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https://doi.org/10.62159/dawuh.v7i3

DAWUH: Islamic Communication Journal Vol . 7 No. 3 (2026)

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Research Article

Contesting Frames of Piety and the Da‘wah Authority of Niqab-Wearing Women on TikTok: A Framing Analysis of Content and Comments on the @Amazmii Account

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Received: August 29, 2026	Revised: November 6, 2026	Accepted: November 8, 2026

Abstract

The transformation of da‘wah on TikTok has positioned niqab-wearing women as producers of religious messages and visible religious actors within popular culture. This study examines how piety and da‘wah authority are constructed and negotiated through the relationship between creator-generated frames and audience-generated frames on the @Amazmii account. A qualitative digital case-study design within a constructivist–interpretive paradigm was applied to four purposively selected videos and their captions, on-screen texts, visual elements, performances, engagement metadata, comments, and reply threads. Robert M. Entman’s framing devices were used to analyse multimodal creator framing and audience responses through reproduction or alignment, reframing, and counter-framing. The findings identify four empirically derived dimensions of authority: textual authority through Qur’anic references, normative authority through religious-legal classification, disciplinary authority through moral correction, and performative authority through humour and digitally recognisable religious performance. Audience responses recurrently exhibit alignment and humorous co-framing, while reframing remains limited and explicit counter-framing is not identified within the selected corpus. The theoretical contribution of the study lies in conceptualising digital da‘wah authority as a relational outcome of frame contestation rather than as an attribute possessed solely by the creator, religious knowledge, visual piety, or popularity. TikTok’s observable communicative features are treated as contextual conditions of this negotiation; the platform’s recommendation algorithm and distribution processes are not directly measured.

Keywords: Digital Da‘wah; Framing; Niqab-Wearing Women; Religious Authority.

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INTRODUCTION

The presence of the TikTok account @Amazmii exemplifies a form of digital da'wah structured around Islamic question-and-answer exchanges and presented through humour, conversational language, and popular modes of expression. Religious messages emerge from audience questions and everyday concerns, which are redirected towards religious advice or explanation. This format brings the informative function of da'wah into contact with TikTok's entertainment-oriented character. The niqab operates as a visual marker of piety, while humour constructs the image of a preacher who is communicative and accessible to audiences. The convergence of religious knowledge, the performance of a niqab-wearing woman, and adaptation to popular culture makes @Amazmii a salient case for analysis (Marzuki et al., 2025; Pratiwi et al., 2025).

The frames produced by @Amazmii are not received uniformly. Some audience members reproduce the creator's messages, appearance, and humour, while others engage in *reframing* concerning gender, the niqab, modes of expression, or the appropriateness of humour. Users may also construct *counter-framing* by rejecting the definitions advanced by the creator or questioning her suitability as a preacher (Oktarini et al., 2022). These variations indicate that comments are not merely positive, negative, or neutral responses but discursive practices through which acceptance, reinterpretation, and rejection are produced.

The comment section constitutes an arena of contestation over the suitability of the preacher, the appearance of niqab-wearing women, the compatibility of humour with da'wah, and assessments of women's piety. Audience attention may shift from the substance of the message towards the creator's body, clothing, voice, gestures, and expressions. Support for @Amazmii's identity and da'wah capacity reinforces her legitimacy, whereas rejection of her appearance, methods, or competence may generate delegitimation. Da'wah authority is therefore negotiated through the interplay among identity claims, communicative performance, and audience recognition (Kamal Basir et al., 2025; Wina Sumiati & Nawawi, 2025).

This dynamic is inseparable from the social meanings of the niqab, which have never been singular. The niqab may be understood as a manifestation of piety, obedience, and self-protection, yet it is also associated with exclusivity, conservatism, and the subordination of women. Digital media add another layer of complexity because the niqab functions as a visual identity, a marker that distinguishes creators, and a means of presenting piety to the public. Yeste et al. (2020) demonstrate that assumptions concerning patriarchal oppression do not invariably correspond to the motives and lived experiences of women who wear the niqab. The meaning of the niqab is ultimately shaped at the intersection of religious convictions, women's experiences, media representations, and social judgements.

The emergence of niqab-wearing women as actors in digital da'wah signals an expansion of women's agency in religious communication. Women act as producers of messages and interpreters of Islamic values while continuing to encounter gendered expectations concerning voice, bodily visibility, appearance, and propriety in public religious expression. TikTok intensifies these tensions through short-form video, humour, interactive commenting, visible engagement metrics, and a broader recommendation environment. Schellewald (2023) shows that TikTok user experience is shaped by the interplay between platform affordances, patterns of use, and users' interpretations of algorithmic processes. The present study therefore treats the algorithmic environment as part of the wider platform context rather than as an empirically observed mechanism of content distribution.

This platform context situates @Amazmii within a wider transformation of religious authority in digital environments. Research on online religion has shown that digital media can redistribute authority by enabling new actors to gain recognition through communicative competence, textual claims, interaction, and networked visibility rather than through institutional position alone (Campbell, 2007, 2010). Religious authority in social media consequently emerges through a relationship between claims to religious knowledge, mediated self-presentation, and audience recognition. TikTok adds a highly visual and participatory setting in which audiences can reinforce, negotiate, or reject those claims through comments and other observable forms of engagement.

Previous research on @Amazmii has examined humorous da'wah, representations of piety, audience reception, and user responses. Sugiestian et al. (2025) analysed comments on @Amazmii's humorous da'wah videos through sentiment, themes, politeness, and interaction networks, identifying a predominance of neutral comments and low levels of user toxicity. Melisa's study entitled "Representations of Piety in Islamic TikTok Content" (2025) focused on representations of piety and audience reception of @Amazmii's content. Both studies provide insights into the content and prevailing response patterns but have yet to bring creator frames and audience frames together as an interconnected process of authority formation.

The limitations of previous studies leave unresolved how the piety and da'wah authority of niqab-wearing women are constructed through the relationship among content, comments, and TikTok's characteristics. Sentiment analysis has not revealed the structures of meaning that lead audiences to accept, modify, or reject creator frames, while representational analysis has not explained the contestation of meaning within the comment section. This study is directed towards analysing *creator framing*, frame reproduction, *reframing*, and *counter-framing*, together with their implications for the legitimation or delegitimation of @Amazmii. TikTok's characteristics are conceptualised as a mediating condition for formulating a conceptual model of the contestation over piety and the da'wah authority of niqab-wearing women in the digital public sphere.

