Political and Religious Expressions of Gen Z Muslims in *islami.co's* Instagram Comic Strips

Abraham Zakky Zulhazmi*[1], Andi M. Faisal Bakti[2]

[1]UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta, Indonesia
[2]UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia

E-mail: abrahamzakky@staff.uinsaid.ac.id

Abstract

Purpose: This study aims to analyze the political and religious expressions of Muslim Generation Z as represented on the Instagram account of *islami.co*. **Methodology**: The research employs a qualitative approach using semiotic analysis to examine selected comic strips. Data were collected through virtual ethnography by gathering comic strip posts published on the *islami.co* Instagram account. **Findings**: The study finds that the comic strips shared by *islami.co* on Instagram serve as representations of the political and religious expressions of Muslim Gen Z in response to political events in Indonesia. The comics reflect a form of critical Islam, particularly in relation to the then-ongoing presidential election. **Research Implications**: This research contributes to the growing body of scholarship on Islam in digital spaces, particularly as expressed through visual media like comics. It recommends the production of more progressive Islamic content on social media to help foster critical thinking among young Muslims. Such content should be delivered in popular formats such as comics, podcasts, vlogs, and similar media. **Originality/Value**: This study offers a novel contribution by integrating the themes of comics, politics, and religion within the framework of social media studies and Muslim Gen Z identity.

Keywords: Gen Z; Instagram; comic strip; semiotic analysis; progressive Islam.

Abstrak

Tujuan: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis ekspresi politik dan keberagamaan generasi Z muslim di akun Instagram *islami.co*. **Metodologi**: Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang memanfaatkan analisis semiotik untuk menganalisis komik yang diteliti. Data didapat melalui riset virtual, dengan mengumpulkan komik strip yang terdapat di akun Instagram *islami.co*. **Temuan**: Temuan riset ini adalah strip yang ditampilkan oleh *islami.co* melalui akun Instagram merupakan representasi ekspresi politik dan keberagamaan gen Z muslim dalam merespons peristiwa politik yang terjadi di Indonesia. Mereka menampilkan Islam yang kritis dalam komik mereka. Kritisisme yang dibangun berkenaan dengan pemilihan presiden Indonesia yang saat itu tengah berlangsung. **Implikasi penelitian**: Penelitian ini berkontribusi untuk meluaskan kajian tentang Islam di ruang digital, khususnya yang diekspresikan melalui komik. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan penambahan konten-konten keislaman yang progresif di media sosial. Hal tersebut penting untuk membangun nalar kritis generasi muda muslim. Konten-konten tersebut hendaknya dikemas dalam kemasan populer dalam bentuk komik, siniar, *vlog* atau sejenisnya. **Orisinalitas/Nilai**: Penelitian ini berkontribusi mengintegrasikan pembahasan mengenai komik, politik dan agama yang dikaitkan dengan kajian mengenai media sosial dan generasi Z muslim.

Kata kunci: Gen Z; Instagram; komik strip; analisis semiotik; Islam progresif.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary religious practices, particularly among young people, are shaped by the presence of social media, including Instagram. Instagram has emerged as a medium that mediates both the expression

and perception of Muslim religiosity, combining religious values with modern aesthetics in its visual culture. Islamic-themed posts serve not only as a means of *da'wah* (religious outreach) but also as tools for shaping identity, lifestyle, and digitally constructed religious meaning (Frissen et al., 2017). In line with this, Hasan observes that Instagram has become a primary arena for young Muslims to express, shape, and share religious values in ways that align with contemporary visual culture, with religiosity presented as an aspirational lifestyle and identity (Hasan, 2022). Instagram also functions as a platform for the formation, management, and expression of religious identity among university students (Mariati & Salim, 2023). Instagram has given rise to "religious influencers", a new form of digital religious authority constructed through visual aesthetics, personal narratives, and emotional connections rather than traditional scholarly lineages (*sanad*) or formal religious institutions (Febrian, 2024). This finding is supported by research showing that the hijab-wearing styles of Malaysian Muslim teenagers are influenced by Instagram influencers (Shariffadeen & Manaf, 2019).

This phenomenon becomes increasingly significant when viewed in light of the large population of Muslim Generation Z in Indonesia, who constitute the primary users of social media. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) (2023), the number of Gen Z individuals in Indonesia is approximately 74.93 million, representing 27.94% of the total national population. Meanwhile, the majority of Indonesians identify as Muslim, accounting for around 86.98% of the population. Assuming this proportion also applies to the Gen Z cohort, it can be estimated that there are about 65.17 million Muslim Gen Z individuals in Indonesia (Rainer, 2023). This figure underscores that the religious expressions of young Muslims in digital spaces—particularly through visually oriented platforms such as Instagram—possess vast potential for social reach and influence.

Previous studies have also shown the diversity of religious expression on Instagram. In Indonesia, Muslim women have used the platform as a space for creative *da'wah* through a combination of visuals and text (Nisa, 2018). Other research has examined the success of Felix Siauw, a Chinese-Indonesian convert preacher, on Instagram, attributing his appeal to his mastery of media and technology and his ability to understand the tastes of young audiences (Hew, 2018). Expressions of Muslim millennial religiosity are also evident in *hijrah* narratives—stories about the process of moving toward a more Islamic way of life (Rahman et al., 2021). In addition, veiled women in Indonesia have used Instagram for *da'wah* aimed at countering negative societal stigma (Wahyudi, 2021). The platform has also become a space for "online muftis" to issue "*fatwas*" in response to questions submitted by netizens (Humaira et al., 2022).

Research consistently shows that the use of Instagram for *da'wah* enables preachers to remain connected with their audiences while expanding the reach of their message in the digital sphere. Instagram makes it easier for preachers to disseminate religious messages in enjoyable and flexible ways. Notably, Indonesia ranks fourth globally in Instagram users, with 90 million users in 2024, following India, the United States, and Brazil. Within Indonesia, Instagram is the second most popular social media platform after WhatsApp (Rainer, 2024). These statistics illustrate both the scale of Instagram use and its significant role in daily life, including in the realm of *da'wah*.

