BETWEEN SACREDNESS AND ENTERTAINMENT: EXPLORING THE INTENTIONALITY OF CONSUMING ISLAMIC CONTENT ON TIKTOK

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Abstract

This article discusses the consumption patterns of digital Islamic preaching content among the younger generation by emphasizing two main aspects: intentionality and religious meaning. Through a descriptive qualitative approach, this study explores the practice of scrolling and interacting with Islamic preaching content on social media, involving five respondents aged 20–28 years who actively use the TikTok platform. The findings show that the consumption of Islamic preaching content is more often incidental, that is, it appears unintentionally in the daily scrolling activity that has become part of their digital habitus. Within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, this activity reflects a social disposition formed from the digital cultural environment, rather than from planned spiritual awareness. Furthermore, this study found that da'wah content is not always interpreted as a means of spiritual transformation, but rather as a form of symbolic consumption. The act of liking, saving, or watching short da'wah is often intended to strengthen religious identity symbolically, without having to be accompanied by changes in religious behavior. Digital da'wah has thus experienced a shift in function: from sacred practice to representation of identity in the entertainment landscape and attention economy. This conclusion emphasizes the importance of reading the dynamics of digital religiosity in a more contextual and interdisciplinary manner, especially in contemporary Islamic studies.

Keywords: *Digital Preaching; Digital Habitus; Symbolic Capital.*

INTRODUCTION

In today's digital era, social media has become an integral part of young people's daily lives. Among these platforms, TikTok stands out not only as a popular entertainment space but also as a growing arena for the dissemination of religious messages (Daniah, 2025). One of the most common behaviors on this platform is scrolling—a repetitive habitual activity characterized by aimless browsing during free time. Although seemingly trivial, this behavior has become a major part of digital

engagement among young people, often carried out unconsciously and interspersed with emotional conditions such as boredom, fatigue, or the search for distractions. Field observations show that scrolling behavior on TikTok is more than just a reflection of high levels of digital media consumption. This behavior also facilitates incidental exposure to religious content, often in the form of short preaching videos presented by charismatic preachers in a light, creative, and emotionally engaging style. These algorithmic encounters with religious messages—although not actively sought—contribute to the emergence of a new digital religious ecosystem where meaning is shaped not by traditional authority, but by algorithmic logic and patterns of user engagement (Ustianti, 2025). This phenomenon signals a shift in the religious landscape, where sacred meanings are negotiated in a fluid, fast, and visually driven digital environment.

Previous studies have raised the issue of the digitalization of Islamic preaching and the transformation of religious messages in social media. For example, studies by Maudillah (2025) and Rahmadhani (2024) discuss how preachers utilize TikTok's algorithm to reach a wider audience, by creating short but emotional and relatable content. Febriana (2021) highlights how the visualization of preaching on TikTok creates a new form of "audiovisual religiosity" that bridges spirituality and entertainment. Meanwhile, Latif (2024) examines how rhetorical strategies and visual symbols are used by young preachers to create emotional closeness and increase engagement.

However, most of these studies focus on the dimensions of production and communication strategies of da'wah, not on how users (especially young people) consume, interpret, or respond to da'wah content that they encounter incidentally. On the other hand, studies on scrolling behavior such as those conducted by Aulia (2021) and Robin (2024) have shown that this activity forms a certain digital habitus—a structure of subconscious dispositions that direct users' interactions with digital content routinely and unreflectively. However, very few studies link this scrolling habit to the consumption of religious content, and how sacred meanings can emerge, shift, or even disappear in the context of digital entertainment.

A study by Effendi (2022), for example, revealed that although religious content on social media contributes to the formation of religious identity, it functions more as a symbolic marker than a profound spiritual transformation. Likewise, Rahmadhani (2024) notes that digital da'wah narratives are often reduced to short slogans that adapt to the logic of quick attention on social media, so that the religious messages conveyed are prone to desacralization. Jaramillo-Dent's (2022) study of algorithmic religion shows that religious experiences on social media are no longer entirely determined by spiritual intentions, but rather by digital structures that shape exposure pathways to certain content. Meanwhile, Ramadhani (2025) shows that

platform logic and media affordances have a significant influence on how religious meanings are constructed and negotiated in the online ecosystem.

