmic logic and engagement-driven mechanisms, religious acts—such as sharing prayers or commenting on

<sup>1</sup> Maxat Kurmanaliyev et al., "American and European Muslim Female Bloggers Increase Their Preaching Efforts in Social Media," *Religions* 15, no. 12 (December 6, 2024): 1485, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15121485>.

<sup>2</sup> Clare Llewellyn et al., "For Whom the Bell Tolls: Shifting Troll Behaviour in the Twitter Brexit Debate," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57, no. 5 (September 11, 2019): 1148–64, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12882>.

<sup>3</sup> Tsai-Hsuan Tsai et al., "Personality Disclosure on Social Network Sites: An Empirical Examination of Differences in Facebook Usage Behavior, Profile Contents, and Privacy Settings," *Computers in Human Behavior* 76 (November 2017): 469–82, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.08.003>.

<sup>4</sup> Rosdiana Rosdiana, Ummu Hanah Yusuf Saumin, and Masayu Mashita Maisarah, "Legitimacy on Inter-Faith Marriages: An Analysis of the Role of Religious Councils on the Legal Policy in Indonesia," *AHKAM : Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 19, no. 1 (July 9, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v19i1.11710>.

religious issues—are no longer solely motivated by authentic spiritual intention (*niyyah*), but are often co-opted by the need for social validation, digital visibility, and symbolic positioning within online communities.

Performativity in religious expression that operates digitally and interactively.<sup>5</sup> Responses to socio-religious issues—such as LGBTQ+ rights,<sup>6</sup> the Palestinian conflict, or controversial fatwas—are frequently characterized by heightened emotional intensity, rapid reaction, and sharp polarization, all facilitated and amplified by the algorithmic architecture of social media.<sup>7</sup> This interaction pattern produces an echo chamber effect, where specific ideological positions are continuously reinforced, while dissenting voices are often marginalized or silenced altogether.<sup>8</sup> In this ecosystem,<sup>9</sup> the space for deep, reflective, and theologically grounded discourse becomes increasingly narrow, replaced by populist narratives that are emotionally charged but intellectually shallow.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the shift of religious authority from traditional scholars—those with recognized *sanad* and scholarly competence—to digital influencers whose prominence derives from visual appeal and persuasive rhetoric signals an epistemic crisis in the production and distribution of religious knowledge. In such a structure, algorithms do not assess the ethical or theological validity of content but prioritize engagement and virality.

The profound influence of digital technology on religious life has exposed a critical gap in contemporary Islamic legal thought,<sup>11</sup> particularly concerning the capacity of traditional jurisprudence to engage with the spiritual and ethical dimensions of human agency within algorithmically mediated environments.<sup>12</sup> While numerous studies have documented shifts in religious behavior in the digital sphere—such as the rise of symbolic religiosity, the performative nature of piety,<sup>13</sup> and the algorithmic amplification of emotional discourse—there remains a lack of comprehensive frameworks that critically interrogate how digital systems reshape the moral architecture underlying Islamic legal responsibility. The reductionist ontology of digital behaviorism,<sup>14</sup> which views human action primarily as a function of stimulus-response conditioning,<sup>15</sup> stands in stark contrast to the foundational Islamic conception of the human being as a morally accountable agent endowed with free will,<sup>16</sup> rational capacity, and spiritual intentionality. In this context, religious acts performed in digital environments—though externally compliant—may risk losing their inner moral weight if divorced from the essential elements of *niyyah*, *'aql*, and *taqwā*. This tension calls for scholarly engagement that moves beyond surface-level observations and seeks to construct a

<sup>5</sup> Claire D. Rhodes and Craig O. Stewart, "Debating LGBT Workplace Protections in the Bible Belt: Social Identities in Legislative and Media Discourse," *Journal of Homosexuality* 63, no. 7 (July 2, 2016): 904–24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1116341>.

<sup>6</sup> Sabina Lissitsa and Nonna Kushnirovich, "Coevolution between Parasocial Interaction in Digital Media and Social Contact with LGBT People," *Journal of Homosexuality* 68, no. 14 (December 6, 2021): 2509–32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2020.1809891>.

<sup>7</sup> Helena Octavianne et al., "Identity Politics and Polarization in Contemporary Muslim Countries: The Impact of Elections, Social Media, and Global Dynamics," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 16, 2024): 263–86, <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9909>.

<sup>8</sup> Dasha Kolesnyk, Martijn G. de Jong, and Rik Pieters, "Gender Gaps in Deceptive Self-Presentation on Social-Media Platforms Vary With Gender Equality: A Multinational Investigation," *Psychological Science* 32, no. 12 (December 15, 2021): 1952–64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211016395>.

<sup>9</sup> Yifan Yang, "Bargaining with the State: The Empowerment of Chinese Sexual Minorities/LGBT in the Social Media Era," *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 118 (July 4, 2019): 662–77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2018.1557943>.

<sup>10</sup> Desy Lidya Alsha and Husni Thamrin, "Konsep Ontologi Dalam Ekonomi Islam," *Syarikat: Jurnal Rumpun Ekonomi Syariah* 4, no. 2 (December 2021): 33–42, [https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2021.vol4\(2\).8503](https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2021.vol4(2).8503).

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Downing and Richard Dron, "Tweeting Grenfell: Discourse and Networks in Critical Constructions of British Muslim Social Boundaries on Social Media," *New Media & Society* 22, no. 3 (March 26, 2020): 449–69, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819864572>.

<sup>12</sup> Sheila M.W. Reddy et al., "Advancing Conservation by Understanding and Influencing Human Behavior," *Conservation Letters* 10, no. 2 (March 2017): 248–56, <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12252>.

<sup>13</sup> Jeremy Knox, Ben Williamson, and Sian Bayne, "Machine Behaviourism: Future Visions of 'Learnification' and 'Datafication' Across Humans and Digital Technologies," *Learning, Media and Technology* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 31–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2019.1623251>.

<sup>14</sup> Dewi Rokhmah, "Ilmu Dalam Tinjauan Filsafat: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi," *CENDEKIA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 7, no. 2 SE- (2021): 172–86.

<sup>15</sup> Sulastri Caniago et al., "Gender Integration in Islamic Politics: Fiqh Siyasa on Women's Political Rights since Classical to Contemporary Interpretations," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 2024): 411–31, <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9962>.

<sup>16</sup> Desy Lidya Alsha and Husni Thamrin, "Konsep Ontologi Dalam Ekonomi Islam."

normative legal framework capable of navigating the epistemological,<sup>17</sup> ethical, and theological complexities introduced by contemporary digital culture.