The analysis is organised through three theoretical perspectives that perform distinct functions rather than operating as interchangeable explanations. Social construction provides the ontological foundation for understanding piety, identity, and authority as socially produced realities. Mediatization explains the media environment in which religious communication is adapted to platform-specific forms and expectations. Entman's framing theory operates at the analytical level by identifying how meanings are selected, emphasised, reproduced, negotiated, or contested in creator content and audience comments. This division of analytical labour prevents theoretical overlap and positions the three perspectives within a coherent sequence from the construction of social reality, to the mediation of religious communication, to the observable framing mechanisms through which authority is negotiated.

International scholarship on digital religion has consistently demonstrated that religious authority online is multidimensional and relational. Campbell (2007, 2010) distinguishes among textual, role-based, structural, and ideological dimensions of religious authority and shows that online environments may simultaneously reinforce and destabilise different sources of legitimacy. Hjarvard's mediatization perspective further explains how religious communication becomes shaped by media logics, while Lövheim (2011) cautions that religious actors retain agency in negotiating those logics. Research on digital piety similarly shows that online religious practice can create new forms of self-presentation and participation while generating anxieties over authenticity,

visibility, and moral performance (Husein & Slama, 2018). These studies establish that digital authority cannot be reduced to popularity or technological visibility alone.

Gender-oriented scholarship adds a further layer by showing that Muslim women's religious visibility is simultaneously enabling and constrained. Hartono (2018) demonstrates that Indonesian Muslim women use social media to actively shape and refashion piety, while Nisa (2019) shows that digital communication expands the circulation of women's religious voices without eliminating contestation over religious and gender authority. Recent research also conceptualises Muslim women's digital piety as a negotiated form of agency embedded in normative and platform-mediated environments (Achfandhy & Mubin, 2026). The present study extends this conversation by examining a niqab-wearing female preacher whose authority is negotiated not only through religious messages but also through humour, visual identity, and audience responses.

Berger and Luckmann's social construction theory provides the ontological foundation for the study by treating identity, piety, and authority as realities produced through externalisation, objectivation, and internalisation rather than as naturally given attributes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Couldry and Hepp (2020) extend this orientation by explaining how contemporary social reality is increasingly constructed through mediated environments. Within the present research, social construction is therefore used to explain why @Amazmii's identity and authority become socially meaningful through repeated representation, interaction, and recognition. The theory is not used as a coding scheme for individual videos or comments.

Hjarvard's mediatization of religion provides the meso-level explanation for how religious communication adapts to the forms and conventions of media environments (Hjarvard, 2011). The concept directs attention to observable features such as brevity, visual emphasis, humour, popular language, comment affordances, and visible engagement cues that structure how da'wah is presented and encountered. Lövheim's (2011) critical appraisal is particularly relevant because it emphasises the agency of religious actors within mediatization rather than treating media logic as a deterministic force. The present study does not analyse TikTok's recommendation system, distribution pathways, reach analytics, or exposure histories; references to algorithmic visibility therefore denote the broader platform context documented in TikTok scholarship rather than a causal mechanism tested in this dataset.

Entman's (1993) framing theory functions as the operational analytical framework. Creator framing is examined through *define problems*, *diagnose causes*, *make moral judgments*, and *treatment recommendations* across language, the niqab, visual elements, gestures, humour, music, on-screen text, captions, hashtags, and editing. Audience-generated framing is examined through comments that reproduce or align with, reframe, or counter the creator's frame. Comparison between these two structures of meaning identifies convergence, negotiation, and opposition and allows their implications for the legitimation or delegitimation of authority to be traced empirically. Framing therefore identifies the communicative mechanism of authority negotiation rather than duplicating the explanatory role of social construction or mediatization.

The categories of textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority are treated as empirically derived analytical dimensions rather than as a fixed typology imported in advance. Their formulation is informed by established scholarship that conceptualises online religious authority as composed of multiple sources of legitimacy, including texts, roles, beliefs, structures, and communicative recognition (Campbell, 2007, 2010). Textual authority refers to legitimacy claimed through explicit reference to recognised religious texts; normative authority refers to the capacity

to articulate religious judgements and classifications; disciplinary authority refers to the communicative capacity to define appropriate conduct through correction, reprimand, and moral evaluation; performative authority refers to legitimacy generated through the embodied and mediated performance of a recognisable religious identity. The categories remain analytically distinct while allowing overlap within individual pieces of content.

The theoretical novelty of this study lies not in merely combining social construction, mediatization, and framing perspectives, but in conceptualising digital da'wah authority as a relational outcome of frame contestation. Existing studies have examined digital piety, women's religious visibility, mediated religion, or influencer authority as important but often separate domains. The proposed model connects these domains by showing how creator-generated claims to textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority encounter audience-generated frames through alignment, reframing, and counter-framing, producing legitimation, negotiation, or delegitimation. The research consequently asks how @Amazmii constructs frames of piety and authority through verbal, visual, and performative elements; how audiences reproduce, modify, or reject those frames; how the relationship between creator and audience frames shapes authority; and how these relationships can be abstracted into a conceptual model. The contribution advances the study of digital piety and female religious authority by shifting the analytical focus from authority as an individual possession towards authority as a negotiated communicative relationship among religious claims, digital performance, and audience recognition.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach within a constructivist–interpretive paradigm and adopts a digital case study design centred on the TikTok account @Amazmii. This approach was selected to understand the construction and negotiation of meanings surrounding piety and da'wah authority rather than to measure relationships among variables or classify sentiment (Baum, 2021). Robert M. Entman's framing analysis is applied to examine content and comments multimodally by attending to verbal messages, visual representations, and creator performativity. Netnographically informed digital observation is employed to understand the production context, interaction patterns, and communication culture of the @Amazmii account.

The research objects encompass videos, captions, hashtags, on-screen texts, audio, visual appearance, gestures, expressions, humour, editing techniques, comments, reply threads, and engagement metadata visible on the sampled posts. A video and its accompanying multimodal elements are designated as a content unit, whereas an individual comment or reply thread constitutes a comment unit. A framing unit refers to an idea that defines a problem, attributes causality, makes a moral judgement, and proposes a solution, while a contestation unit denotes the relationship between creator and audience frames. The four videos were selected purposively because each provided a distinct analytical representation of the dimensions central to the research questions, namely textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority.