Like religion, politics is also expressed through social media, including Instagram. Political expression can come from politicians seeking to mobilize support, or from citizens generally who wish to voice their political views. Studies show that social media has become a new political arena—open, fluid, and transboundary (Indrawan et al., 2023; Noorikhsan et al., 2023; Rohmah, 2023). However, it also has the potential to foster political polarization and spread disinformation (Ali & Eriyanto, 2021; Utami, 2018).

One medium that can be used to convey both political and religious expression is the comic (Zulhazmi, 2022). Comics are juxtaposed images and symbols arranged in panels (McCloud, 2022), telling a story in sequential order. As a form of visual communication—a collaboration between text and image—comics are powerful tools for conveying information in a popular and accessible format (Maharsi, 2014). They are considered a form of graphic literature, not merely cheap entertainment with attractive visuals, but an intellectual form of visual communication that delivers messages in a universal, easily understood language (Soedarso, 2015).

Historically, comics in Indonesia were once seen as "forbidden" and read in secret, feared to disrupt children's study time (Bonneff, 2008). According to Zara, comic studies have been largely abandoned due to their association with slapstick humor, caricatures, light narratives, and simple illustrations consumed in leisure time by children or teenagers (Zara, 2022). Yet comics, as cultural representations, are ideological sites—spaces where discourses compete (Ajidarma, 2011, 2021). Reading comics, therefore, can be seen as engaging in ideological struggle. Comics provide unique perspectives on society, culture, and religion and are often used to convey religious content. They have been employed in religious studies education, offered sociological insights into religion and society, and reflected broader trends in fictional storytelling (Groot, 2024; Lubis, 2021).

From the review of existing literature, a research gap emerges: there has been little to no study on digital comics as a medium for the political-religious expression of Muslim Generation Z. Previous research has linked comics with politics but not with religion, and conversely, has connected comics with religion but not with politics. Moreover, studies on comic strips in the digital sphere remain scarce. This study seeks to address that gap by qualitatively analyzing comic strips on Instagram using Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis.

The aim of this research is to examine political and religious expression in comic strips on Instagram, focusing specifically on Generation Z Muslim expression as found on the *islami.co* Instagram account. This study contributes to expanding the discourse on Islam in the digital sphere, particularly as expressed through comics. It also integrates discussions of comics, politics, and religion in connection with research on social media and Muslim Generation Z.

The main argument is that Instagram comic strips serve as a medium for social critique targeting Muslim Generation Z, packaging criticism with religious symbols and narratives closely aligned with youth culture. This aligns with previous studies that view Instagram as a space for young Muslim expression (Hasan, 2022; Mariati & Salim, 2023; Nisa, 2018; Rahman et al., 2021). However, this study specifically focuses on the critical perspectives of young Muslims as manifested on Instagram through the medium of comic strips.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach to analyze political and religious expressions in comic strips published on the Instagram account *islami.co.* The primary data consists of two comic strips titled *Mbah Hikam dan Gema—Tips Milih Pasangan (Buat Milih Presiden juga Boleh) [Tips for Choosing a Partner (Also Applicable for Choosing a President)],* uploaded on 19 January 2024, and *Filter Medsos yang Menyesatkan [Misleading Social Media Filters],* uploaded on 31 January 2024. The researcher conducted virtual observations of *islami.co's* digital comic strips. The data was obtained from screenshots sourced from the Instagram account *@islamidotco*. The units of analysis include both textual and visual elements (including religious symbols) contained in the two comic strips. User comments on these comic strips also served as supporting data.

These two comic strips were selected because they present sharp critiques regarding the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. Furthermore, they utilize religious symbols as part of the critique. *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* differs from other *islami.co* comic strips in that it specifically addresses practical politics (the presidential election), a theme previously unexplored by *islami.co*.

The comic strips were analyzed using Roland Barthes' semiotic framework, which consists of three main concepts: denotation, connotation, and myth. Denotation refers to the first-order signifying system, which comprises the chain of signifier and signified, that is, the material form of the sign or the abstract concept behind it. Connotation is closely associated with ideological operations, functioning to reveal and legitimize the dominant values prevailing in a given period. Myth is constructed from an already existing chain of signification and is referred to as a second-order signifying system (Sobur, 2016). Every visual and textual element in *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* was analyzed using a three-tiered matrix: denotation, connotation, and myth.

The data analysis followed the steps outlined by Creswell (2007). First, data organization, in which the data was derived from the dialogue and images in the comic strips. Second, a comprehensive reading of the data. Third, data reduction. Fourth, data coding using Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis (denotation, connotation, myth) conducted panel by panel. Fifth, data interpretation. Finally, drawing conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islami.co Comic Strips: A Semiotic Review

During Indonesia's 2024 presidential election, *islami.co* published comic strips on its Instagram account as one of the media's chosen formats for voicing its perspectives on various issues. *Islami.co* is a platform committed to disseminating information and ideas that promote the growth of a tolerant and peaceful society. The outlet is managed by young alumni of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and carries the tagline *Media Islam Ramah dan Mencerahkan* (A Friendly and Enlightening Islamic Media) (Islami.co, 2013). According to an *Alvara* survey in 2024, *islami.co* ranked as the primary reference media for Islamic topics. The survey found that 43.9% of respondents selected *islami.co* as the Islamic site they visited most frequently. Young people aged 15–24 were the demographic most likely to visit *islami.co*, compared to other age groups. Notably, 46% of respondents aged 15–19 and 48.1% of those aged 20–24 identified *islami.co* as their main source of Islamic information (Choironi, 2024).

The i*slami.co* Instagram comic strip analyzed in this study is titled *Mbah Hikam dan Gema*. This research examines two episodes from the series: *Tips Milih Pasangan (Buat Milih Presiden juga Boleh)* [Tips for Choosing a Partner (Also Applicable for Choosing a President)] and *Filter Medsos yang Menyesatkan* [Misleading Social Media Filters]. As the title suggests, the comics feature two main characters: Mbah Hikam, depicted as an elderly figure, and Gema, portrayed as a younger character.

Figure 1. Misleading Social Media Filters

The first comic strip analyzed is titled *Filter Medsos yang Menyesatkan* (Misleading Social Media Filters) The following is a semiotic analysis of the comic:

Denotation

Panel 1: Two men are sitting side by side. One is dressed in a white shirt, white cap (peci), has white hair, and wears a brown sarong. He is holding a smartphone. A speech bubble above him reads, "Gema, please teach me how to use TikTok." Next to him, a younger man wearing an orange jacket and a blue cap is also holding a smartphone. His speech bubble replies, "Sure, Mbah. Come here!"