From this, there is a gap in the literature, especially at the intersection of digital habitus, scrolling behavior, and symbolic reception of Islamic da'wah messages. This study seeks to address this gap by highlighting how young Muslims experience and interpret da'wah content during their free time on TikTok — whether such engagement is intentional (as a conscious spiritual practice), or incidental (a product of algorithmic exposure and digital habits).

Interviews with five young Muslim respondents revealed that their interactions with religious content were not guided by a conscious intention to seek spirituality, but rather emerged as a by-product of everyday digital habitus (Permana, 2025). Referring to Bourdieu's habitus theory, this study conceptualizes scrolling not as a neutral act, but as a practice shaped by internal social structures embedded in the bodies of digital users. This habitus allows for the internalization of da'wah content in symbolic and emotional forms, which strengthen group identity and belonging, but do not necessarily inspire deep theological transformation.

Thus, this study not only contributes to the literature on digital religion and Muslim youth culture, but also broadens our understanding of how sacred meanings are negotiated in a visual, fast, and algorithmic era. This study is also of practical relevance to preachers, religious educators, and policymakers who want to understand the new dynamics of religious communication and spiritual literacy of young people on digital platforms.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach (Sugiyono, 2021) with an exploratory strategy to understand the consumption patterns of digital da'wah content among young Muslims. Primary data were obtained through in-depth semi-structured interviews and digital diaries from five participants aged 17–25 who actively use TikTok to access da'wah content. Respondents were selected purposively based on their active involvement in following da'wah accounts and their habit of scrolling during their free time. The snowball sampling technique was used to expand the network of relevant participants. Secondary data sources, such as scientific literature and examples of digital da'wah content, were also used to enrich the context of the analysis.

Data analysis was conducted using the thematic analysis method. The process began with transcription and in-depth reading of all data to capture the social context and narrative meaning that emerged. Initial codes were compiled based on interviews and digital notes, which were then developed into main themes such as intentionality in scrolling, patterns of interaction with da'wah content, and the meaning of digital da'wah as a form of religiosity or entertainment. Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical

approach, especially the concept of habitus and symbolic capital, is used as an analytical framework to understand how digital habits (digital habitus) are formed and how da'wah content is positioned in the social field as a source of symbolic value. Digital habitus explains the tendency of the younger generation to access da'wah content unconsciously (incidentally), while symbolic capital explains how the content is used to form and display religious identity socially (Krisdinanto, 2023).

Data validity is maintained through triangulation of data sources (interviews, observations, and digital diaries) and peer debriefing with fellow researchers to avoid interpretive bias. With this approach, the study is expected to provide an in-depth and contextual picture of the relationship between digital religious practices and the formation of religious identity in contemporary social media spaces.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Consumption Patterns and Interpretation of Islamic Content on Social Media

Based on interviews with five respondents with diverse backgrounds, it was found that social media scrolling activities are generally carried out during free time, especially at night before going to bed or during a break from daily activities. Similar matters were emphasized by the statement from a respondent with the initials NN, a 21-year-old student, who said that she usually opens social media after completing her college assignments, around 21.00-23.00, while lying in bed (Interview, NN). This activity is a kind of stress reliever after academic activities. Next, I met PP, a 22-year-old student who is also a student, she has a habit of scrolling in the morning before doing activities and at night before going to bed. She said that TikTok social media is the first place she opens after waking up (Interview, PP).

