

The “Cek Khodam” Phenomenon on Tiktok In Online Media Discourse: An Islamic Legal Perspective

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Submitted: 20-06-2025	Accepted: 28-12-2025	Published: 30-12-2025
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Abstract

This study examines the “Cek Khodam” phenomenon on TikTok by analyzing its construction in online media discourse and its implications from an Islamic legal perspective. Existing studies on digital culture tend to emphasize virality and user engagement, while limited attention has been given to how mystical digital content is framed in the media and evaluated through Islamic jurisprudence, indicating a significant research gap. This research employs a qualitative approach using library research, with data drawn from online news articles published in Indonesian media during June–July 2024. The study applies Robert N. Entman’s framing model to explore how the phenomenon is defined, interpreted, and morally evaluated in digital narratives. The findings reveal that “Cek Khodam” is framed as both entertainment and controversy, reflecting the commodification of spiritual beliefs in digital culture. From an Islamic legal perspective, the phenomenon raises concerns related to gharar, deception, and unverifiable spiritual claims. These practices can be critically examined through sadd al-dharī’ah and contradict the objectives of maqāṣid al-sharī’ah, particularly in preserving intellect and faith. This study contributes by integrating media framing analysis with ushul fiqh, offering a novel framework for regulating digital religious content.

Keywords: *Cek Khodam; TikTok; Framing Analysis; Online Media Discourse; Islamic Legal Perspective.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji fenomena “Cek Khodam” di TikTok dengan menganalisis konstruksinya dalam wacana media daring serta implikasinya dalam perspektif hukum Islam. Studi tentang budaya digital umumnya berfokus pada viralitas dan keterlibatan pengguna, sementara kajian mengenai pemingkiaan konten mistik dalam media yang dianalisis melalui perspektif hukum Islam masih terbatas, sehingga menunjukkan adanya kesenjangan penelitian yang signifikan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui studi kepustakaan dengan sumber data berupa artikel berita daring di media Indonesia pada periode Juni–Juli 2024. Analisis dilakukan menggunakan model framing Robert N. Entman untuk mengidentifikasi bagaimana

fenomena ini didefinisikan, ditafsirkan, dan dievaluasi secara moral dalam narasi media digital. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa “Cek Khodam” dibingkai sebagai hiburan sekaligus kontroversi yang merefleksikan komodifikasi kepercayaan spiritual dalam budaya digital. Dalam perspektif hukum Islam, fenomena ini menimbulkan persoalan gharar, penipuan, dan klaim spiritual yang tidak dapat diverifikasi. Praktik ini dapat dianalisis melalui prinsip *sadd al-dharī‘ah* serta bertentangan dengan tujuan *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*, khususnya dalam menjaga akal dan agama. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dengan mengintegrasikan analisis framing media dan *ushul fiqh* sebagai kerangka baru dalam regulasi konten keagamaan digital.

Kata Kunci: Cek Khodam; TikTok; Analisis Framing; Wacana Media Online; Perspektif Hukum Islam.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of digital technology has significantly transformed the way people communicate, share information, and express cultural as well as spiritual beliefs. Social media platforms have become important arenas where cultural narratives, religious interpretations, and popular beliefs circulate widely and interact with contemporary digital culture. One of the most influential platforms in this context is TikTok, which enables users to create and disseminate short-form videos that can quickly reach large audiences through algorithmic distribution. The platform’s participatory features allow users not only to consume content but also to interact, reinterpret, and reproduce narratives circulating online. This digital environment has encouraged the emergence of various cultural trends, including spiritual and mystical content such as the “cek khodam” phenomenon, which has attracted significant public attention on social media. The popularity of such content demonstrates how traditional spiritual beliefs are increasingly transformed into digital entertainment and participatory online culture.¹

In the context of Islamic legal thought, the rapid circulation of spiritual and mystical content in digital spaces raises important normative questions related to the protection of faith (*‘hifẓ al-dīn’*) and العقل (*‘hifẓ al-‘aql’*) as part of *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*.² The emergence of practices such as “cek khodam” on TikTok not only reflects cultural

¹ Crystal Abidin, “Cultural Science Mapping Internet Celebrity on TikTok : Exploring Attention Economies and Visibility Labours,” *Cultural Science Journal* 12, no. 1 (2020): 77–103, <https://doi.org/10.5334/csci.140>.

² Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2015), <https://iiit.org/wp-content/uploads/Maqasid-Al-Shariah-as-a-Philosophy-of-Islamic-Law-Combined.pdf>.

transformation but also challenges the epistemological boundaries of truth, authenticity, and religious authority in Islam. From a fiqh perspective, particularly within the framework of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, such practices may involve elements of *gharar* (uncertainty) and *tadlīs* (deception), which are generally prohibited due to their potential to mislead and exploit belief.³ Furthermore, the principle of *sadd al-dharī'ah* becomes relevant in preventing actions that may lead to harm or deviation from core Islamic values,⁴ thus requiring critical legal examination in contemporary digital contexts.

Contemporary Islamic scholars argue that *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* must be contextualized within modern technological environments, including digital platforms that mediate religious expression.⁵ In this regard, the principle of *sadd al-dharī'ah* becomes relevant in preventing practices that may lead to misleading beliefs or potential harm, particularly when spiritual claims are commodified and disseminated without verification. Therefore, the phenomenon cannot be understood solely as a cultural or technological trend, but must also be analyzed as a normative issue within Islamic jurisprudence.