Panel 2: The same two men are still sitting together. The older man, dressed in white and wearing a peci, looks at his phone. A speech bubble above him reads, "Why do I look so young?" The younger man, still holding his phone, has a speech bubble showing an image of the older man with black hair and a youthful face.

Panel 3: Both men are still seated side by side. The older man holds his phone and looks at his younger-looking image. The younger man smiles with his eyes closed and gives a thumbs-up. His speech bubble reads, "Yes, Mbah, amazing, right?"

Panel 4: The two are now sitting facing each other. The older man gestures with his hand as if pointing at something, while the younger man holds his phone. A speech bubble above the younger man says, "Yesterday, my friend looked *gemoy* (cute and cuddly) on TikTok because of a filter. But in real life, he's actually very hot-tempered." The older man's speech bubble replies, "Wow, that's dangerous."

Connotation

The young man in the orange jacket and blue cap is likely Gema, as suggested by the title of the comic, *Mbah Hikam dan Gema*. The older man, wearing a white outfit with white hair and a white *peci*, is Mbah Hikam. He asks Gema to teach him how to use TikTok, bringing along his smartphone. Gema agrees to help.

In the second panel, Gema shows Mbah Hikam an edited version of his face using a TikTok filter that makes him look younger, which surprises Mbah Hikam.

In the third panel, Mbah Hikam stares at his phone, looking at the altered image, while Gema proudly praises the power of social media.

In the fourth panel, Gema recalls a friend who looked adorable (*gemoy*) online but was actually quite ill-tempered in real life. Mbah Hikam responds by noting that such deceptive appearances can be dangerous.

Myth

In this comic, Mbah Hikam is portrayed as a wise elder figure who guides the younger Gema. His attire—white clothing, a *peci*, and sarong—suggests he is a religious figure from a pesantren (Islamic boarding school) background. In contrast, Gema's clothing (a casual jacket and cap) reflects a youth culture that is non-traditional or non-*pesantren*.

Although older, Mbah Hikam seeks technological guidance from Gema, reflecting the generational dynamic in which younger people are considered more digitally literate. Specifically, Mbah asks about TikTok, currently the most widely used social media platform in Indonesia.

The comic was published during the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, a time when social media was heavily utilized for campaign purposes. Notably, one candidate's team employed artificial intelligence (AI) as part of their digital strategy to appeal to younger voters, particularly Gen Z and millennials, who represent a significant voting bloc.

The final panel can be interpreted as a critique directed at presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto. Gema mentions a friend who appears *gemoy* on social media but is known for his temper. The term *gemoy* became associated with Prabowo during the 2024 campaign, while in the previous 2019 election, he was criticized by opponents as being hot-headed due to several public displays of anger. The comic closes with Mbah Hikam stating that deceptive appearances are dangerous—a clear commentary on image-based politics.

Figure 2. Tips for Choosing a Partner (Also Works for Choosing a President)

The second comic strip analyzed is titled *Tips Milih Pasangan (Buat Milih Presiden juga Boleh)* (Tips for Choosing a Partner (Also Works for Choosing a President)). The following is a semiotic analysis of the comic:

Denotation

Panel 1: A man wearing a blue cap and red shirt is holding a smartphone, showing the image of a woman on the screen. A speech bubble above him reads: "There are so many beautiful girls on TikTok, too bad none of them can be my partner."

Panel 2: An older man in a white shirt, with white hair and a white cap (*peci*), is sitting on a brown chair while holding a cup. A speech bubble above him says: "Gema, finding a partner is not as easy as following someone on TikTok." Beside him sits a younger man in a red jacket and blue cap.

Panel 3: The two men are sitting side by side with a table between them. On the table are a white cup and a red canned drink. The younger man, in a red shirt and blue cap, is holding a smartphone. Next to him is the older man in a white shirt, white cap, and brown sarong. A speech bubble above the older man reads: "You need to know their personality—whether they're kind or short-tempered. Don't just trust what you see on TikTok; there are a lot of filters there."

Panel 4: The younger man is seated with his hand on his chin. His speech bubble reads: "So it's the same when choosing a presidential candidate, right, Mbah?" A speech bubble above the older man, wearing a black cap, replies: "Exactly. Don't choose someone just because they're *gemoy* (cute)."

Connotation

In Panel 1, Gema is shown watching a TikTok video on his phone, likely featuring a dancing woman. He comments that many women on TikTok are attractive, but they're not suitable as real-life partners.

In Panel 2, seeing Gema watching the video, Mbah Hikam advises him that choosing a life partner isn't as simple as following someone on TikTok, sharing his wisdom while sipping his drink.

In Panel 3, Mbah Hikam continues his advice, emphasizing the importance of knowing a person's character before choosing them as a partner—whether they are kind or have a temper. He warns not to be misled by appearances on TikTok, where filters can deceive viewers. Gema listens while enjoying his canned drink.

In Panel 4, Gema draws a parallel between choosing a life partner and selecting a presidential candidate. He suggests that both require thoughtful decision-making. Mbah Hikam agrees, adding that one should not choose a candidate simply because they are *gemoy* (adorable or charming).

Myth

This comic builds on themes from the previous one, continuing the conversation between Mbah Hikam and Gema about TikTok. Although the dialogue begins with a light discussion about choosing a romantic partner, the final panel shifts the focus to the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, particularly referencing Mbah Hikam's warning: "Don't choose someone just because they're *gemoy*."

In the context of the 2024 election, the *gemoy* image was associated with Prabowo Subianto, who ran alongside Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The term *gemoy* refers to someone who is chubby, cute, and endearing. This public image was not associated with Prabowo during his previous presidential runs in 2009 (with Megawati Soekarnoputri), 2014 (with Hatta Rajasa), or 2019 (with Sandiaga Uno), when he was more closely identified with a stern, military persona. In 2024, however, Prabowo adopted a more humanized and playful image—frequently dancing in public and embracing the *gemoy* label.