The next day, a different story was delivered by MM, a 25-year-old career woman, who said she often opened TikTok during her lunch break at the office and after work. Usually when I'm really tired or bored, scrolling is a kind of relaxation, she said (Interview, MM). What MM said became a legend that the activity of scrolling TikTok can provide entertainment value to restore work enthusiasm. A similar thing was also emphasized by AA, a 20-year-old student. He admitted that he often opened TikTok in between lectures or while waiting for friends. "Sometimes on campus while waiting for class, I just scroll," he said (Interview, AA). Meanwhile, BB, a 24-year-old man who is busy as an entrepreneur, said that he often opens social media in his spare time between business activities, or while waiting for clients. He said that scrolling time is often unplanned, but spontaneous when he feels bored or needs light entertainment (Interview, BB).

Based on the description above, the conditions that trigger scrolling activities are generally related to boredom, fatigue, or the need to relieve tension. Not a single respondent stated that the activity was specifically scheduled, all of which took place spontaneously and situationally. In the context of the content viewed, the interview

results showed that most respondents did not actively search for Islamic content on TikTok social media. This content generally appears passively on the timeline due to the digital platform algorithm that adjusts to preferences or previous interactions. User responses to the emergence of Islamic content also vary, ranging from selective responses to passive and indifferent attitudes.

Respondents NN and PP, for example, showed a tendency to be selective in responding to the da'wah content that passed through the timeline. They tended to pay attention to the source of the content and the topic presented before deciding to watch it. NN emphasized the importance of the credibility of the preacher, while PP considered the relevance of the theme to his personal experience (Interview, NN., PP). Meanwhile, MM showed a more passive attitude, stating that he only paid attention to da'wah content if the topic was in accordance with the emotional or situational conditions he was experiencing (Interview, MM). Respondent AA showed a tendency to be indifferent to da'wah content, especially if the content was presented formally or was long (Interview, AA). In contrast, respondent BB was more selective and showed interest in da'wah content that was related to self-development and business motivation. He considered such content to be more applicable and relevant to his life as a business actor (Interview, BB).

In terms of engagement, the majority of respondents did not show active interaction with da'wah content. Activities such as commenting, sharing, or liking content were not carried out consistently. However, there were indications of selectivity in saving da'wah content to watch again, especially among female respondents (NN and PP). Respondent BB stated that she occasionally shared da'wah content on personal social media or WhatsApp status, especially if the content contained motivational or reflective messages. Meanwhile, MM and AA admitted that they tended to be passive viewers. They listened to content without further interaction, even in some cases just skipping the content without watching it in full. This attitude shows the low intention of involvement in consuming digital da'wah, although indirectly they remain part of the da'wah audience through algorithmic exposure.

The interpretation of da'wah content on social media is largely determined by the background, personal experience, and spiritual needs of each respondent. In this context, respondents NN and PP tend to interpret da'wah content as part of light worship activities or efforts to improve themselves. This is indicated by feelings of being touched and inspired after listening to content that touches on aspects of morality or personal spirituality.

Respondent MM views the content of preaching more as a form of inspiration or inner peace, but is not explicitly considered as worship. According to him, preaching content functions as a means of emotional reflection (Interview, MM). On the other hand, AA sees preaching content as mere spiritual entertainment. He admits

that the content sometimes gives rise to feelings of guilt, but the emotional effects tend not to last long and are not followed by significant behavioral changes (Interview, AA).

Respondent BB gave a pragmatic interpretation of the da'wah content. He considered that the content is part of the spiritualization process that is integrated into everyday life, especially in the context of motivation, business ethics, and self-development. Thus, the meaning of digital da'wah among social media users is not homogeneous, but rather a broad spectrum from the function of worship, entertainment, to practical inspiration.

Consumption of Digital Preaching: Between Habitus and Symbolic Capital

Consumption of da'wah content on social media, as found in this study, does not always reflect religious intentions born from deep spiritual awareness. In the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory (Ningtyas 2015.,(Fatmawati, 2020),the practice of scrolling carried out by the younger generation during their free time can be understood as the result of a social disposition that has been historically formed in the digital ecosystem. The habit of opening TikTok social media is not the result of a reflective decision, but rather part of a digital habitus—an automatic tendency that is formed through social interactions, cultural environments, and technological structures that are continuously reproduced.