The inclusion criteria required that a video: (1) be publicly accessible on the @Amazmii TikTok account during the defined data-collection period; (2) contain an explicit religious, piety-related, or worship-related message; (3) display identifiable verbal, visual, or performative framing elements; and (4) generate audience comments that enabled comparison between creator-generated and audience-generated frames. Videos were excluded when they contained no identifiable religious framing, did not provide sufficient multimodal material for Entman's framing analysis, or lacked

relevant audience interaction for examining frame reproduction, reframing, or counter-framing. The four selected videos were considered analytically sufficient because, taken together, they represented the principal forms of authority identified in the dataset while providing variation in religious topic, communicative style, humour, visual performance, and audience response. Comments were selected according to their relevance and variation in framing until data sufficiency was achieved. Engagement metadata were used descriptively and were not treated as evidence of algorithmic distribution, recommendation, or audience exposure.

A total of 12 audience comments across the four selected videos were included in the final analytical corpus, comprising three comments from Content 1, two from Content 2, four from Content 3, and three from Content 4. Comments were purposively selected according to their direct relevance to the creator's religious message, humorous performance, niqab-wearing identity, and claims to religious authority, while variation in audience responses was maintained to capture reproduction or alignment, reframing, and potential counter-framing. Data sufficiency was considered to have been reached when additional observations no longer generated substantively new framing patterns and instead reiterated interpretive tendencies already represented in the selected comments. The resulting corpus was designed to capture analytical variation across the four contents rather than to represent the numerical distribution of all comments posted by @Amazmii's audiences.

Data were collected through digital observation, documentation, and the systematic archiving of all observable content elements and audience interactions. Comments were selected systematically to ensure that the dataset did not exclusively represent the most popular comments or those with the highest levels of engagement. The analysis applied Entman's devices of *define problems*, *diagnose causes*, *make moral judgments*, and *treatment recommendations* to identify creator framing across verbal, visual, and performative elements. Comment frames were categorised as reproduction or alignment, reframing, and counter-framing. Comparison of creator and audience frames identified alignment, shifts, and conflicts that generated legitimation or delegitimation and were subsequently abstracted into a conceptual model. TikTok's hidden recommendation system, distribution data, reach analytics, and individual exposure trajectories were outside the empirical scope of the study.

The data-collection period extended from 25 February to 20 August 2026, corresponding to the publication dates of the earliest and latest videos included in the purposively selected dataset. The earliest selected content, uploaded on 25 February 2026, employed a parody-style representation of completing 23 rak'ahs of Tarawih while maintaining wudu, whereas the latest content, uploaded on 20 August 2026, addressed everyday psychological experiences through an Islamic framing of tawakkul. The analytical stage commenced after the completion of data collection: on 21 August 2026, the videos uploaded on 25 February and 18 March were analysed, followed on 22 August by analysis of the videos uploaded on 20 March and 20 August. From 23 to 27 August 2026, the findings were systematically compared, coded, synthesised through Entman's framing devices, and integrated into the conceptual model and final manuscript, which was subsequently submitted on 29 August 2026.

Intercoder checking involved the primary researcher and one additional reviewer who independently examined a selected portion of the coded material using the analytical categories developed from Entman's framing devices and the emergent audience-frame categories. Prior to the checking process, the operational meanings of reproduction or alignment, reframing, and counter-

framing were clarified to ensure a shared analytical understanding. Differences in interpretation were discussed by comparing the relevant verbal, visual, and interactional contexts until an agreed coding interpretation was reached. This procedure was employed as a qualitative consistency check to strengthen the credibility and interpretive transparency of the analysis rather than as a statistical measure of intercoder reliability.

Data trustworthiness was maintained through triangulation across videos, comparisons among comment categories, examinations of consistency between content and interaction contexts, *peer debriefing*, intercoder checking, deviant-case analysis, and the preparation of an *audit trail*. Digital evidence was systematically archived to ensure the traceability of the analysis (Flick, 2020). Research ethics were implemented by protecting the identities of ordinary users whose comments were included in the analysis. Usernames, profile photographs, account identifiers, and other visually traceable information contained in screenshots were anonymised, obscured, or excluded from the presentation of the findings, while the identity of @Amazmii was retained because the account is publicly accessible and constitutes the principal object of the study. Screenshots were used solely to document the interactional and framing context relevant to the analysis and were not used to identify or profile individual commenters. Sensitive comments that could potentially enable traceability were paraphrased where necessary, and no private-account information or direct interaction with commenters formed part of the dataset. Comments containing sexual content, expressions of hatred, or identity-based attacks were handled with particular care to minimise unnecessary exposure of ordinary users.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Construction of @Amazmii within Frames of Piety and the Da'wah Authority of a Niqab-Wearing Woman through Verbal, Visual, and Performative Elements and TikTok's Communicative Features

Analysis of the four selected pieces of content demonstrates that @Amazmii constructs piety and da'wah authority through a configuration of the visual identity of a niqab-wearing woman, religious language, normative explanations, humour, performativity, and TikTok's communicative features (Abdul Wahid et al., 2023; Ahmad et al., 2022). The question-and-answer format constitutes the dominant pattern, positioning religious issues and everyday experiences as problem triggers that are subsequently addressed through normative patterns grounded in Qur'anic verses, Islamic jurisprudential terminology, and moral correction or through humorous patterns involving wordplay, irony, parody, and absurd responses. Humour within this construction does not replace religious substance but simplifies messages and establishes proximity to audiences. Textual authority is evident in Figure 1 through the use of Qur'an 65:3 on tawakkul, combined with popular psychological terminology, on-screen text, a *caption*, the niqab, glasses, and eye expressions. This combination of verbal, visual, and performative elements positions @Amazmii as a religious, communicative, and expressive niqab-wearing female preacher capable of connecting contemporary digital experiences with an Islamic framework of meaning.

The first video was uploaded on 20 August 2026 and addresses everyday psychological experiences through an Islamic framework of tawakkul. The content combines conversational language, visual expressions, and a Qur'anic reference to Surah al-Talaq 65:3 in responding to psychological tendencies encountered in daily life. This video was purposively selected because it clearly represents the intersection of digital piety, religious textual reference, and popular

psychological discourse, thereby providing a relevant case for examining how @Amazmii constructs textual authority through the integration of Qur'anic legitimacy and digitally accessible communication.