In the final panel, the comic offers a form of political education or political literacy, drawing an analogy between choosing a spouse and choosing a president. The message is clear: voters should not make decisions based solely on a candidate's popularity or appealing public image. Instead, they should consider competence, track record, and credibility. As with the previous comic, the last panel can be read as a satirical critique of Prabowo Subianto.

Responses to *islami.co's* Comic Strips

The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic strip on *islami.co's* Instagram account received a wide range of comments, which can be categorized as positive, negative, and responses from *islami.co* itself. The episode *Tips Milih Pasangan (Buat Milih Presiden juga Boleh)* [Tips for Choosing a Partner (Also Applicable for Choosing a President)] attracted 185 comments. Positive remarks included, for example:

"*Proof that most Indonesians still can't be tolerant or open to differences of opinion—an indication they're not ready for democracy. Thankfully, fanatical followers of authoritarian figures have unfollowed on their own*" (@ibnuhamim_).

"*Those who say 'unfollow' actually never followed this account in the first place. They're just new accounts stirring up trouble in the conversation. There's nothing wrong with saying 'Don't just choose the cute one' even if it applies to the presidential election. We should pick a president with a solid track record so that the future will be better. We can see a candidate's quality from two rounds of debates. Just being cute isn't*

enough, especially with a dark history such as being dismissed from the military for abducting activists" (@rozali.ahmad1926).

"*Your choice is great, admin, but it's obviously going to lose* 😂" (@Hafidmutaki).

In general, these positive comments supported the critical stance taken by *islami.co* regarding the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, emphasizing the need for voters to consider track records and leadership capacity rather than mere popularity or charisma.

On the other hand, negative comments included:

"*Ahhh, it ends up being about politics. I thought this account was neutral. I'm already sick of Friday sermons being all about politics—now this post too. Makes me more certain I'll abstain*" (@dedyice).

"*An account like this shouldn't post political content. This is not what I expected. Should be neutral, boss* 😊" (@la_yudha).

"*Please, @islamidotco, don't get into politics or show bias for or against a presidential candidate. This account is too good for that... just focus on Aswaja outreach to counter radical groups* 🙏🏻🙏🏻❤️" (@don_reyno).

Most negative comments called for unfollowing islami.co due to perceived political bias and urged the outlet to avoid discussing practical politics.

In response, *islami.co* replied:

"*The point is this: when choosing a 'candidate,' check their track record first—don't just get fooled by social media. Why are so many people mad? Where did I go wrong?* 😂"

The admin's reply seemed to try to "lighten the mood" amid predominantly negative feedback, while also denying that the comic was about the presidential race. They emphasized that the term "candidate" could have a broader meaning, not necessarily referring only to presidential candidates.

The second episode, *Filter Medsos yang Menyesatkan* [Misleading Social Media Filters], received 96 comments. Positive responses included:

"*Independent media doesn't have to be neutral. Being biased is fine, as long as you don't take paid content* 💀" (@ibnuhamim_).

"*Admin, don't be afraid of losing followers—followers won't help us in the afterlife anyway* 🔥" (@green_witch07).

"*Awesome, guys*" (@Idrismasudi).

These few supportive comments suggested that it was not wrong for media to take a political stance, and encouraged *islami.co* to continue its work despite criticism.

However, there were also numerous negative comments expressing disagreement:

"*Sad, admin, why did the content have to go in this direction? I thought it was exemplary, but turns out it's the same as other portals*" (@Miadumay).

"*Sorry, admin, I'm unfollowing... you're playing politics now* 🙏" (@zychanx_).

"*How much did the neighbor pay you to post this?*" (@d.candrraa).

"*RIP, islami.co's educational content* 🥺" (@gungpkusuma).

"*The account name is islami.co but the content is gossip* (*ghibah*)" (@avinfaza).

These users expressed disappointment, perceiving that *islami.co*'s post had entered the political arena, particularly the presidential contest.

Islami.co responded in the same comment thread:

"*We already said it's not about the presidential election, so why are supporters of a certain candidate getting so sensitive? Is it because their candidate is really like that?* 😂😂"

Here again, the outlet denied that the comic was about the 2024 presidential race, projecting an air of indifference toward the negative feedback. Nonetheless, the rhetorical question—"is it because their candidate is really like that?"—invited further reactions, while the term "candidate" remained deliberately ambiguous.

From these comments, it is evident that *islami.co*'s comic strip elicited diverse political and religious expressions from netizens. The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* series appears to have "two sides of the same coin": on one side, it received appreciation; on the other, rejection. The backlash stemmed not only from *islami.co*'s perceived sudden engagement with a sensitive political issue—the presidential election—but also from the view that the comic's narrative indirectly mocked or targeted a specific presidential candidate.

Political and Religious Expression of Muslim Gen Z

According to Marcel Bonneff, comic strips often contain satire about current events and humorously critique widely discussed behaviors in society. The characters in these comics frequently serve as spokespersons for social criticism. These characters may appear naive or comical, yet they often address complex and timely social issues. Bonneff refers to such works as "intellectual comics," which require a second-level reading and interpretation beyond their surface humor (Bonneff, 2008). Comics, therefore, are not merely visual media but also tools for social critique and instruments of social control (Ramadhani & Putra, 2017).

Bonneff's conception of comic strips is evident in *Mbah Hikam and Gema*, a series published by *islami.co*. These comics address current events and offer satirical commentary on behaviors commonly discussed by the public. The 2024 Indonesian presidential election is one such event, and the comic's critique of the term *gemoy*—a popular label in the election discourse—is part of that public conversation. The characters Mbah Hikam and Gema serve as figures of social critique, delivering commentary that, although seemingly lighthearted, addresses weighty political issues.

The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic series can also be interpreted as a representation of the political and religious expression of Muslim Gen Z. This interpretation aligns with research that highlights the distinct and unique characteristics of Generation Z. According to Stillman & Stillman (2019), Gen Z—those born between 1995 and 2012—possess several defining traits: they are phygital (blending physical and digital), hyper-customized, realistic, prone to FOMO (Fear of Missing Out), "*weconomists,*" DIY (Do It Yourself) minded, and highly driven.