This research seeks to critically examine the ontological incompatibility between digital behaviorism and the anthropological principles of Islamic law,<sup>18</sup> with specific focus on how digital ecosystems challenge the classical foundations of moral and legal responsibility in Islam. The study introduces an integrative theoretical framework rooted in the higher objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharīah*), aiming to incorporate empirical insights from digital data in a manner that remains anchored in spiritual awareness, moral reasoning, and ethical integrity. Rather than adopting a reactive posture toward emerging technological trends, this approach envisions a proactive epistemology that redefines the relationship between revelation (*wahy*), empirical knowledge, and technological mediation. The theoretical contribution of this *research* lies in its capacity to enrich contemporary Islamic legal discourse by offering a model that is both contextually responsive and theologically grounded. Practically, the study provides a foundational guide for jurists, scholars, and policymakers to engage in the formulation of Islamic legal judgments that are attuned to the evolving digital behaviors of the Muslim ummah, while remaining faithful to the core values of justice, human dignity, and divine guidance. In doing so, the research advocates a shift from mere legal formalism toward an ethically robust and spiritually conscious jurisprudence, capable of navigating the challenges of the digital age without compromising the enduring moral vision of the Sharia.

## 2. Method

This study employs a qualitative empirical approach to examine the digital behavior of Muslim communities on social media and to analyze its theoretical implications through the lens of behaviorism. The primary focus is to observe and interpret public expressions of religiosity, ethical values, and social responses by Muslim users on platforms such as Facebook and X (formerly Twitter). The research is grounded in classical behaviorism, as formulated by John B. Watson, which holds that human behavior is entirely shaped by external stimuli, excluding internal consciousness or moral reasoning. Additionally, it draws on B.F. Skinner's theory of operant conditioning, which posits that behavior is shaped through reinforcement and punishment. These concepts align with the logic of digital platforms, where user interactions are guided and amplified by algorithmic reinforcement—such as likes, retweets, and notifications—which reward specific behavioral patterns. In this context, social media becomes a behavioral environment where religious discourse and ethical behavior are continuously influenced by algorithmic responses. Big data plays a central role in this study as a means of capturing large-scale patterns of Muslim user behavior, enabling researchers to track, quantify, and interpret behavioral trends that emerge in response to digital stimuli.

Data were collected through big data analytics techniques, including text mining, keyword mapping, and sentiment analysis, to examine user interactions that reflect religious expressions, Islamic legal discourse, and moral attitudes. Data were drawn from publicly available posts, comments, and discussions by Muslim users on Facebook and X. Specialized big data tools and text analysis software were used to process large volumes of unstructured data, allowing the identification of dominant themes and behavior patterns across multiple timelines and user demographics. The analysis was conducted using content analysis and thematic analysis, with a particular focus on identifying behavioral tendencies aligned with the stimulus-response model proposed by behaviorist theory. This study does not involve direct interviews or field participation, but instead relies on digital ethnography and observation of open data, while ensuring ethical standards are upheld. Data validation was strengthened through source triangulation by comparing data from different time periods, user groups, and topical clusters. Through the integration of big data analytics and behavioral theory, this research seeks to provide a deeper

---

<sup>17</sup> Agus Salim Salabi, "Konstruksi Keilmuan Islam (Studi Pemikiran Ibnu Rusyd Tentang Ontologi Dan Epistimologi)," *ITQAN: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Kependidikan* 12, no. 1 (June 2021): 47–66, <https://doi.org/10.47766/itqan.v12i1.188>.

<sup>18</sup> Samy Ayoub, "Creativity in Continuity: Legal Treatises (Al-Rasā'il Al-Fiqhiyya) in Islamic Law," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 34, no. 3 (2023): 305–39, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etac063>.

understanding of how digital environments influence Islamic moral reasoning and to critically assess the implications of digital behaviorism for the construction of Islamic legal norms in the modern era.

### 3. Result and Discussion

#### 3.1. Algorithmic Conditioning and the Erosion of Inner Motivation in Digital Islamic Practices

The expression of religious identity among Muslim communities on digital platforms such as Facebook and X (formerly Twitter) has become increasingly shaped by visual and symbolic content. This mode of religious expression frequently involves the posting and circulation of Qur'anic verses, supplications (*du'ā*), religious aphorisms, digital calligraphy, and da'wah-oriented posters that visually articulate moral values or theological assertions. Such content operates simultaneously as a form of personal devotion and as a public affirmation of religious belonging, reflecting a broader shift toward symbolic religiosity within digital behavior.<sup>19</sup> The performative nature of these visual expressions contributes to the construction of a digital religious self—curated not solely for spiritual introspection but also for social recognition and communal affirmation. These patterns can be quantitatively tracked through algorithmic mapping tools that capture trends such as the frequency of religious hashtags, surges in activity during Islamic observances like Ramadan, and the proliferation of symbolic imagery in response to transnational Muslim solidarity events.<sup>20</sup> Far from being random, these symbolic practices represent a form of digital ritualization, wherein identity formation,<sup>21</sup> religious reaffirmation, and collective emotional engagement are enacted in highly visible and affectively charged ways. This digital religiosity reflects a complex interplay between piety, performance, and platform, raising important questions about how religious meaning is mediated, amplified, and sometimes transformed through algorithm-driven ecosystems.

When confronted with contemporary socio-religious controversies—such as the LGBTQ+ rights movement,<sup>22</sup> the protracted conflict in Palestine,<sup>23</sup> or disputed Islamic legal rulings (fatwas)—Muslim users on social media tend to exhibit heightened emotional reactivity,<sup>24</sup> often characterized by immediacy, intensity, and binary polarization.<sup>25</sup> These reactions frequently unfold in real-time and follow a distinct pattern of affective mobilization that is shaped and accelerated by the technological affordances of social media platforms. Algorithmic amplification ensures that highly reactive content—whether outrage, condemnation, or fervent support—rises rapidly to prominence, generating emotional contagion across digital networks. This dynamic fosters a discursive space where reasoned debate and theological nuance are often supplanted by simplified moral binaries, groupthink, and emotionally charged narratives. The visibility of issues and the virality of responses create an echo chamber effect in which certain ideological standpoints are continuously reinforced, while dissenting voices are either marginalized or silenced. The speed and volume of engagement with these issues often preclude careful verification, critical reflection, or contextual understanding, resulting in the formation of hyper-reactive communities that respond to triggers more than principles. Thus, the digital manifestation of Muslim religiosity in these moments is

<sup>19</sup> Alden LeGrand Richards, "Burrhus F. Skinner: Beyond Freedom and Dignity," in *Hauptwerke Der Pädagogik* (Brill | Schöningh, 2009), 419–21, [https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657768387\\_161](https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657768387_161).

<sup>20</sup> Steven Buchanan and Zamzam Husain, "The Social Media Use of Muslim Women in the Arabian Peninsula: Insights into Self-Protective Information Behaviours," *Journal of Documentation* 78, no. 4 (May 30, 2022): 817–34, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-07-2021-0136>.