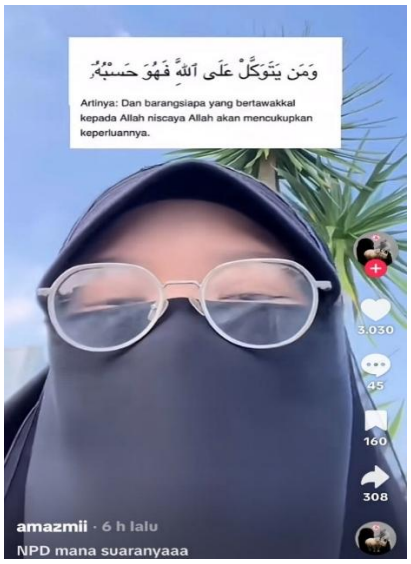


Figure 1. Construction of Textual Authority and Tawakkul-Based Piety in @Amazmii's Content
Source: TikTok account @Amazmii

Normative authority is evident in the second piece of content, in which @Amazmii responds to a question concerning the permissibility of immersing one's face in ice water while fasting. In her response, @Amazmii frames practices that she considers to diminish the essence of fasting through the religious-legal category of makruh. The use of the terms "essence of fasting" and "makruh" positions the creator as a figure who articulates a religious judgement within the content rather than establishing an independently validated legal ruling in this study. The niqab, consultation format, Ramadan theme, on-screen text, and religious-legal explanation mutually reinforce this construction of normative authority.

The second video was uploaded on 20 March 2026 and discusses whether immersing the face in ice water while fasting is permissible, particularly in the context of skincare and preparation for Eid. The creator responds to the audience's question by framing the practice through the religious-legal category of makruh and the notion of preserving the essence of fasting. This video was purposively selected because it explicitly demonstrates the construction of normative authority through religious-legal classification while simultaneously illustrating the intersection of da'wah, lifestyle discourse, beauty practices, and Ramadan-related digital communication.



Figure 2. Construction of Normative Authority through an Explanation of *Makruh* in the Observance of Fasting

Source: TikTok account @Amazmii

The caption "Ready to glow for Eid?" and the use of beauty-product hashtags in Figure 2 reveal an observable intersection of religious messages, lifestyle, and digital promotion through the placement of beauty products alongside the niqab, an audience question, and an explanation of fasting regulations. This arrangement demonstrates that @Amazmii's da'wah authority operates within a hybrid digital space, although it cannot be categorised as the commodification of religion without evidence concerning its production context and promotional relationship. Disciplinary authority is evident in Figure 3.

The third video was uploaded on 18 March 2026 and addresses a humorous question concerning whether playing a recording of the Maghrib call to prayer during the daytime could justify breaking the fast earlier. @Amazmii responds by correcting the misunderstanding through a humorous reprimand while maintaining the religious rule that fasting ends only at the actual beginning of Maghrib. This video was purposively selected because it provides a clear example of disciplinary authority, in which religious boundaries are communicated through correction, moral evaluation, and humour, thereby allowing the study to examine how firmness and entertainment coexist within digital da'wah.



Figure 3. Disciplinary Authority through a Humorous Reprimand of a Misunderstanding concerning the Time for Breaking the Fast

Source: *TikTok account @Amazmii*

Performative authority is evident in the fourth piece of content, which adopts a news-reporting style to announce that someone successfully completed 23 rak'ahs of Tarawih without passing wind. The experience of maintaining wudu throughout worship is framed as an extraordinary achievement through the contrast between a serious news format and an absurd message. The niqab, the Tarawih context, the term *rak'ah*, the news template, and popular-cultural references construct the identity of a "humorous ustazah" who remains religious without being represented rigidly. Humour becomes an instrument for translating experiences of worship into light and readily recognisable digital communication.

The fourth video was uploaded on 25 February 2026 and presents a parody-style report about completing 23 rak'ahs of Tarawih without passing wind and therefore maintaining wudu throughout the prayer. The video adopts a popular news-template format and humorous framing to transform an ordinary bodily experience during worship into entertaining religious content. This video was purposively selected because it strongly represents performative authority, demonstrating how religious identity, humour, parody, visual presentation, and popular digital culture are combined to construct the recognisable persona of a humorous ustazah.



Figure 4. Construction of the Humorous Ustazah Identity through a Parody of the Tarawih Experience

Source: TikTok account @Amazmii

The four representative pieces of content can be mapped through Robert M. Entman's four framing devices: *define problems*, *diagnose causes*, *make moral judgments*, and *treatment recommendations*. Each device demonstrates how @Amazmii selects an issue, attributes its causes, constructs a moral judgement, and directs audience action.

Table 1. Robert M. Entman's Framing Analysis of @Amazmii's Construction of Piety and Da'wah Authority

Content	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgments	Treatment Recommendations
1	Psychological conditions or everyday behaviours are defined as problems requiring religious orientation.	The problems are associated with how individuals understand and confront their circumstances.	Tawakkul is positioned as a positively valued religious disposition.	Audiences are directed to entrust their affairs to Allah and believe in the sufficiency He provides.
2	Facial treatment using ice water while fasting is positioned as an action requiring a legal judgement.	The action is considered potentially capable of diminishing the essence and quality of fasting.	@Amazmii frames practices that she considers to diminish the essence of fasting as makruh.	Audiences are directed to preserve the quality of their fast and reconsider facial-treatment practices during worship.
3	Playing a recording of the Maghrib call to prayer at midday to break the fast earlier is defined as a misunderstanding.	The misunderstanding originates from equating the sound of a recorded call to prayer with the actual commencement of Maghrib.	Attempts to exploit a loophole to break the fast earlier are judged unjustifiable.	Audiences are directed to break their fast only when Maghrib begins through the humorous reprimand, "I'll smack you on the head!"

4	The ability to maintain wudu throughout 23 rak'ahs of Tarawih is framed as a challenge within the experience of worship.	The challenge is associated with the possibility of passing wind and thereby invalidating wudu.	Completing Tarawih without invalidating one's wudu is parodied as an extraordinary achievement.	No explicit recommendation is identified; humour is employed to normalise bodily experiences during worship.

Source: Research data processed by the researcher.