The following is a description of each character: (1) Phygital: Gen Z is the first generation to be born into a fully digital world. For them, the boundary between physical and digital realities has all but disappeared. They consume, live, and work in integrated environments where technology is ever-present. They bring new expectations to workplaces and communities that previous generations did not. (2) Hyper-customization: Gen Z actively shapes their personal identity and curates their online presence. They expect their behaviors and preferences to be understood and accommodated—this is reflected in their career choices, such as becoming social media specialists, influencers, or YouTubers. (3) Realism: Having grown up during periods of economic and global uncertainty, Gen Z has developed a pragmatic mindset. They approach the future with realistic goals and strategies to navigate challenges. (4) FOMO: Gen Z is highly alert to trends and change, constantly seeking the latest updates to avoid missing out. Their desire to stay ahead of the curve drives their digital engagement and competitive edge. (5) *Weconomist*: Gen Z values collaboration and shared economic models. They leverage communal and cost-effective approaches in both professional and philanthropic contexts. (6) DIY: Growing up with access to online

platforms that teach everything from life skills to business strategies, Gen Z is highly self-reliant. This often puts them at odds with the more collective orientation of previous generations. (7) Driven: Gen Z is known for being ambitious and competitive, often pushing themselves harder than those before them (Stillman & Stillman, 2019).

Other research adds that Gen Z is characterized by a strong sense of individualism, technological fluency, and a global outlook. For Muslim members of Gen Z, these traits are shaped and informed by Islamic values, ethics, and teachings. This religiosity plays a crucial role in shaping their behavior, perspectives, and online expressions (Ningtyas et al., 2024). Their political and religious expressions on social media reflect a balance between critical thinking and ethical engagement. For instance, Gen Z values objectivity and prefers messages that are concise and direct to avoid misinformation. They also tend to engage critically and verify information before accepting it, making media literacy and information ethics essential components of their digital life (Indrayani, 2024).

These characteristics are clearly reflected in the *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comics. Gema, who represents a digitally literate Gen Z figure, teaches Mbah Hikam about digital culture, such as social media filters. While Mbah Hikam, although older, is portrayed as curious and willing to engage with emerging media trends. In terms of religiosity, Mbah Hikam represents a figure grounded in Islamic knowledge, while Gema symbolizes a young Muslim navigating modernity. The combination of traditional religious values and digital savviness in the comic illustrates how Muslim Gen Z lives in a modern, technology-driven world while still being influenced by Islamic teachings.

The comics also depict Gen Z's FOMO behavior, with both characters eager to stay informed and not miss out on trends. Their conversations about the 2024 presidential election and the use of viral terms like *gemoy* show their desire to remain engaged in current public discourse.

The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic series on *islami.co* also reflects broader political messaging targeted at Gen Z Muslim voters—who made up 25.69% of Indonesia's 203,657,354 registered voters in the 2024 general election (Fawdi, 2024). Through these comics, *islami.co* promotes critical thinking among young Muslim voters, drawing a parallel between choosing a presidential candidate and choosing a life partner—an important decision in Islamic ethics that should be made carefully and not based on superficial qualities. This message is presented in the form of comic strips—a medium that resonates with young audiences and is easily accessible. Instagram, the chosen platform for distribution, is highly popular among Gen Z and offers broad outreach and engagement.

Discussion

This study aims to analyze the political and religious expressions of Muslim Generation Z as represented in the *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic strip published on the Instagram account *islami.co*. The findings reveal that the comic contains critical perspectives on Indonesia's sociopolitical dynamics, particularly those related to the 2024 presidential election. Through lighthearted dialogue between its two main characters—Mbah Hikam and Gema—the comic delivers social criticism in the form of religious satire presented in a popular and accessible way. Mbah Hikam is portrayed as a figure with a strong Islamic identity, while Gema represents a digitally literate youth who bridges religious tradition and modernity.

The political and religious expressions depicted in this comic can be understood as a response to the growing participation of Muslim Generation Z in digital spaces. As a generation born and raised amid the rise of social media, Gen Z views platforms such as Instagram not merely as entertainment venues but as discursive arenas for expressing opinions, religiosity, and political views. The use of comics as a medium becomes an effective strategy because of its light, visual, and easily accessible nature. Thus, political and

religious messages framed through humor and Islamic symbolism can reach a wider young audience without provoking strong resistance.

This phenomenon also explains why *islami.co*, as a progressive Islamic media outlet, chose the comic strip format to address political issues. Amid increasing political polarization and the spread of disinformation on social media, a mode of communication that is light yet meaningful provides a middle ground for delivering social criticism without losing its Islamic context or ethical dimension.

The findings of this study reinforce and expand upon previous research on religious expression in social media. As noted by Nisa (2018), Muslim women in Indonesia have used Instagram as a space for creative *da'wah* by combining text and visuals. Hew (2018) similarly demonstrated how preachers such as Felix Siauw successfully attract young audiences through their mastery of technology and media aesthetics. Meanwhile, Rahman et al. (2021) highlighted the emergence of *hijrah* narratives as a form of millennial religiosity.

However, this study offers novelty by linking such religious expressions with political dimensions through the medium of digital comics. While previous studies focused primarily on *da'wah* and religious lifestyle expressions, this research demonstrates that religious media can also serve as a space for political critique and social reflection. It thereby expands the role of Islamic media in the digital sphere—not merely as a transmitter of moral or spiritual messages, but as an active discursive agent that monitors and critiques power.

From the perspective of comic studies, these findings also differ from Lubis (2021), who argues that Islamic comics tend to be conservative. The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic, in contrast, demonstrates a progressive direction in Islam, where Islamic values are contextualized within contemporary sociopolitical issues. This aligns with the views of Bonneff (2008) and Ajidarma (2011, 2021), who emphasize that comics are ideological spaces where discourses compete—a form of art that not only entertains but also delivers criticism of social structures and power relations.

Historically, comics in Indonesia were once regarded as light reading material with little intellectual value (Bonneff, 2008). However, this study shows that within the context of digital media, comics have evolved into a form of *digital ideological communication*—a medium capable of bridging the boundary between entertainment and social critique. The *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic not only conveys moral and religious messages but also functions as a form of cultural resistance against the normalization of image-based politics that dominated social media during the 2024 presidential election. In this context, digital ideological communication operates not only through text but also through visual language and multimodality, where images, character expressions, and religious symbols play crucial roles in constructing meaning (Ginting et al., 2024).