<sup>21</sup> Rosemary Pennington, "Social Media as Third Spaces? Exploring Muslim Identity and Connection on Tumblr," *International Communication Gazette* 80, no. 7 (November 26, 2018): 620–36, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518802208>.

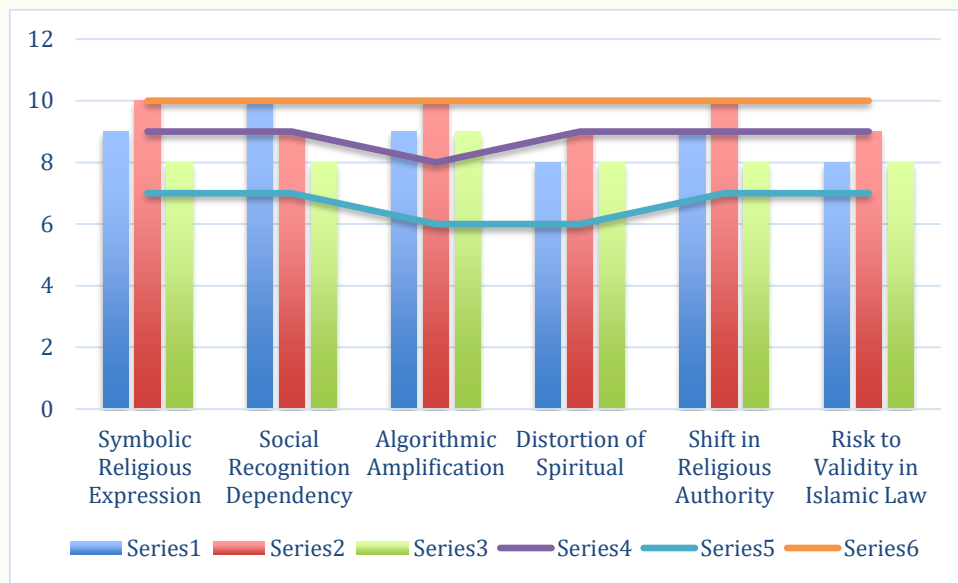
<sup>22</sup> Yulin Hsuen et al., "Investigating Inequities in Hospital Care Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals Using Social Media," *Social Science & Medicine* 215 (October 2018): 92–97, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.08.031>.

<sup>23</sup> Muna Ahmead, Nida Hamamadeh, and Issa abu Iram, "The Effects of Internet and Social Media Use on the Work Performance of Physicians and Nurses at Workplaces in Palestine," *BMC Health Services Research* 22, no. 1 (December 12, 2022): 633, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-022-07934-2>.

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Ayub Buzdar et al., "Effects of Religious Orientations on the Prevalence of Social Media Disorder Among Muslim University Students in Pakistan," *Journal of Religion and Health* 59, no. 6 (December 14, 2020): 3247–56, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-019-00915-6>.

<sup>25</sup> Mahmoud Yasin, Lucia Porcu, and Francisco Liébana-Cabanillas, "Looking into the Islamic Banking Sector in Palestine: Do Religious Values Influence Active Social Media Engagement Behavior?," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 12, no. 9 (July 29, 2020): 1801–19, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2019-0201>.

not only informed by theological concern but also by affective responses conditioned by the logics of digital capitalism, where emotional labor becomes currency, and outrage is often rewarded with visibility.



**Figure 1.** Digital Symbolic Expression and Religious Authenticity

The first table illustrates how symbolic religious expressions on digital platforms—such as the sharing of Qur’anic verses, digital calligraphy, and da’wah posters—exhibit a consistently high intensity in terms of dependency on social recognition and algorithmic amplification, with most scores ranging from 8 to 10. This demonstrates that religious expression is no longer rooted solely in spiritual intention (*niyyah*) and devotional introspection, but is increasingly driven by the pursuit of digital validation and public engagement. Ontologically, this trend reduces the sacred value of worship—which in Islam is deeply contingent on inner sincerity, spiritual awareness, and ethical integrity—into a performative act measurable by amoral algorithmic systems. The implications for Islamic legal reasoning are severe: the shift of religious authority from traditionally trained scholars with legitimate *sanad* (chains of scholarly transmission) to popular digital figures who lack theological grounding leads to epistemic distortion in fatwa issuance and religious guidance. Core *maqāṣid* (higher objectives of Islamic law)—such as the preservation of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), intellect (*ḥifẓ al-‘aql*), and dignity (*ḥifẓ al-‘ird*)—are undermined when digital religiosity is shaped more by virality than by spiritual depth. This poses a real threat to the integrity of legal reasoning in Islam, as digital systems are inherently incapable of evaluating the sincerity or spiritual motivation that underpin individual accountability (*taklīf*) within Islamic jurisprudence.

Beneath the expressive and reactive dimensions of online religious behavior lies a deeper structural mechanism: the algorithmic conditioning of user behavior through stimulus-response loops that closely mirror the psychological model of operant conditioning. The architecture of social media platforms is designed to reward certain forms of interaction—likes, shares, comments,<sup>26</sup> retweets—with immediate feedback and social recognition,<sup>27</sup> creating habitual engagement cycles that gradually shape the contours of digital religiosity. In this model, religious content is not only consumed but also continuously produced and reproduced in response to algorithmically determined visibility metrics, where emotionally resonant and highly interactive posts are prioritized. The repetitive exposure to certain types of religious stimuli, such as motivational Qur’anic verses or urgent calls for solidarity, trains users to associate religious engagement with digital affirmation, thereby reinforcing patterns of performative piety. Over time, this

<sup>26</sup> Huanlin Li, Ziyang Xie, and Jisu Kim, “Can Social Media Be a Place for Women? Effects of Aggressive Comments on User Engagement in Collective Action for Gender Equality in China,” *Asian Communication Research* 21, no. 1 (April 30, 2024): 107–28, <https://doi.org/10.20879/acr.2024.21.006>.