On the other hand, the tendency to like, save, or share da'wah content is more often motivated by symbolic needs than the urge to experience spiritual transformation. In this case, da'wah content acts as a source of symbolic capital, namely social recognition of religious identity displayed through preferences for certain religious figures or messages (Bourdieu, 2020). For some respondents, watching lectures or following popular ustadz accounts is not necessarily aimed at changing religious behavior, but rather to feel "connected" to a socially constructed religious image.

Thus, the practice of consuming digital da'wah can be read as a meeting between the habitus inherent in the digital routines of the younger generation and symbolic strategies in forming and negotiating religious identity. This shows that social media is not only a space for spreading da'wah values, but also an arena for symbolic struggle where individuals build religious legitimacy through self-representation.

Furthermore, the activity of consuming da'wah content through the practice of scrolling social media can basically be understood within the framework of digital habitus, namely a disposition system that forms the behavioral tendencies of the younger generation in digital space. In Bourdieu's perspective, habitus is a mental structure that is formed historically and socially, and forms individual actions and perceptions unconsciously (Bourdieu, 2020). In this context, the habit of opening social

media such as TikTok during free time can be positioned as a form of actualization of digital habitus that has been internalized in the daily life of digital subjects.

Thus, "scrolling da'wah" is not merely a rational and planned individual action to access religious messages, but rather the result of the internalization of digital social structures that have become part of everyday experience. In this framework, da'wah content that appears on the timeline becomes part of the media landscape that is consumed passively—but can still influence the spiritual meaning of users. This process shows how digital habitus not only shapes the way users access content, but also mediates the relationship between religious practices and contemporary digital culture.

In Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, social practices are never free from individual efforts to accumulate various forms of capital, including symbolic capital—namely social recognition obtained through recognition of certain attributes such as religiosity, morality, or cultural status (Bourdieu, 2020). In the context of digital da'wah consumption, the findings of this study indicate that most social media users access da'wah content not within the framework of deep spiritual transformation, but rather as a way to build and maintain religious identity symbolically.

The responses shown by several informants—such as liking or following lectures from certain figures without any intention to change behavior or outlook on life—indicate that the consumption of da'wah content functions more as a symbolic fulfillment of needs than an actualization of faith. The choice to watch, save, or share da'wah content can be understood as a form of seeking social legitimacy for religious affiliation, although it is not always accompanied by a real change in religious practice.

Field findings show that scrolling activity, including when encountering da'wah content, is not an action based on full intentional awareness, but rather appears as an automatic response to conditions of free time, boredom, or the need for light distraction. This reflects that the digital habitus of the younger generation has been formed from the social and cultural structures inherent in the social media ecosystem itself. Easy access to digital platforms, the existence of content that is continuous (perpetual flow), and social practices that prioritize connectivity and entertainment, also strengthen the formation of a disposition to continue "scrolling" as a default behavior.

Thus, da'wah content on social media operates as a symbolic field that allows individuals to feel "connected" religiously, without having to engage in transformative spiritual practices. This shows how symbolic capital can function as a substitute or representation of actual religiosity, especially in digital cultures that emphasize aspects of self-representation and identity performativity.

Intentionality and Sacrality in the Consumption of Digital Da'wah

Consumption of religious content on social media does not always take place within a framework of complete intentionality. The results of the study show that most users access da'wah content incidentally, namely as part of a spontaneous and unplanned scrolling activity. The emergence of da'wah content on the timeline is generally not the result of active searches, but rather from algorithms that adjust the user's digital interaction preferences. In this case, the consumption of religious content is more like a situational response to visual and emotional stimuli that appear randomly in the digital space.