The table above demonstrates that Entman's framing devices do not appear in equal proportions. Contents 1, 2, and 3 encompass problem definition, causal interpretation, moral judgement, and recommendation, whereas Content 4 primarily foregrounds problem definition and moral judgement through parody. Recurrent patterns across the four cases generate four empirically derived dimensions of authority. Textual authority emerges when legitimacy is anchored in Qur'anic reference; normative authority emerges when the creator articulates religious-legal classifications; disciplinary authority emerges through correction, reprimand, and moral boundary-setting; performative authority emerges when religious legitimacy is enacted through humour, visual expression, and digitally recognisable performance. These dimensions are consistent with scholarship that treats online religious authority as multidimensional rather than as a single institutional property (Campbell, 2007, 2010). Da'wah authority in the present case is therefore constructed through the articulation of religious knowledge, the capacity to assess and correct, mediated performance, and audience recognition.

Visual and performative elements and TikTok's communicative features reinforce this construction. The niqab constructs a religious identity, while eye expressions, gestures, intonation, on-screen text, *captions*, and question features generate firmness, irony, and humour. The brevity of the videos concentrates each message on a verse, legal term, reprimand, or *punchline*, thereby producing a religious, communicative, and adaptive da'wah frame. This frame enters the comment section, where audiences accept, extend, shift, or reject it through reproduction, *reframing*, and *counter-framing*.

Audience Reproduction, Reframing, and Counter-Framing of @Amazmii's Frames through TikTok Comments

TikTok comments constitute a site of meaning production in which @Amazmii's frames encounter audience interpretations. Analysis of the four selected pieces of content demonstrates that audiences tend to preserve the creator's principal frames while developing meanings grounded in their experiences and communicative styles. The reproduction of religious frames is evident in comments on Content 1, such as "If you are always grateful, God willing, you will always find peace," which extends the message of tawakkul through the concept of gratitude, and "So true, Sis," which acknowledges the relevance of the message. The comment "After firing the shot, she follows it with a soothing Qur'anic verse" demonstrates that audiences recognise the combination of humour and textual legitimation through a Qur'anic verse.

Acceptance of religious messages occurs alongside evaluations of the creator's performance. The comments "So funny, oh God" and "Absolutely hilarious" construct *affective alignment* by affirming the humorous atmosphere produced by @Amazmii. The comment "Why does her laughter sound mocking?" constitutes *evaluative reframing* because attention shifts from the substance of

the verse towards the appropriateness of the creator's expression. This criticism does not reject the message of tawakkul but demonstrates that the acceptance of religious authority is also determined by how the message is performed.

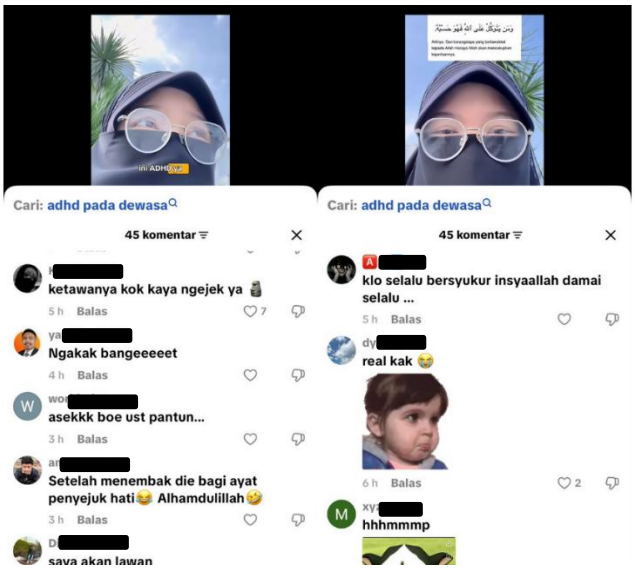


Figure 5. Audience Reproduction of Religious Frames and Performative Reframing in Content 1
Source: Comment section of the TikTok account @Amazmii

The co-production of humour is evident in comments on Content 2 concerning the permissibility of immersing one's face in ice water while fasting. @Amazmii's framing of practices that she considers to diminish the essence of fasting as makruh is extended through absurd questions, such as "What if I rinse my mouth with Marjan syrup during Ramadan?" and "Ustazah, can I soak my face in an iced-fruit drink?" These comments construct *humorous co-framing* because audiences preserve the religious consultation format while using it to produce new humour. The form of address "Ustazah" demonstrates that humorous participation does not eliminate @Amazmii's religious identity but instead produces symbolic legitimation and extends the humorous frame constructed by the creator (Nurmaya & Juni Wati Sri Rizki, 2024).



Figure 6. Audience Co-Production of Humour and Symbolic Legitimation in Content 2
Source: Comment section of the TikTok account @Amazmii

Performative reproduction in Content 3 is evident in the repetition of the expression “I’ll smack you on the head!” as the part of the video most strongly remembered by audiences, while the comment “I once broke my fast at the Asr call to prayer” extends the absurdity surrounding the time for breaking the fast and preserves the creator’s humorous frame. The comment “One prerequisite for fasting is being of sound mind” intensifies the moral judgement by positioning the questioner as someone who has failed to exercise appropriate reasoning. A different trajectory emerges in the comment “Show us your face first, Umi,” which constructs *identity reframing* by shifting attention from the religious issue towards the face concealed behind the niqab (Muvid et al., 2024). The address “Umi” continues to convey religious recognition of @Amazmii, although the centre of meaning shifts towards the creator’s personal identity.

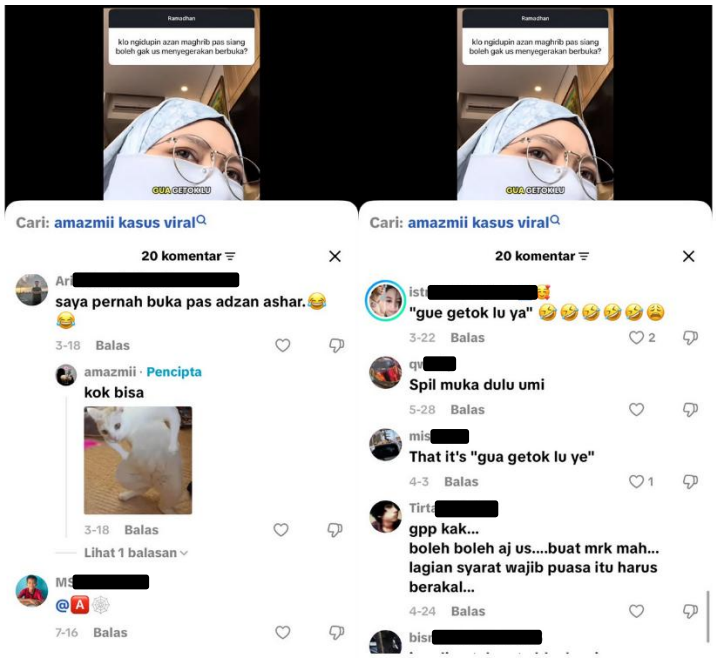


Figure 7. Reproduction of Performative Reprimands and Identity Reframing in Content 3

Source: Comment section of the TikTok account @Amazmii

Affirmative identity reframing in Content 4 is evident in the comments “Ustazah can joke too” and “Ustazah really is funny,” which extend the representation of an ustazah from a serious figure into a religious preacher who is relaxed and entertaining. The comment “*Day one*: fasting for 38 minutes” constructs *humorous co-framing* because the audience creates a new variation of the joke while preserving its theme of worship and temporal absurdity. Responses in the form of laughter and affection emojis demonstrate affective acceptance that reinforces performative legitimacy and proximity between @Amazmii and her audience (Taufikin et al., 2025).