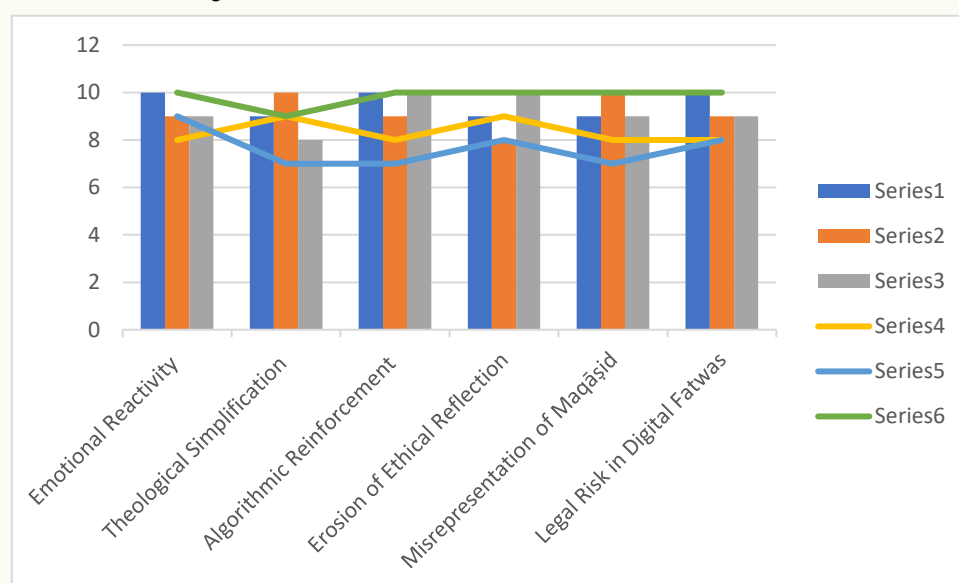
<sup>27</sup> Y. Sonafist, “Configuration the Thought of Islamic Law Throught Social Media in Indonesia,” *International Journal of Law and Society (IJLS)* 1, no. 2 (August 12, 2022): 125–43, <https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v1i2.21>.



results in the internalization of a digital religious habitus—an embodied disposition that guides how religious identity is expressed, what kinds of content are considered ‘authentic’ or ‘effective,’ and how communal belonging is validated. Importantly, this habitus is not merely a reflection of personal belief but is deeply shaped by the platform’s incentive structures and attention economies. Algorithms act as invisible curators that filter, rank, and present religious content, subtly directing users toward certain behaviors and away from others, effectively transforming spiritual experience into a form of behavioral conditioning. In this sense, religious practice in digital environments becomes increasingly detached from traditional modalities of learning and spiritual introspection and more entangled with digital rhythms, gamified feedback loops, and performative economies of affect.

**The Tendency Toward Moral Reduction in Mass Religious Responses in Digital Spaces**

In the evolving landscape of religious practice within digital spaces,<sup>28</sup> there is an observable tendency toward moral reductionism, in which religious acts are increasingly driven not by sincere spiritual intention (*niyyah*) but by social expectations, collective norms, and peer pressure within online environments. Acts such as posting prayers, sharing verses from the Qur’an, or participating in viral religious campaigns are often performed not as personal spiritual commitments but as responses to communal demands or as strategies to avoid social exclusion. This signifies a profound shift in religious motivation—from an internal, contemplative orientation to an external, performative one, in which faith expression is increasingly influenced by the aesthetics of visibility,<sup>29</sup> the pursuit of social affirmation, and the gamified logic of digital engagement. In this context, religion is no longer merely a spiritual path but also a social instrument to build digital persona, increase engagement metrics, and gain symbolic recognition through “likes,”<sup>30</sup> comments, and follower growth.<sup>31</sup> Such dynamics raise serious questions about the authenticity of religious expression in the digital age and how algorithmic structures condition religious habitus that prioritizes visible actions over inward sincerity and ethical depth. The ritualization of digital religiosity, thus, risks reducing profound acts of faith into performative behaviors shaped by the logic of virality, attention economies, and algorithmic incentives.



**Figure 2.** Emotional Response to Ethical Reduction on Social Media

<sup>28</sup> Al Munip, “Ilmu Dalam Tinjauan Filsafat: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi,” *Al-Aulia: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 10, no. 1 (June 2024): 49–58, <https://doi.org/10.46963/aulia.v10i1.1875>.

<sup>29</sup> Saeid Dehyadegari et al., “Investigating the Role of Social Media Influencers on the Online Buying Behavior of Hijab Clothing by Women in Iran,” *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, May 6, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2024-0489>.

<sup>30</sup> Jens Mattke et al., “Herd Behavior in Social Media: The Role of Facebook Likes, Strength of Ties, and Expertise,” *Information & Management* 57, no. 8 (December 2020): 103370, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2020.103370>.

<sup>31</sup> Nasya Bahfen, “The Individual and the Ummah : The Use of Social Media by Muslim Minority Communities in Australia and the United States,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 119–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2018.1434939>.

The second table highlights how Muslim users on social media respond to controversial socio-religious issues—such as the LGBTQ+ rights movement,<sup>32</sup> the conflict in Palestine,<sup>33</sup> or disputed fatwas—with extremely high levels of emotional intensity, as reflected in scores of 9 and 10 in categories like “Emotional Reactivity” and “Algorithmic Reinforcement.” These scores indicate that digital religious responses are primarily driven by collective affect and algorithmic incentives that prioritize emotionally charged content over deep theological reflection. This results in widespread theological simplification, where nuanced *ijtihād* (legal reasoning) is supplanted by binary narratives—halal versus haram, believer versus disbeliever—fueled by outrage and identity politics.<sup>34</sup> The erosion of ethical reflection and the misrepresentation of *maqāṣid* create a discursive environment where legal and moral deliberation is often bypassed in favor of sensationalism and groupthink. In such settings, digital fatwas or religious positions that gain prominence are often shaped not by jurisprudential soundness but by popularity metrics and visibility. This presents a grave risk for Islamic legal authority: the possibility of issuing or legitimizing religious rulings without considering intention (*niyyah*), contextual understanding, or moral consequences, which are fundamental to Islamic legal theory. Hence, this condition necessitates the urgent development of an Islamic legal framework capable of critically distinguishing between authentic religious engagement and algorithmically-driven performative acts,<sup>35</sup> reinforcing the need for jurists and scholars to reclaim religious authority from the logics of virality while remaining committed to the principles of divine guidance, justice, and spiritual accountability.

One of the most critical consequences of digital transformation in religious life is the shift of religious authority from traditional scholars with formal training in Islamic sciences to popular Muslim digital influencers, many of whom lack substantive educational backgrounds in religious disciplines.<sup>36</sup> These influencers have come to dominate public religious discourse by leveraging persuasive rhetoric, visually engaging content, and an ability to frame Islamic issues in emotionally appealing and easily digestible formats. Their authority is no longer based on scholarly merit or established chains of knowledge (*sanad*), but on the dynamics of visibility, virality, and emotional resonance. As a result, the fatwa process and religious guidance are increasingly shaped not by careful jurisprudential reasoning but by popularity metrics, shareability, and algorithmic reach. This shift marks a departure from the classical model of religious authority rooted in deliberative and contextual interpretation toward a media-driven model based on sensationalism and marketability. In many cases, the religious messages conveyed by these figures tend to be oversimplified, decontextualized, and occasionally problematic, often lacking the depth required to address the complexities of Islamic law (*fiqh*) or the higher objectives of the Sharia (*maqāṣid al-sharīah*). The discourse thus becomes shallow and sentiment-driven, undermining the intellectual rigor of traditional religious thought. Over time, the public’s trust subtly shifts from established scholars to algorithmically elevated figures whose authority is constructed not by scholarly validation but by digital performance, signaling a fundamental epistemic reconfiguration of how Islamic authority is perceived and legitimized in the digital age.