This phenomenon aligns with the concept of *digital ideological communication*, which explains how digital media facilitate the dissemination, reinforcement, and transformation of ideological values through algorithmic and networked mechanisms (Finlayson, 2022; Sevignani, 2022). Platforms such as Instagram employ personalization algorithms that create *echo chambers*—digital echo spaces where users are primarily exposed to content that reinforces their existing beliefs (Donkers & Ziegler, 2023). In the case of *Mbah Hikam dan Gema*, its representation of critique toward image-based politics can be interpreted as an effort to penetrate these algorithmic biases by offering a more reflective and ethically grounded *counter-narrative*.

Furthermore, *islami.co* as a progressive Islamic media outlet has utilized comic characters as *digital ideological agents* operating on two levels: first, as a form of populist communication that is easily understood by the public; and second, as a counter-hegemonic and counter-discursive tool against digital

populism and identity politics, which have grown increasingly dominant in online public spaces (Donges, 2022). Thus, *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* serves as a medium that balances religiosity and political critique, combining visual, narrative, and emotional strategies to cultivate critical awareness among young Muslims.

From a social standpoint, the comic also reflects the dynamics of ideological polarization in digital spaces. The use of religious symbols and terms such as *gemoy* creates layered interpretative spaces: some readers perceive them as political humor, while others interpret them as a form of partisanship. This phenomenon is consistent with Donkers and Ziegler's (2023) findings that *echo chambers* intensify social antagonisms and limit cross-perspective interactions. On the other hand, as Han (2017) reminds us, information-dense digital spaces tend to erode deliberative public spheres, replacing them with impulsive and fragmented interactions. In this regard, *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* offers an alternative—it encourages reflective discourse through a popular medium familiar to Generation Z.

Ideologically, the comic illustrates how critical Islam operates within the landscape of digital communication—not through normative *da'wah*, but through humor, satire, and visual narratives that engage with social and political ethics. It demonstrates that digital ideological communication can function not to deepen polarization but to foster political literacy and public ethics (Adel & Numan, 2023; Hagelstein et al., 2021). Hence, *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* stands as a concrete example of how Islamic media can adapt to digital logic while preserving its moral and critical functions within an increasingly digitized society.

The primary function of this study is to provide an empirical overview of how Muslim Generation Z expresses its political and religious views in digital spaces through creative and popular media. The findings strengthen digital literacy by demonstrating that religious content can be presented in an accessible and entertaining way without losing depth of meaning.

Nevertheless, this study also has certain dysfunctions and limitations that must be acknowledged. First, its focus on only two *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comics limits the generalization of findings to all of *islami.co's* visual works. Second, the study has not directly explored readers' perceptions through in-depth interviews or participatory observation, meaning the analysis relies solely on textual and online comment data. These limitations underscore the need to expand methodological approaches by incorporating the dimension of digital media audience reception, which has become increasingly prominent in media and communication studies.

According to Schrøder (2019), media reception studies have undergone a paradigmatic shift—from a traditional focus on decoding media texts to understanding audience participation within interactive digital media landscapes. In this context, readers no longer simply "receive" messages but actively construct meaning through cross-platform participation, comments, and remix culture. The study by Tong & Chan (2023) even found that digital users prefer simple and visual forms of interaction—such as quizzes, infographics, or comics—over cognitively demanding participatory formats. This finding reinforces the relevance of using digital comics like *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* as an effective medium for conveying religious and political messages in a light yet reflective manner.

Furthermore, Stiekolshchykova et al. (2024) emphasize that the integration of multimedia elements—such as video, illustration, and interactive graphics—significantly enhances audience engagement. Within this study's context, *islami.co's* comics serve as a form of visual narrative journalism that blends educational, aesthetic, and ideological components, aligning with contemporary digital media trends. Xu et al. (2024) also discovered that immersive, visually based narratives have stronger emotional appeal and encourage deeper behavioral engagement from audiences. Therefore, future studies on *Mbah*

Hikam dan Gema should not only analyze content but also measure the immersive experience and emotional reactions of readers toward the moral and political messages conveyed.

In addition, Lee (2023) found that audience behavior in the digital era is cross-platform, where rapid emotional reactions on visual platforms like Instagram can influence slower, reflective evaluations on text-based platforms. This opens new possibilities for future reception studies to investigate how *islami.co* comics shape public opinion across media, particularly among Muslim Gen Z users who are active across multiple digital channels. Melki & Kozman (2021) also highlights the importance of trust and credibility in digital content, noting that audiences tend to trust online media that consistently provide educational and socially valuable information. In this regard, *islami.co* holds strategic potential to strengthen the moral authority of progressive Islamic media in digital spaces.

Finally, as Hill (2018) and Das (2011) remind us, the digital audience reception approach requires integrating digital and interpretive literacy, wherein users not only consume media but also interpret it critically. Although this study is limited to textual analysis, it opens avenues for future research combining qualitative and quantitative methods to understand how audiences interpret, negotiate, and respond to ideological messages within Islamic digital media. By expanding the focus to include the audience reception dimension, such studies will enrich the understanding of the relationship between religion, media, and digital participation, while strengthening the contribution of research to the development of critical Islamic discourse in the digital communication era.

Although this study's dataset and audience analysis remain limited, its findings provide valuable contributions to the development of Islamic and digital media studies in Indonesia. Based on the results, several implications and strategic actions can be proposed. First, progressive Islamic media such as *islami.co* should increase the production of critical, rational, and reflective Islamic content in popular formats such as digital comics, vlogs, or podcasts. This strategy is crucial for fostering critical thinking and social awareness among young Muslims raised in visual and algorithmic social media cultures.

Second, the use of digital comics as a medium for moderate *da'wah* should be optimized, as it has proven effective in reaching Generation Z audiences who prefer visual and interactive communication. This communication model aligns with previous research findings emphasizing that digital audiences are more responsive to visually based and participatory short-form narratives. Through such approaches, religious messages can be delivered more inclusively without losing their intellectual and ethical substance.