This phenomenon shows that religious intentionality is no longer a prerequisite in the practice of listening to or watching da'wah. Several informants stated that they listened to da'wah content without the initial intention of gaining religious understanding, but because the content was visually appealing, short, or in accordance with the mood at that time. This reflects a shift in the way digital da'wah is consumed: from sacred activities involving spiritual awareness to light entertainment that can be enjoyed in spare time.

This shift in meaning indicates the decontextualization of da'wah from formal worship spaces to fluid and open digital public spaces. In this context, da'wah is no longer merely understood as an invitation to piety, but also as content that competes in the attention economy. Several respondents even stated that they enjoyed da'wah content not because of its content, but because of its humorous, relaxed, or relatable delivery style. Thus, the activity of consuming digital da'wah content cannot be classified solely as a form of sacred religious engagement. It has undergone a transformation in function and meaning: from a means of spiritual contemplation to a form of symbolic consumption and entertainment, both of which continue to contribute to the formation of religious identity in the digital era.

This is in line with field findings obtained through interviews with respondents. For example, NN stated that from my personal experience, it's actually more often unintentional, Mas. So when I'm scrolling on TikTok, suddenly Islamic content appears, such as short sermons, quotes from religious teachers, or excerpts from studies. It usually appears among other content such as funny videos, skincare tips, or people's daily lives. But because I also follow several Islamic accounts, sometimes I also intentionally look for it, especially when I want to find peace or feel down. So you could say it's both, sometimes incidental, sometimes intentional. But the incidental is more dominant—like "oh yeah, this is also good," then I continue watching. But initially, it was just because I passed by on FYP, not intentionally looking for it (Interview, NN). NN further explained, now it's a bit mixed. Sometimes Islamic content is made in a light way and is very related to everyday life, so it feels like positive motivational or entertainment content. For example, some are packaged using mellow background sound, aesthetic subtitles, or a relaxed storytelling style. So

even though the content is religious, it doesn't feel as heavy as formal studies. For me, sometimes it still provides religious insight, but I don't feel like I'm praying or studying in a sacred sense. It's more like a light reflection. So you could say the meaning is a bit off, so it's a kind of "meaningful entertainment." But that doesn't mean there's no spiritual effect, it's just the form and atmosphere that are more relaxed (Interview, NN).

Meanwhile, MM, said that as a career woman or office worker, I rarely have special time to look for religious content. So, most of the da'wah content that I consume is incidental—it just pops up when I open TikTok in between work or at night before going to bed. But that doesn't mean I'm not interested. In fact, sometimes I get small, touching reminders from there, such as about patience, sustenance, or peace of mind (Interview, MM). But I have also consciously searched, for example when I feel emotional or need spiritual enlightenment. So there is also intentional content, but the portion is smaller than the incidental content. Interestingly, social media algorithms are now quite smart, so after I interact with religious content several times, what appears next is more similar. Furthermore, MM said Honestly, religious content now feels like "digital self-care" to me. Not in the sense of replacing worship, but more as a calming complement to everyday life. The content is also increasingly creative—using animation, storytelling, or even dramatic narratives. So even though the religious message is there, the form of delivery is often similar to entertainment. I don't feel like I'm "reciting" like in traditional pengajian, but there is still meaning and peace that I get. So in my opinion, this activity is between two poles: not completely sacred, but also not pure entertainment. Maybe it can be said as a form of spirituality that is contextual to my life as a busy urban woman (Interview, MM).

Another respondent, BB, stated that initially I consumed religious content unintentionally—like when scrolling through TikTok, suddenly a video about a prayer to calm the heart or an Islamic quote appeared. But because I often watched it until the end or liked the video, over time the algorithm continued to give me similar content. So even though it was incidental at first, now it's like half intentional, because I often "stay" longer if I find relatable da'wah content. Sometimes I even open ustazah accounts or hijrah content because I want to hear their views on daily life, love, or career. So you could say that my consumption is dynamic: sometimes I don't realize it, sometimes I intentionally look for it. For me, now religious content doesn't always feel heavy or stiff. Many are packaged in a light way, using trending background sounds, aesthetic texts, and some are even funny but still meaningful. So yes, for me this has shifted to something fun but still touches on the spiritual side. I still feel touched, but the context is more of a "daily reminder" that can be enjoyed at any time, not like a formal pengajian. So the sacred value is still there, but it is more flexible. I think this is what keeps me and my friends of the same age engaged—because the form is connected to our lifestyle (Interview, BB).