The phenomenon of digitalizing religious life not only reconfigures sources of authority but also reveals a fundamental limitation of digital systems in capturing the internal dimensions that are central to Islamic ethics and jurisprudence. Within Islamic legal theory, intention (*niyyah*) plays a pivotal role in determining both the validity of acts of worship and the legal accountability of individual actions. However, digital

---

<sup>32</sup> Kolesnyk, de Jong, and Pieters, “Gender Gaps in Deceptive Self-Presentation on Social-Media Platforms Vary With Gender Equality: A Multinational Investigation.”

<sup>33</sup> Tharwat Arafat and Bilal Hamamra, “Word Elongation as an Audience-Design Strategy in Social Media Marketing in Palestine,” *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 9, no. 1 (December 31, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2116772>.

<sup>34</sup> Gregory Eady et al., “Exposure to the Russian Internet Research Agency Foreign Influence Campaign on Twitter in the 2016 US Election and Its Relationship to Attitudes and Voting Behavior,” *Nature Communications* 14, no. 1 (January 9, 2023): 62, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-022-35576-9>.

<sup>35</sup> Anton Törnberg and Petter Törnberg, “Muslims in Social Media Discourse: Combining Topic Modeling and Critical Discourse Analysis,” *Discourse, Context & Media* 13 (September 2016): 132–42, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2016.04.003>.

<sup>36</sup> Ruta Kaskelėviciute, Helena Knupfer, and Jörg Matthes, “I Stand Up for Us’: Muslims’ Feelings of Stigmatization in Response to Terrorism on Social Media,” *New Media & Society* 27, no. 7 (July 22, 2025): 4285–4307, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448241236712>.

systems—by design—operate on the basis of measurable, external data such as clicks,<sup>37</sup> posts, and interactions, without the capacity to detect or evaluate the spiritual or moral motivations behind those actions. In this context, the system cannot distinguish between a sincerely motivated religious post and one driven by the desire for online popularity or praise. This epistemic void creates a deep disjuncture between the normative foundations of Islamic legal and ethical reasoning, which are rooted in inward sincerity and moral deliberation, and the technological logic of digital platforms, which privileges quantifiability, externality, and algorithmic optimization. As a result, digital environments risk shaping religious behavior that conforms externally to Islamic norms but lacks the internal moral grounding essential to Islamic accountability. Over time, this may foster a form of religiosity that is ethically hollow—where outward religious acts continue, but the spiritual consciousness that traditionally underpins them is diminished or absent. Therefore, a critical reflection is urgently needed to examine how technological systems shape our understanding, judgment, and practice of religion, so that digitalization does not reduce faith to mere content, stripped of its ethical and spiritual core.

### 3.2. Integrating Islamic Law and Digital Realities in Islamic Legal Reasoning

Digital behaviorism, as it manifests through algorithmic engagement and user interaction patterns in online platforms, operates on an ontological assumption that human beings are primarily reactive entities—driven by stimuli and conditioned responses,<sup>38</sup> devoid of deeper metaphysical dimensions such as free will, moral conscience, or spiritual intentionality. This reductionist view is fundamentally incompatible with Islamic theological anthropology, particularly the concept of *taklīf*, which places moral and legal responsibility upon the individual based on their capacity for reason (*‘aql*), intention (*niyyah*), and freedom of choice. In Islam, humans are not automatons responding to environmental triggers but are morally accountable agents entrusted with divine commands and prohibitions precisely because of their internal deliberative faculties. The Qur’an repeatedly affirms the role of human intentionality and conscious decision-making as prerequisites for moral accountability, a principle that stands in stark contrast to the behaviorist assumption that behavior is primarily a function of external reinforcement. By ignoring the soul (*rūḥ*), consciousness, and intention, digital behaviorism effectively erases the very qualities that justify legal responsibility in Islamic law.

Algorithmic systems that govern digital platforms are fundamentally amoral; they do not possess ethical reasoning, nor are they designed to evaluate the moral content of information. Instead, algorithms are optimized to maximize engagement by reinforcing content that is popular, emotionally stimulating, and behaviorally predictable. This creates a structural tendency toward the amplification of the most clickable, shareable, or controversial religious content—regardless of its theological soundness or ethical consequences. As a result, public responses to religious issues are increasingly shaped not by reflective moral reasoning or sound jurisprudential principles, but by the immediate visibility and virality of content in algorithmically mediated spaces. This dynamic leads to a dangerous form of moral reductionism, where complex theological debates are flattened into polarizing hashtags, and ethical deliberation is replaced by emotional reaction. Users are subtly conditioned to respond based on the emotional charge of a post rather than its epistemic or moral integrity. Furthermore, the viral nature of algorithmic logic allows manipulative actors—whether ideological extremists or opportunistic influencers—to hijack religious discourse by tailoring content that exploits identity politics,<sup>39</sup> fear, or outrage. In such an environment, Islamic ethics becomes vulnerable to distortion, with the moral depth of *akhlaq*, *adab*, and *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* overshadowed by algorithmic imperatives that privilege scale over sincerity, speed over wisdom, and popularity over truth.

<sup>37</sup> Dwi Novita et al., “Family Conflict Disclosure on Social Media in Islamic Law: Islah as a Reconciliation Mechanism,” *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, no. 1 (May 1, 2025): 443–58, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v10i1.12658>.

<sup>38</sup> John B. Watson, “Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It,” *Psychological Review* 20, no. 2 (March 1913): 158–77, <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0074428>.

<sup>39</sup> Christopher A. Bail et al., “Assessing the Russian Internet Research Agency’s Impact on the Political Attitudes and Behaviors of American Twitter Users in Late 2017,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117, no. 1 (January 7, 2020): 243–50, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1906420116>.