Third, the government, educational institutions, and creative communities must work together to establish a healthy and democratic social media ecosystem. This ecosystem should encourage freedom of critical thought and protect content creators from potential legal repression targeting critical political or religious expressions. Such protection is vital to ensure that digital spaces remain open and educational arenas for public dialogue.

Thus, this study asserts that *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* is not merely a visual entertainment medium but a dialogical space of ideology bridging religion, politics, and digital culture. It represents a new way for Muslim Generation Z to negotiate their religious identity creatively and critically, while demonstrating the potential of progressive Islamic media to play a strategic role in building digital literacy and cultural democracy in the digital communication era.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic series published on *islami.co's* Instagram account serves as a representation of Muslim Generation Z's political and religious expression in responding to contemporary political events in Indonesia. Through humor, satire, and visual narratives, these comics articulate a form of critical Islam that emphasizes rational political engagement—encouraging voters to assess candidates based on track record, integrity, vision, ethics, and leadership capacity rather than mere popularity or emotional attachment. The findings highlight how digital comics can function as ideological communication tools that merge entertainment with reflective social critique.

The study's main contribution lies in expanding the understanding of Islam in digital spaces, particularly through the integration of digital ideological communication and audience reception frameworks into the analysis of religious media. It demonstrates that progressive Islamic content can thrive within algorithmic environments like Instagram by using accessible and creative formats that resonate with young audiences. This research also offers a novel perspective by positioning Islamic digital comics as hybrid spaces—simultaneously devotional, educational, and political—illustrating how Muslim Gen Z negotiates faith and civic engagement in the digital age.

However, the study has several limitations. It focuses only on two *Mbah Hikam dan Gema* comic strips from *islami.co*, which restricts the generalizability of the findings to broader forms of Islamic digital media. Furthermore, the analysis is based primarily on textual and comment-based data, without incorporating in-depth interviews or participatory observation. Future research should therefore include diverse Islamic media outlets and employ mixed methods—combining semiotic analysis with audience reception studies—to examine how digital audiences interpret, negotiate, and respond to ideological and ethical messages within progressive Islamic media.

Acknowledgment

REFERENCES

Adel, S., & Numan, M. (2023). Online Fatwas in Pakistan Using Social Networking Platforms. *Ulumuna*, *27*(1), 201–226. https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.689

Ajidarma, S. G. (2011). *Panji Tengkorak: Kebudayaan dalam Perbincangan*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Ajidarma, S. G. (2021). *Ngobrolin Komik*. Pabrik Tulisan.

Ali, D. J., & Eriyanto. (2021). Political Polarization and Selective Exposure of Social Media Users in Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *24*(3), 268–283. https://doi.org/10.22146/JSP.58199

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2023). Memahami Generasi Z: Tantangan, Perilaku, dan Peluang. *Badan Pusat Statistik*. https://gorontalokab.bps.go.id/id/news/2025/02/05/30/memahami-generasi-z--tantangan--perilaku--dan-peluang.html

Bonneff, M. (2008). *Komik Indonesia*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Choironi, M. A. N. (2024). *Islamidotco jadi Situs Keislaman Paling Terpercaya dan Populer di Kalangan Anak Muda Survei Alvara Reserach Center*. Islami.Co.

| 283

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Das, R. (2011). Converging perspectives in audience studies and digital literacies: Youthful interpretations of an online genre. *European Journal of Communication*, *26*(4), 343–360. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323111423379

Donges, P. (2022). Digitization and Digitalization of Political Communication: Consequences of Automated Algorithmic Mediation on the Visibility and Accountability of the Political. *Kolner Zeitschrift Fur Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*, 209–230. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-022-00834-7

Donkers, T., & Ziegler, J. (2023). De-sounding echo chambers: Simulation-based analysis of polarization dynamics in social networks. *Online Social Networks and Media*, *37–38*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2023.100275

Fawdi, M. I. (2024). *Data Jumlah Pemilih Pilkada 2024 Berdasarkan Usia: Gen Z 25,69%, Milenial 33%*. Detik.Com. https://news.detik.com/pilkada/d-7656333/data-jumlah-pemilih-pilkada-2024-berdasarkan-usia-gen-z-25-69-milenial-33

Febrian, H. (2024). Visualizing Authority: Rise of the Religious Influencers on the Instagram. *Social Media and Society*, *10*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241286850

Finlayson, A. (2022). YouTube and Political Ideologies: Technology, Populism and Rhetorical Form. *Political Studies*, *70*(1), 62–80. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720934630

Frissen, T., Ichau, E., Boghe, K., & D'Haenens, L. (2017). #Muslim? Instagram, Visual Culture and the Mediatization of Muslim Religiosity: Explorative Analysis of Visual and Semantic Content on Instagram. In M. Kayıkcı & L. D'Haenens (Eds.), *European Muslims and New Media*. Leuven University Press.

Ginting, P., Murni, S. M., & Pulungan, A. H. (2024). A Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Ideological Identity Endorsed on the University's Homepages. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *14*(7), 2211–2221. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1407.29

Groot, K. de. (2024). Comics and Religion in Liquid Modernity. In K. de Groot (Ed.), *Comics, Culture and Religion*. Bloomsbury.

Hagelstein, J., Einwiller, S., & Zerfass, A. (2021). The ethical dimension of public relations in Europe: Digital channels, moral challenges, resources, and training. *Public Relations Review*, *47*(4). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2021.102063

Han, S. (2017). The culture-religion nexus: (Neo-)Durkheimianism and mediatized confucianism in Korean "piety travel." *Journal of Korean Religions*, *8*(2), 91–116. https://doi.org/10.1353/jkr.2017.0014

Hasan, F. (2022). Muslim Instagram: Eternal Youthfulness and Cultivating Deen. *Religions*, *13*(7). https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070658

Hew, W. W. (2018). THE ART OF DAKWAH: social media, visual persuasion and the Islamist propagation of Felix Siauw. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *46*(134), 61–79.