Meanwhile, PP explained that for me personally, most of it was unintentional—incidental. For example, while scrolling through TikTok's FYP, a short Islamic preaching video suddenly appears, either from a religious teacher, or just a quote from a verse or hadith edited with soothing music. I rarely open TikTok to look for religious content. But because it often appears, I sometimes watch it until the end or like it if the content touches my heart. So even though it's not intentional, over time it becomes part of my digital routine. Sometimes I even save it or share it with friends if I think it's good. So even though it's not intentional, it still has an impact. In my opinion, it's a bit mixed now (Interview, PP). Religious content on TikTok or Instagram is often packaged in a relaxed manner, using editing trends, mellow music, or even related to the problems of being single, overthinking, or failing a thesis. So, I feel like this has entered the light entertainment zone, but it still has moral and religious values. I don't feel like I'm participating in a study group, but I still feel reminded. Sometimes it makes me think, like "wow, yeah, I rarely pray on time for example." But the context is lighter, not patronizing. So for me personally, the sacredness is still there but the way it is conveyed is much more "comfortable" for young people (Interview, PP).

The last source, AA, explained that for me personally, consuming religious content is usually more incidental or unintentional. I scroll for entertainment or to find business ideas, but I often come across religious content that catches my attention. Usually, if the content is relevant and short, I will stop and watch it until the end. But I rarely open the application to look for preaching content. So, this consumption is more because of the algorithm that displays the content according to my interests that I may not be fully aware of. However, there are also times when I look for certain content to strengthen my spirit or get motivation, but that is rarer. In my opinion, there has been a shift towards entertainment with religious nuances. Much religious content is packaged in a light, creative, and entertaining way, making it easier for young people like me to accept (Interview, AA). However, even though it feels like entertainment, the content still provides important moral and spiritual messages. So for me, religious content on social media is between two things: entertainment that is full of meaning and spiritual reminders that are relevant to everyday life. I see this as a form of adaptive preaching in the digital era, combining sacred and entertainment aspects in a balanced way.

CONCLUSION

This This study shows that the consumption of digital da'wah content by the younger generation is not always a deliberate or sacred activity. Through Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic capital, it was found that scrolling through social media during leisure time has become part of a digital habitus—daily routines shaped by culture, social interaction, and platform algorithms. In this context, exposure to da'wah content tends to be incidental rather than intentional, and often

occurs passively as part of broader digital consumption patterns. Moreover, engaging with such content does not necessarily lead to spiritual transformation or behavioral change, but rather functions as symbolic consumption—where acts like liking, sharing, or saving content serve to perform religious identity and express affiliation with a community.

These findings indicate a shift in the meaning and function of da'wah in the digital era, from a sacred vehicle of religious transmission to a form of entertainment and identity representation. The religiosity of the younger generation is thus increasingly fluid, personalized, and contextual. However, this study is limited by its focus on descriptive and interpretive analysis without tracing long-term behavioral outcomes or deeper theological engagement. Future research is encouraged to use longitudinal or mixed-method approaches to understand the enduring impact of digital da'wah. Additionally, da'i and religious educators are recommended to design content that not only appeals to symbolic recognition but also invites critical reflection and meaningful spiritual development in today's hybrid media environment

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AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION

The author, an activist at the BAZNAS Institution of Tebo Regency, is fully responsible for this research. He independently drafted the concept, designed the methodology, analyzed the findings, and submitted the research proposal. In addition, the author also developed research instruments and collected data himself, as well as managing references and contributing data or analysis tools to the final manuscript.

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