Figure 8. Audience Identity Reframing and Performative Legitimation in Content 4

Source: Comment section of the TikTok account @Amazmii

Audience responses to the four selected pieces of content can be classified according to the relationship between the creator's frames and the meanings produced through comments. This classification is not based on positive or negative sentiment but on the function of comments in reproducing, extending, shifting, or negotiating the original frame.

The audience-frame categories were differentiated according to the specific relationship between a comment and the creator's original frame. Reproduction refers to the direct preservation or affirmation of the creator's principal meaning, while structural reproduction retains the relationship between key framing elements even when expressed in different wording. Humorous co-framing occurs when audiences generate new humorous material while preserving the creator's underlying religious or comedic frame, whereas participatory amplification extends the creator's frame through additional examples, questions, or interaction without substantially altering its meaning. Evaluative reframing occurs when audiences accept the principal religious message but shift attention towards the appropriateness of its performance, expression, or delivery. Identity reframing shifts the centre of attention from the religious issue towards the creator's personal or visual identity. Performative reproduction refers to the repetition or reinforcement of a distinctive expression, gesture, reprimand, or style associated with the creator, while elaborative moral framing intensifies the moral evaluation already implied in the original content.

Table 2. Classification of Audience Frames across Four Pieces of TikTok Content by @Amazmii

Source	Audience Comment	Category	Analytical Meaning
Content 1	"If you are always grateful, God willing, you will always find peace."	Reproduction of a religious frame	The audience preserves the orientation towards tawakkul and extends it through the concept of gratitude.
Content 1	"After firing the shot, she follows it with a soothing Qur'anic verse."	Structural reproduction	The audience recognises the relationship between humour and textual legitimation through a Qur'anic verse.

Content 1	"Why does her laughter sound mocking?"	Evaluative reframing	Attention shifts from the substance of the verse towards the appropriateness of the creator's expression.
Content 2	"What if I rinse my mouth with Marjan syrup during Ramadan?"	Humorous co-framing	The audience develops the religious consultation format into a humorous question.
Content 2	"Ustazah, can I soak my face in an iced-fruit drink?"	Participatory amplification	The audience extends the humorous structure while continuing to recognise the creator's religious identity.
Content 3	"I'll smack you on the head!"	Performative reproduction	The creator's expression is repeated as the most memorable part of the video.
Content 3	"I once broke my fast at the Asr call to prayer."	Humorous co-framing	The audience extends the absurdity surrounding the time for breaking the fast.
Content 3	"One prerequisite for fasting is being of sound mind."	Elaborative moral framing	The audience intensifies the moral judgement of a question considered illogical.
Content 3	"Show us your face first, Umi."	Identity reframing	Attention shifts from the issue of fasting towards the identity of the face behind the niqab.
Content 4	"Ustazah can joke too."	Identity reframing	The identity of the ustazah is extended to encompass a religious figure capable of employing humour.
Content 4	"Ustazah really is funny."	Performative legitimation	The capacity to produce humour is recognised as a positive characteristic of the creator.
Content 4	"Day one: fasting for 38 minutes."	Humorous co-framing	The audience develops humour concerning worship by creating a new absurd situation.

Source: Comment section of the TikTok account @Amazmii, processed by the researcher.

Table 2 demonstrates that the analysed audience responses recurrently reflect reproduction, extension, and non-antagonistic reframing. Reproduction emerges through the acceptance of religious messages, repetition of the creator's expressions, and reuse of @Amazmii's humorous structures. Reframing occurs when attention shifts towards humorous performance or the identity of the face behind the niqab, while humorous co-framing develops through new questions, scenarios, and punchlines created by audiences (Kurniawan & Fadilah, 2024). Explicit counter-framing that rejects @Amazmii's religious messages or religious capacity was not identified among the twelve comments included in the final analytical corpus. The comment "Why does her laughter sound mocking?" represents negotiation over the appropriateness of performance rather than rejection of the tawakkul message or the creator's religious position.

The recurrent presence of humorous co-framing demonstrates that audiences do not merely consume humour but also participate in producing and extending it. The forms of address "Umi" and "Ustazah," repetition of the creator's expressions, acceptance of the Qur'anic verse, and participation in wordplay generate symbolic, affective, and performative legitimation. The comment section therefore functions more prominently as an arena of reinforcement, extension, and limited negotiation than as a site of antagonistic contestation. This pattern provides the basis for analysing

how *creator framing* and *audience-generated framing* interact in legitimising or delegitimising @Amazmii as a niqab-wearing female preacher.

Contestation between Creator Framing and Audience-Generated Framing in Legitimising or Delegitimising @Amazmii as a Niqab-Wearing Female Preacher

Frame contestation emerges when the messages produced by @Amazmii through verbal, visual, and performative elements encounter audience interpretations in the comment section. This encounter does not invariably produce opposition because contestation also encompasses the reinforcement, extension, and negotiation of meaning. The analysis identifies three relational patterns: convergent, negotiated, and antagonistic. A convergent relationship emerges when audiences reproduce the creator's frames, a negotiated relationship develops when audiences accept the principal message but shift part of its meaning, and an antagonistic relationship occurs when audiences reject the message or the legitimacy of the creator's authority.