The growing interest in integrating digital data into Islamic legal reasoning presents significant epistemological and ethical challenges, especially when such data is treated as a definitive basis for legal judgments without proper attention to intention, context, and moral discernment. In classical Islamic jurisprudence, the application of legal rulings—particularly in matters involving *hudūd* (fixed punishments) or *diyāt* (blood compensation)—is intricately tied to the ascertainment of personal intention, moral culpability, and evidentiary standards that go beyond mere outward behavior. If digital traces—such as online posts, viewing history, or algorithmically generated behavior patterns—are accepted uncritically as legal evidence, the result could be the distortion of justice, especially when these traces fail to capture the spiritual and psychological dimensions required for valid legal application. For example, deriving legal punishment from an individual's online interaction without verifying *niyyah* or psychological state could lead to grave miscarriages of justice, undermining both the ethical foundations and procedural integrity of Islamic law. Moreover, digital systems lack the capacity to distinguish between sincere religious action and performative behavior driven by social media dynamics.<sup>40</sup> The potential for misapplication is particularly alarming in an age where data can be manipulated,<sup>41</sup> fabricated, or decontextualized, and where algorithms often misrepresent user intent through predictive modeling that ignores individual complexity.

In the contemporary digital era, the exponential growth of big data has enabled unprecedented access to patterns of human behavior, social trends, and cultural preferences. These data streams offer valuable insights for social sciences, policymaking, and even aspects of religious studies by enabling scholars to analyze the behaviors of Muslim communities across digital platforms.<sup>42</sup> However, while empirical data can inform the context in which Islamic law operates, it cannot and should not replace the foundational sources and values of Islamic legal reasoning—namely revelation (*wahy*), reason (*‘aql*), and the higher objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*). Islamic jurisprudence rests not merely on observable actions but on a metaphysical and ethical framework that considers divine command, spiritual intention, and moral responsibility. Empirical trends, while descriptive, are incapable of issuing normative judgments without being filtered through this sacred epistemology. The overreliance on data, especially when detached from these foundational principles, risks turning Islamic law into a reactive system that follows societal patterns rather than guiding them based on divine wisdom. In this light, the role of the jurist is not simply to quantify behavior,<sup>43</sup> but to interpret and evaluate it in light of enduring values such as justice (*‘adl*), mercy (*raḥmah*), public interest (*maṣlaḥah*), and human dignity (*karāmah insāniyyah*).

The increasing digitization of human life has brought about the urgent need for a more adaptive and dynamic epistemology within Islamic legal theory—one that neither rejects the realities of digital existence nor compromises the spiritual and moral essence of Islamic teachings. While classical jurisprudence provides robust tools for analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), public interest (*istiḥsān*, *maṣlaḥah mursalah*), and contextual interpretation (*ijtihād*), the emergence of digital behavior, virtual interactions, and algorithmic influence presents new dimensions of human experience that were previously unimaginable. These developments call for a conscious expansion of the epistemological framework within which *fiqh* operates—one that integrates digital data as complementary input, not as a replacement for theological and ethical inquiry. A forward-looking jurisprudence must explore how digital actions are shaped by complex systems of influence, including algorithms, platform design, and data surveillance, while also maintaining a commitment to inner intention, moral deliberation, and human accountability as foundational criteria for legal assessment. This requires jurists and scholars to engage not only with traditional texts and jurisprudential principles but also with contemporary technologies, sociological

<sup>40</sup> Laura J. Olson, "Negotiating Meaning Through Costume and Social Media in Bulgarian Muslims' Communities of Practice," *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 4 (July 20, 2017): 560–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1303470>.

<sup>41</sup> Andrej Duh, Marjan Slak Rupnik, and Dean Korošak, "Collective Behavior of Social Bots Is Encoded in Their Temporal Twitter Activity," *Big Data* 6, no. 2 (June 2018): 113–23, <https://doi.org/10.1089/big.2017.0041>.

<sup>42</sup> Darmawati Hanafi, Sabara Sabara, and Patimah Patimah, "Social Media Usage Deviation and Impact on Muslim Family Dynamics in Makassar City, South Sulawesi," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (August 24, 2024): 1597, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.24113>.

<sup>43</sup> Llewellyn et al., "For Whom the Bell Tolls: Shifting Troll Behaviour in the Twitter Brexit Debate."

insights, and interdisciplinary tools that can enrich legal understanding without undermining Islamic spirituality. The epistemological shift must ensure that human dignity and divine purpose are not sacrificed at the altar of efficiency or empirical reductionism.

The proposed model of Islamic legal reasoning must move beyond reactive responses to digital trends or blanket rejections of technological advancements. Instead, it should establish a proactive and integrative framework that synthesizes the higher objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharīah*), contemporary sociological data, and spiritual consciousness into a coherent legal methodology. This model should acknowledge the value of empirical insights—such as patterns of online engagement, public sentiment, and digital harms—as meaningful indicators for assessing public interest and informing context-sensitive legal judgments. However, such data must be interpreted through a normative Islamic lens that prioritizes human dignity, moral accountability, and social justice. Achieving this requires interdisciplinary collaboration among Islamic jurists, sociologists, data scientists, and ethicists to develop methodologies that remain faithful to sacred sources while being responsive to the complexities of the digital era. Central to this framework is the reaffirmation that Islamic law is not a static system, but a dynamic and principled tradition capable of addressing novel challenges through a flexible hermeneutic grounded in divine guidance and the pursuit of human welfare. By embedding digital data within a *maqāṣid*-oriented legal structure, Islamic jurisprudence can offer holistic responses that are not only technologically attuned but also ethically consistent and spiritually meaningful. This vision calls for a paradigmatic shift—from defensive legalism to proactive moral leadership—ensuring that the Sharia continues to guide the Muslim community with wisdom,<sup>44</sup> compassion, and relevance in an era of rapid technological transformation.

## 4. Conclusion

The conclusion of this research reveals that digital religious behavior among Muslim communities is increasingly shaped by algorithmic forces that incentivize visibility, virality, and emotional resonance over sincerity, depth, and ethical reflection. Through a critical analysis of online Islamic expressions—ranging from symbolic acts such as posting Qur’anic verses and da’wah posters to emotionally reactive responses to socio-religious controversies—this study has demonstrated that digital platforms encourage patterns of performative religiosity that are conditioned by the logic of engagement metrics rather than theological deliberation. The ontological assumptions embedded in digital behaviorism, which reduce human behavior to stimulus-response patterns, stand in stark contrast to Islamic theological anthropology that emphasizes human agency, free will, and moral accountability. Furthermore, the algorithmic structures that curate and amplify religious content on platforms like Facebook and X (formerly Twitter) often fail to account for the spiritual intentionality (*niyyah*) and moral reasoning that are essential to the validity of religious acts in Islam. These dynamics pose serious challenges for Islamic legal reasoning, especially when digital traces are misused as definitive evidence in contexts that demand nuanced understanding of intention, culpability, and ethical context. The research underscores the epistemological and normative gaps that arise when Islamic jurisprudence is uncritically applied within algorithmically driven digital environments, where spiritual dimensions are either obscured or instrumentalized for social capital.