Hill, A. (2018). Media audiences and reception studies. In *Benjamins Translation Library* (Vol. 141, pp. 3–19). https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.141.02hil

Humaira, A., Ferdiansyah, H., Irsyadi, M. M., Adhha, N., & Rahmah, U. (2022). Making Fatwa in Popular Islamic Instagram Account in Indonesia. *Al-Balagh : Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, *7*(1), 85–118. https://doi.org/10.22515/albalagh.v7i1.5113

Indrawan, J., Barzah, R. E., & Simanihuruk, H. (2023). Instagram Sebagai Media Komunikasi Politik Bagi Generasi Milenial. *Ekspresi Dan Persepsi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *6*(1), 170–179. https://doi.org/10.33822/jep.v6i1.4519

Indrayani, I. I. (2024). Gen Z's Ethical Approaches in Crisis Communication on Social Media: Evidence of Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, *40*(4), 146–163. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2024-4004-08

Islami.co. (2013). *Profil Islami.co*. https://islami.co/tentang-islami-co/

Lee, M. (2023). A re-inquiry of the emotion spillover effect using psychophysiological approaches: how game outcome and process influence cognitive processing of TV commercial. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, *23*(4), 1159–1181.

Lubis, N. (2021). *Komik Dakwah dan Budaya Populer: Perubahan Narasi Islam*. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

Maharsi, I. (2014). *Komik: Dari Wayang Beber Sampai Komik Digital*. Badan Penerbit ISI.

Mariati, & Salim, L. (2023). Instagram Dramaturgy and Social Religious Behavior of Students. *Socio Religia*, *4*(2), 74–94.

McCloud, S. (2022). *Memahami Komik*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Melki, J., & Kozman, C. (2021). Media dependency, selective exposure and trust during war: Media sources and information needs of displaced and non-displaced Syrians. *Media, War & Conflict*, *14*(1), 93–113.

Ningtyas, M. N., Fikriah, N. L., & Pradana, A. W. S. (2024). Muslim Gen Z Investment Decision: An Analysis Using Social Media Factors. *Journal of Islamic Economic and Business Research*, *4*(1), 108–125. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18196/jiebr.v4i1.292

Nisa, E. F. (2018). Creative and Lucrative Daʿwa: The Visual Culture of Instagram amongst Female Muslim Youth in Indonesia. *Asiascape: Digital Asia*, *5*, 68–99. https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340085.

Noorikhsan, F. F., Ramdhani, H., Sirait, B. C., & Khoerunisa, N. (2023). Dinamika Internet, Media Sosial, dan Politik di Era Kontemporer: Tinjauan Relasi Negara-Masyarakat. *Journal of Political Issues*, *5*(1), 95–109.

Rahman, T., Nurnisya, F. Y., Nurjanah, A., & Hifziati, L. (2021). Hijrah and the Articulation of Islamic Identity of Indonesian Millennials on Instagram. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, *37*(2). https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2021-3702-10

Rainer, P. (2023). Sensus BPS: Saat Ini Indonesia Didominasi Oleh Gen Z. *GoodStats.Id*. https://data.goodstats.id/statistic/sensus-bps-saat-ini-indonesia-didominasi-oleh-gen-z-n9kqv

Rainer, P. (2024). Inilah Media Sosial yang Paling Sering Dipakai di Indonesia. *GoodStats.Id*. https://goodstats.id/article/inilah-media-sosial-paling-sering-dipakai-di-indonesia-Pdyt0

Ramadhani, N., & Putra, R. D. (2017). Komik Strip sebagai Media Kritik Sosial: Studi pada Akun Instagram @Komikin _ Ajah. *CoverAge: Journal of Strategic Communication*, *8*(1).

Rohmah, I. Y. A. (2023). Imajinasi Ruang Politik Digital: Identitas, Ekspresi, Dan Kontestasi Politisi Di Indonesia. *Prosiding Konferensi Nasional Sosiologi (PKNS)*, *1*(2), 3–15.

Schrøder, K. C. (2019). Audience Reception Research in a Post-broadcasting Digital Age. *Television and New Media*, *20*(2), 155–169. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476418811114

Sevignani, S. (2022). Digital Transformations and the Ideological Formation of the Public Sphere: Hegemonic, Populist, or Popular Communication? *Theory, Culture and Society*, *39*(4), 91–109. https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764221103516

Shariffadeen, T. S. A. T. M. A., & A.Manaf, A. M. (2019). Celebrity-fan Engagement on Instagram and its Influence on the Perception of Hijab Culture among Muslim Women in Malaysia. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, *35*(1), 286–302. https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2019-3501-19

Sobur, A. (2016). *Semiotika Komunikasi*. Remaja Rosdakarya.

Soedarso, N. (2015). Komik: Karya Sastra Bergambar. *Humaniora*, *6*(4), 496–506.

Stiekolshchykova, V., Putsyata, I., Lavryk, O., Marukhovska-Kartunova, O., & Marukhovskyi, O. (2024). Modern Approaches to Journalism in the Digital Media Era: the Role of Multimedia Content and Audience Interaction. *Salud, Ciencia y Tecnologia - Serie de Conferencias*, *3*. https://doi.org/10.56294/sctconf2024.653

Stillman, D., & Stillman, J. (2019). *Generasi Z: Memahami Karakter Generasi Baru yang Akan Mengubah Dunia Kerja*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Tong, S. C., & Chan, F. F. Y. (2023). Strategies to drive interactivity and digital engagement: a practitioners' perspective. *Journal of Research in Interactive Marketing*, *17*(6), 901–920.

Utami, P. (2018). Hoax in Modern Politics: The Meaning of Hoax in Indonesian Politics and Democracy. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *22*(2), 85–97. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.34614

Wahyudi, I. (2021). Da'wa Activities of Veiled Women (Niqab) on Instagram. *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, *6*(1), 67–94. https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v6i1.2542

Xu, C., Gani, M. A. A. B. A., Bin Ismail, I., Cao, Y., Aziz, A. A., & Arshard, W. N. R. M. (2024). Digital Projection Immersive Narrative Display and Interactive Technology: A Study on the Impact on Audience Engagement. *2024 IEEE 22nd Student Conference on Research and Development, SCOReD 2024*, 623–627. https://doi.org/10.1109/SCOReD64708.2024.10872692

Zara, M. Y. (2022). Islamic Patriotism in General Sudirman Comic Strips of Suara Muhammadijah Magazine (1966-1967). *Studia Islamika*, *29*(2), 305–332. https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i2.19588

Zulhazmi, A. Z. (2022). Comics, Da'wa, and the Representation of Religious Moderation. *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, *7*(2), 193–220.