Table 3. Matrix of Contestation between Creator Framing and Audience-Generated Framing on the TikTok Account @Amazmii

Dimension	Creator Framing	Audience-Generated Framing	Relationship between Frames	Implications for Authority
Textual authority	Tawakkul is legitimised through Qur'an 65:3 (Surah al-Talaq).	Audiences affirm the verse through notions of gratitude, tranquillity, and experiential relevance.	Reproduction/alignment	Strengthening religious legitimation grounded in textual sources.
Humorous performance	Qur'anic verses and religious messages are conveyed through humour, intonation, and expression.	The message is accepted, although some audience members regard the expression as appearing mocking.	Evaluative reframing	The religious message is accepted, while the appropriateness of its performance is negotiated.
Normative authority	@Amazmii frames practices that she considers to diminish the essence of fasting as makruh.	Audiences continue the consultation format through humour concerning Marjan syrup and iced-fruit drinks.	Frame reproduction and extension	The creator's position as a provider of religious judgements is recognised and extended.
Disciplinary authority	A misunderstanding regarding the time for breaking the fast is corrected through the expression "I'll	Audiences repeat the reprimand and intensify the judgement directed towards the original question.	Performative reproduction	The creator's assertiveness is reinforced by audiences.

	smack you on the head!"			
Niqab-wearing identity	The niqab is represented as a marker of religious identity.	Audiences shift attention towards the face behind the niqab.	Identity reframing	Religious identity remains recognised, although personal visibility becomes the focus of attention.
Humorous ustazah identity	The experience of Tarawih is presented through parody.	Audiences recognise that an ustazah can joke and appear humorous.	Reproduction/alignment	The creator's performative legitimacy becomes stronger.
Rejection of authority	The creator presents herself as a figure who explains and corrects.	No explicit rejection of the creator's suitability to conduct da'wah is identified.	Counter-framing is not dominant.	Delegitimation does not develop strongly.

The findings demonstrate that reproduction or alignment recurs across the analysed relationship between creator framing and audience-generated framing. Audiences affirm the tawakkul frame through comments concerning gratitude and tranquillity, extend the explanation of makruh through humorous questions, repeat the reprimand "I'll smack you on the head!", and recognise @Amazmii as an ustazah capable of communicating experiences of worship through humour. This pattern demonstrates that textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative legitimacy is not constructed solely by the creator but is reinforced through audience recognition and participation. Message repetition, the forms of address "Umi" and "Ustazah," affective acceptance, and the development of jokes position the comment section as an arena in which authority claims acquire social recognition, consistent with the relational character of online religious authority identified in digital religion scholarship (Campbell, 2007, 2010).

Reframing emerges when audiences shift attention from the substance of the message towards the appropriateness of the creator's expression and visual identity. The comment describing her laughter as mocking does not reject the message of tawakkul, while requests to reveal her face do not eliminate recognition of @Amazmii's religious identity. Counter-framing that explicitly rejects Qur'anic verses, legal explanations, or the creator's suitability as a preacher is not dominant. The structure of contestation on the @Amazmii account therefore generates legitimation more frequently than delegitimation because her authority is produced through messages, negotiated at the performative level, and reinforced through audience reproduction of her frames.

A Conceptual Model of Frame Contestation surrounding the Piety and Da'wah Authority of Niqab-Wearing Women Based on the Relationship among Content, Comments, and TikTok's Characteristics

The synthesis of the findings demonstrates that frame contestation surrounding the piety and da'wah authority of niqab-wearing women is constituted through the relationship among creator

message production, audience interpretation, and TikTok's communicative characteristics. @Amazmii produces *creator framing* through verbal, visual, and performative elements that construct textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority. These frames enter the comment section and are addressed by audiences through reproduction or *alignment*, *reframing*, and *counter-framing*. The encounter between these two sets of frames generates the reinforcement, negotiation, or weakening of da'wah authority.

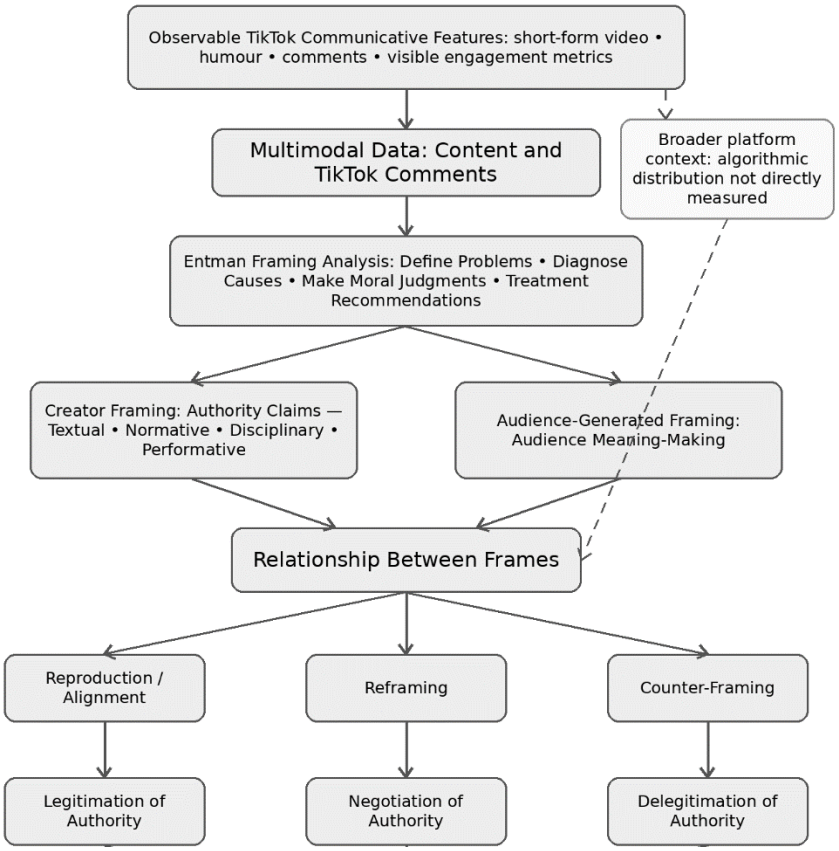


Figure 9. Conceptual Model of Frame Contestation

The conceptual model in Figure 9 is formulated through a synthesis of Entman's framing analysis of @Amazmii's TikTok content and comments. Observable TikTok communicative features such as short-form video, humour, comment affordances, and visible engagement metrics provide the immediate media context for multimodal message production. Creator framing produces claims to textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority, while comments generate audience frames through processes of meaning-making. The encounter between these frames produces reproduction or alignment, reframing, and counter-framing, which in turn lead to legitimation, negotiation, or delegitimation. The broader algorithmic environment is retained only as a contextual condition because the study does not directly measure recommendation, distribution, reach, or exposure.