The study calls for the development of an integrative and context-aware legal methodology that aligns the foundational principles of Islamic law—such as *maqāṣid al-sharīah*, justice (*‘adl*), and human dignity—with emerging digital realities. The research contributes theoretically by proposing a paradigm that places empirical digital data in dialogue with sacred Islamic epistemologies, thereby avoiding both reactive legalism and uncritical techno-optimism. Practically, it offers a framework for scholars, jurists, and digital ethicists to engage collaboratively in designing legal responses that are not only technologically literate but also spiritually grounded and ethically robust. While the study presents a comprehensive theoretical approach, it acknowledges several limitations, particularly in empirical scope and in the rapidly evolving

---

<sup>44</sup> Ülker Sözen, "Young Muslims in the Malady of Love: Preaching and Digital Intimate Publics on Turkish Social Media," *Turkish Studies*, March 27, 2025, 1–28, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2025.2483767>.

nature of digital platforms, which demand continual reassessment. Future research is recommended to further explore interdisciplinary collaborations between Islamic legal scholars and data scientists, with a focus on developing tools and methodologies that can assess digital religiosity without compromising core theological values. Such an approach would ensure that Islamic law remains a living, adaptive, and morally resilient system that can navigate the challenges of digital modernity while upholding its commitment to divine guidance, human welfare, and ethical clarity.

## Declarations

### Author Contribution Statement

Firdaus Arifin contributed to the conception and design of the study, data collection, and the initial drafting of the manuscript. Deni Fadly was responsible for the literature review, theoretical framework development, and critical revision of the content. Habibul Akhiar handled data analysis, interpretation of the findings, and provided methodological input. Damarkunsi Majasius and Sri Rahmadhani contributed to the validation of results, final editing, and overall supervision of the research process. All authors have read and approved the final manuscript.

### Funding Statement

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

### Data Availability Statement

The authors declare that there are no known financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the conduct or findings of this research.

### Declaration of Interests Statement

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have influenced the work reported in this paper. If any potential conflicts of interest exist, they will be disclosed transparently.

### Additional Information

Correspondence and requests for materials should be addressed to [denifadly.01061978@gmail.com](mailto:denifadly.01061978@gmail.com)

### ORCID

Firdaus Arifin  <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-8442-7196>

Deni Fadly  <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-1974-3326>

Habibul Akhiar  <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-5466-8784>

Damarkunsi Majasius  <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-8617-5419>

Sri Rahmadhani  <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-6528-9753>

### References

- Ahmead, Muna, Nida Hamamadeh, and Issa abu Iram. "The Effects of Internet and Social Media Use on the Work Performance of Physicians and Nurses at Workplaces in Palestine." *BMC Health Services Research* 22, no. 1 (December 12, 2022): 633. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-022-07934-2>.
- Arafat, Tharwat, and Bilal Hamamra. "Word Elongation as an Audience-Design Strategy in Social Media Marketing in Palestine." *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 9, no. 1 (December 31, 2022). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2116772>.
- Ayoub, Samy. "Creativity in Continuity: Legal Treatises (Al-Rasā'il Al-Fiqhiyya) in Islamic Law." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 34, no. 3 (2023): 305–39. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etac063>.
- Bahfen, Nasya. "The Individual and the Ummah : The Use of Social Media by Muslim Minority

- Communities in Australia and the United States." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 119–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2018.1434939>.
- Bail, Christopher A., Brian Guay, Emily Maloney, Aidan Combs, D. Sunshine Hillygus, Friedolin Merhout, Deen Freelon, and Alexander Volfovsky. "Assessing the Russian Internet Research Agency's Impact on the Political Attitudes and Behaviors of American Twitter Users in Late 2017." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117, no. 1 (January 7, 2020): 243–50. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1906420116>.
- Buchanan, Steven, and Zamzam Husain. "The Social Media Use of Muslim Women in the Arabian Peninsula: Insights into Self-Protective Information Behaviours." *Journal of Documentation* 78, no. 4 (May 30, 2022): 817–34. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-07-2021-0136>.
- Buzdar, Muhammad Ayub, Mohammad Nadeem, Tahseen Fatima, and Bushra Naoreen. "Effects of Religious Orientations on the Prevalence of Social Media Disorder Among Muslim University Students in Pakistan." *Journal of Religion and Health* 59, no. 6 (December 14, 2020): 3247–56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-019-00915-6>.
- Dehyadegari, Saeid, Faezeh Nekuie, Mohammad Mehdi Poursaeed, and Zahra Pourjoupri. "Investigating the Role of Social Media Influencers on the Online Buying Behavior of Hijab Clothing by Women in Iran." *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, May 6, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2024-0489>.
- Desy Lidya Alsha, and Husni Thamrin. "Konsep Ontologi Dalam Ekonomi Islam." *Syarikat: Jurnal Rumpun Ekonomi Syariah* 4, no. 2 (December 2021): 33–42. [https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2021.vol4\(2\).8503](https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2021.vol4(2).8503).
- Downing, Joseph, and Richard Dron. "Tweeting Grenfell: Discourse and Networks in Critical Constructions of British Muslim Social Boundaries on Social Media." *New Media & Society* 22, no. 3 (March 26, 2020): 449–69. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819864572>.
- Duh, Andrej, Marjan Slak Rupnik, and Dean Korošak. "Collective Behavior of Social Bots Is Encoded in Their Temporal Twitter Activity." *Big Data* 6, no. 2 (June 2018): 113–23. <https://doi.org/10.1089/big.2017.0041>.
- Eady, Gregory, Tom Paskhalis, Jan Zilinsky, Richard Bonneau, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua A. Tucker. "Exposure to the Russian Internet Research Agency Foreign Influence Campaign on Twitter in the 2016 US Election and Its Relationship to Attitudes and Voting Behavior." *Nature Communications* 14, no. 1 (January 9, 2023): 62. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-022-35576-9>.
- Hanafi, Darmawati, Sabara Sabara, and Patimah Patimah. "Social Media Usage Deviation and Impact on Muslim Family Dynamics in Makassar City, South Sulawesi." *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 8, no. 3 (August 24, 2024): 1597. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.24113>.
- Helena Octavianne, Fendy Suhariadi, Mohammad Fakhruddin Mudzakkir, Donny Trianto, and Umar Chamdan. "Identity Politics and Polarization in Contemporary Muslim Countries: The Impact of Elections, Social Media, and Global Dynamics." *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 16, 2024): 263–86. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9909>.
- Hswen, Yulin, Kara C. Sewalk, Emily Alsentzer, Gaurav Tuli, John S. Brownstein, and Jared B. Hawkins. "Investigating Inequities in Hospital Care Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Individuals Using Social Media." *Social Science & Medicine* 215 (October 2018): 92–97. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.08.031>.
- Kaskeleviciute, Ruta, Helena Knupfer, and Jörg Matthes. "'I Stand Up for Us': Muslims' Feelings of Stigmatization in Response to Terrorism on Social Media." *New Media & Society* 27, no. 7 (July 22, 2025): 4285–4307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448241236712>.
- Knox, Jeremy, Ben Williamson, and Sian Bayne. "Machine Behaviourism: Future Visions of 'Learnification' and 'Datafication' Across Humans and Digital Technologies." *Learning, Media and Technology* 45, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 31–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2019.1623251>.
- Kolesnyk, Dasha, Martijn G. de Jong, and Rik Pieters. "Gender Gaps in Deceptive Self-Presentation on Social-Media Platforms Vary With Gender Equality: A Multinational Investigation." *Psychological Science* 32, no. 12 (December 15, 2021): 1952–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211016395>.

- Kurmanaliyev, Maxat, Shamshadin Kerim, Aliy Almukhametov, and Temur Amankul. "American and European Muslim Female Bloggers Increase Their Preaching Efforts in Social Media." *Religions* 15, no. 12 (December 6, 2024): 1485. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15121485>.
- Li, Huanlin, Ziyang Xie, and Jisu Kim. "Can Social Media Be a Place for Women? Effects of Aggressive Comments on User Engagement in Collective Action for Gender Equality in China." *Asian Communication Research* 21, no. 1 (April 30, 2024): 107–28. <https://doi.org/10.20879/acr.2024.21.006>.
- Lissitsa, Sabina, and Nonna Kushnirovich. "Coevolution between Parasocial Interaction in Digital Media and Social Contact with LGBT People." *Journal of Homosexuality* 68, no. 14 (December 6, 2021): 2509–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2020.1809891>.
- Llewellyn, Clare, Laura Cram, Robin L. Hill, and Adrian Favero. "For Whom the Bell Tolls: Shifting Troll Behaviour in the Twitter Brexit Debate." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57, no. 5 (September 11, 2019): 1148–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12882>.
- Mattke, Jens, Christian Maier, Lea Reis, and Tim Weitzel. "Herd Behavior in Social Media: The Role of Facebook Likes, Strength of Ties, and Expertise." *Information & Management* 57, no. 8 (December 2020): 103370. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2020.103370>.
- Munip, Al. "Ilmu Dalam Tinjauan Filsafat: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi." *Al-Aulia: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 10, no. 1 (June 2024): 49–58. <https://doi.org/10.46963/aulia.v10i1.1875>.
- Novita, Dwi, Mohamad Sar'an, Asep Ahmad Ridwansah, Suharyono Suharyono, and Hamdan Ardiansyah. "Family Conflict Disclosure on Social Media in Islamic Law: Islah as a Reconciliation Mechanism." *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 10, no. 1 (May 1, 2025): 443–58. <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v10i1.12658>.
- Olson, Laura J. "Negotiating Meaning Through Costume and Social Media in Bulgarian Muslims' Communities of Practice." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 4 (July 20, 2017): 560–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1303470>.
- Pennington, Rosemary. "Social Media as Third Spaces? Exploring Muslim Identity and Connection on Tumblr." *International Communication Gazette* 80, no. 7 (November 26, 2018): 620–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518802208>.
- Reddy, Sheila M.W., Jensen Montambault, Yuta J. Masuda, Elizabeth Keenan, William Butler, Jonathan R.B. Fisher, Stanley T. Asah, and Ayelet Gneezy. "Advancing Conservation by Understanding and Influencing Human Behavior." *Conservation Letters* 10, no. 2 (March 2017): 248–56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12252>.
- Rhodes, Claire D., and Craig O. Stewart. "Debating LGBT Workplace Protections in the Bible Belt: Social Identities in Legislative and Media Discourse." *Journal of Homosexuality* 63, no. 7 (July 2, 2016): 904–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1116341>.
- Richards, Alden LeGrand. "Burrhus F. Skinner: Beyond Freedom and Dignity." In *Hauptwerke Der Pädagogik*, 419–21. Brill | Schöningh, 2009. [https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657768387\\_161](https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657768387_161).
- Rokhmah, Dewi. "Ilmu Dalam Tinjauan Filsafat: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi." *CENDEKIA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 7, no. 2 SE- (2021): 172–86.
- Rosdiana, Rosdiana, Ummu Hanah Yusuf Saumin, and Masayu Mashita Maisarah. "Legitimacy on Inter-Faith Marriages: An Analysis of the Role of Religious Councils on the Legal Policy in Indonesia." *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 19, no. 1 (July 9, 2019). <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v19i1.11710>.
- Salabi, Agus Salim. "Konstruksi Keilmuan Islam (Studi Pemikiran Ibnu Rusyd Tentang Ontologi Dan Epistimologi)." *ITQAN: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Kependidikan* 12, no. 1 (June 2021): 47–66. <https://doi.org/10.47766/itqan.v12i1.188>.
- Sonafist, Y. "Configuration the Thought of Islamic Law Throught Social Media in Indonesia." *International Journal of Law and Society (IJLS)* 1, no. 2 (August 12, 2022): 125–43. <https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v1i2.21>.
- Sözen, Ülker. "Young Muslims in the Malady of Love: Preaching and Digital Intimate Publics on Turkish Social Media." *Turkish Studies*, March 27, 2025, 1–28.



<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2025.2483767>.

- Sulastri Caniago, Firdaus, Zainal Azwar, Dian Pertiwi, and Dasrizal Marah Nainin. "Gender Integration in Islamic Politics: Fiqh Siyasah on Women's Political Rights since Classical to Contemporary Interpretations." *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 2024): 411–31. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9962>.
- Törnberg, Anton, and Petter Törnberg. "Muslims in Social Media Discourse: Combining Topic Modeling and Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse, Context & Media* 13 (September 2016): 132–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2016.04.003>.
- Tsai, Tsai-Hsuan, Hsien-Tsung Chang, Ya-Ching Chang, and Yung-Sheng Chang. "Personality Disclosure on Social Network Sites: An Empirical Examination of Differences in Facebook Usage Behavior, Profile Contents, and Privacy Settings." *Computers in Human Behavior* 76 (November 2017): 469–82. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.08.003>.
- Watson, John B. "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It." *Psychological Review* 20, no. 2 (March 1913): 158–77. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0074428>.
- Yang, Yifan. "Bargaining with the State: The Empowerment of Chinese Sexual Minorities/LGBT in the Social Media Era." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28, no. 118 (July 4, 2019): 662–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2018.1557943>.
- Yasin, Mahmoud, Lucia Porcu, and Francisco Liébana-Cabanillas. "Looking into the Islamic Banking Sector in Palestine: Do Religious Values Influence Active Social Media Engagement Behavior?" *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 12, no. 9 (July 29, 2020): 1801–19. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2019-0201>.