The findings indicate that reproduction or alignment constitutes the most recurrent pathway within the analysed corpus through which @Amazmii's textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority is legitimised. Reframing appears to a limited extent when audiences shift attention towards the appropriateness of humour and the creator's visual identity, while counter-framing does not develop into an explicit rejection of her da'wah authority. The model therefore conceptualises authority as relationally accomplished through the interaction between creator claims

and audience recognition rather than as automatically attached to the niqab, religious knowledge, or popularity. TikTok's observable communicative features provide the setting in which this negotiation becomes visible, while unobserved algorithmic distribution remains outside the model's empirical claims.

Discussion

The findings identify textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority as four recurring dimensions through which @Amazmii's religious legitimacy is constructed. These categories should not be read as a universal taxonomy of religious authority. They are data-derived dimensions that specify how broader sources of online authority become communicatively visible in this case. Textual authority is produced through Qur'anic citation, normative authority through religious-legal classification, disciplinary authority through moral correction, and performative authority through humour and mediated self-presentation. Campbell's (2007, 2010) multidimensional approach to online religious authority provides the broader conceptual basis for interpreting these patterns, while the present study specifies how those sources of legitimacy are performed and recognised within TikTok framing practices.

The pattern of audience alignment extends previous research on @Amazmii's humorous da'wah by identifying the framing mechanisms through which low-conflict reception becomes a form of authority recognition. Expressions of laughter, praise, repetition of terms, and continuation of wordplay do more than register positive sentiment; they reproduce the creator's interpretive structure and participate in the social validation of her authority. The comment "Why does her laughter sound mocking?" illustrates evaluative reframing because it preserves the religious message while negotiating the appropriateness of its performance. The relative absence of explicit counter-framing indicates that the comment section operates more strongly as a space of reinforcement and negotiated modification than as an arena of direct rejection.

The gendered significance of this authority becomes clearer when the findings are situated within scholarship on Muslim women's digital piety and religious agency. Hartono (2018) shows that social media enables Muslim women to actively refashion piety, while Nisa (2019) demonstrates that women's religious voices gain wider circulation without escaping ideological and gendered contestation. Achfandhy and Mubin (2026) similarly conceptualise Muslim women's digital piety as negotiated agency within normative and mediated environments. @Amazmii's case extends these insights because recognition of her religious authority coexists with audience attention to her laughter, face, niqab, and visual appearance. The designation of a "humorous ustazah" expands the communicative repertoire available to a niqab-wearing female preacher, while requests to reveal the face behind the niqab show that religious recognition can remain entangled with gendered visual scrutiny.

The findings also refine mediatization arguments by separating observable communicative adaptation from unobserved algorithmic effects. @Amazmii adapts religious communication to short duration, visual emphasis, humour, popular language, question-and-answer formats, and participatory commenting, which corresponds with Hjarvard's (2011) account of religion becoming shaped by media forms. Lövheim's (2011) emphasis on religious actors' agency is equally important because @Amazmii does not merely submit to platform logic; she actively uses humour, the niqab, legal terminology, Qur'anic citation, and parody to establish a recognisable religious position. The dataset does not permit a causal claim that TikTok's recommendation algorithm produces or

strengthens her authority. Digital legitimation is evidenced here through observable framing and audience recognition rather than through inferred algorithmic reach.

Taken together, the findings advance existing studies of digital piety, mediated religion, women's religious agency, and online religious authority by identifying frame contestation as the communicative mechanism that connects these domains. The model is therefore not an additive synthesis of three theories. Social construction explains how authority becomes socially real through recognition; mediatization explains the communicative environment in which religious expression is adapted; framing identifies how specific claims and responses are organised and contested. Creator frames establish claims to textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority, while audience frames determine whether those claims are reproduced, negotiated, or challenged. Digital da'wah authority consequently emerges as a relational accomplishment produced between religious claims, mediated performance, and audience recognition. This relational proposition constitutes the principal theoretical contribution of the study.

The conceptual model should be interpreted within the boundaries of the dataset. The study focuses on a single public TikTok account and four purposively selected videos; consequently, the findings should not be generalised to all niqab-wearing female preachers or to Muslim women's digital da'wah practices more broadly. Audience analysis is further limited to users who actively chose to comment, meaning that the analysed commenters constitute a self-selecting group of visible participants rather than a representative sample of @Amazmii's entire audience. Silent viewers, passive forms of reception, and users who encountered the content without leaving observable interactions remain outside the empirical dataset. The study also does not inspect TikTok's recommendation system, backend analytics, distribution trajectories, or personalised exposure histories. References to algorithmic visibility therefore describe a broader platform context established in prior TikTok scholarship rather than an empirical finding of the present study. Future research could extend the model through multi-account comparisons, larger longitudinal datasets, audience interviews, and platform analytics to examine how visible and non-visible forms of reception interact with the relational construction of digital religious authority.

CONCLUSION

The findings demonstrate that @Amazmii constructs piety and da'wah authority through four empirically derived dimensions: textual, normative, disciplinary, and performative authority. Qur'anic references anchor textual legitimacy, religious-legal classifications support normative legitimacy, moral correction generates disciplinary legitimacy, and humour, visual expression, and digitally recognisable self-presentation generate performative legitimacy. Entman's framing devices show how these authority claims are organised through the selection and salience of religious problems, causal interpretations, moral judgements, and recommended responses.

Audience responses are dominated by frame reproduction, alignment, and humorous co-framing. Audiences reinforce religious messages, repeat the creator's expressions, extend consultation formats, and develop jokes through new questions and punchlines. Reframing occurs mainly around humorous expression and the identity concealed by the niqab, while explicit

counter-framing of @Amazmii's religious capacity remains limited. These patterns demonstrate that authority is not produced solely by the creator but is socially recognised, extended, and negotiated through audience participation.

The study contributes theoretically by conceptualising digital da'wah authority as a relational outcome of frame contestation rather than as an attribute automatically derived from religious knowledge, the niqab, popularity, or platform visibility. Social construction explains the production of authority as a recognised social reality, mediatization specifies the communicative environment in which religious performance is adapted, and framing identifies the mechanism through which creator claims and audience responses interact. TikTok's observable communicative features constitute the empirical platform context, while algorithmic recommendation and distribution remain outside the study's direct evidence. The resulting model links digital piety, female religious agency, mediated religion, and online authority through the relational processes of alignment, reframing, and counter-framing.

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