However, despite these important contributions, most existing studies remain focused on digital culture, user engagement, and platform governance, with limited attention to the intersection between media discourse, popular spiritual phenomena, and Islamic legal analysis. While previous studies have explored digital spirituality, participatory culture, and platform governance, there remains a critical gap in examining how viral mystical content is discursively constructed in online media and simultaneously evaluated through the framework of Islamic legal theory. In particular, studies rarely integrate media framing analysis with *uṣūl al-fiqh* to assess the normative implications of digital spiritual practices. Therefore, this research fills an important gap by combining media discourse analysis with Islamic legal reasoning in understanding the “cek khodam” phenomenon.

Previous studies have mainly examined the transformation of traditional culture in the digital era and the role of social media in

³ Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), <https://data.islamic-banking.com/Books/PDF/20.pdf>.

⁴ Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), <https://soerenkern.com/pdfs/islam/IntroductionToIslamicLaw.pdf>.

⁵ Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach*.

shaping participatory culture and digital communities.⁶ Other research focuses on digital religion and the ways online platforms mediate spiritual experiences and religious communication.⁷ Several studies have examined the relationship between digital media and legal regulation within online spaces. Research conducted by Chris Miller indicates that digital platforms such as TikTok enable the emergence of new spiritual communities that express beliefs and ritual practices through short-form video content. This phenomenon can be observed in the hashtag culture of WitchTok, which illustrates how spiritual practices are transformed into participatory digital culture.⁸

Nicolas Suzor explains that regulation within digital platforms is not determined solely by state law but is also shaped by platform policies that structure the governance of information and user behavior in digital environments.⁹ Meanwhile, Lawrence Lessig argues that behavior in digital spaces is influenced by the interaction of law, social norms, market forces, and technological architecture, which together form the regulatory framework of the internet.¹⁰ Another study by Almughni Mika and Farichatul Fauziyah finds that TikTok has also become a space for the dissemination of unverified religious information, including fabricated hadiths, which may potentially generate misinformation among users.¹¹

Although these studies provide significant contributions to understanding the relationship between digital media, spirituality, and

⁶ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439307306088>.

⁷ Heidi Campbell and Giulia Evolvi, “Contextualizing Current Digital Religion Research on Emerging Technologies,” *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies* 2, no. 1 (2019): 5–17, <https://doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.149>.

⁸ Chris Miller, “How Modern Witches Enchant TikTok : Intersections of Digital, Consumer, and Material Culture(s) on # WitchTok,” *Religions* 13, no. 2 (2022): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13020118>.

⁹ Nicolas Suzor and Rosalie Gillett, “Self-Regulation and Discretion BT - Digital Platform Regulation: Global Perspectives on Internet Governance,” ed. Terry Flew and Fiona R Martin (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 259–79, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-95220-4_13.

¹⁰ Lawrence Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

¹¹ Almughni Mika et al., “Confronting Misinformation: TikTok Community Response to Fake Hadith in #8junimhammadwafat and Verification Efforts on Social Media,” *Afkaruna: International Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2025): 169–85, <https://doi.org/10.38073/aijis.v2i2.2339>.

the dissemination of religious information, most of them primarily focus on aspects of digital culture and the social impacts of new media. Scholarly analyses that specifically examine popular spiritual phenomena such as “cek khodam” from the perspective of media discourse construction and the implications of digital legal regulation remain relatively limited. Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by analyzing how the “cek khodam” phenomenon is constructed in online media reporting and by identifying the legal issues arising from the dissemination of spiritual content on digital platforms.

Based on the above discussion, this study is guided by the following research questions: (1) How is the “cek khodam” phenomenon constructed in online media discourse? (2) How can this phenomenon be analyzed within the framework of Islamic legal principles, particularly *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*? (3) What are the legal and ethical implications of such digital spiritual practices in contemporary Muslim society?

This study offers a novel contribution by bridging the gap between media discourse analysis and Islamic legal scholarship. It proposes an interdisciplinary framework that not only examines how meaning is constructed in digital media but also evaluates its normative consequences within Islamic law. In doing so, the research contributes to the development of a more contextually relevant approach to understanding and regulating digital religious content in the contemporary era.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research approach using media discourse analysis as its primary methodological framework. Qualitative research is particularly suitable for examining social phenomena through interpretive and contextual analysis, allowing researchers to explore how meaning is constructed within specific discursive settings.¹² Rather than positioning the study as library research, this research focuses on the analysis of media texts, specifically online news articles, as discursive representations of social reality. The study applies Robert N. Entman’s framing analysis model to investigate how media construct meaning through processes of defining problems, diagnosing causes, making

¹² J W Creswell and C N Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (SAGE Publications, 2023), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=pwjMEAAQBAJ>.

moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.¹³ Grounded in the social construction of reality paradigm, this approach assumes that media actively shape, rather than merely reflect, reality through symbolic and narrative structures,¹⁴ making it particularly relevant for analyzing how online media frame the “cek khodam” phenomenon as a socio-cultural and religious issue.

The data in this study consist of online news articles published by Indonesian media outlets during June–July 2024, selected using purposive sampling based on specific inclusion and exclusion criteria.¹⁵ The inclusion criteria cover articles that explicitly discuss the “cek khodam” phenomenon on TikTok, are published by verified and widely accessed media, contain interpretative or evaluative narratives, and fall within the specified timeframe, while the exclusion criteria eliminate duplicate content, non-substantive reports, and non-institutional or opinion-based sources. Based on these criteria, seven news articles were selected, with the understanding that qualitative research emphasizes depth and analytical richness rather than statistical generalization. The data analysis was conducted through several stages, including intensive reading to identify key themes, systematic analysis using Entman’s four framing elements, and interpretation through the lens of Islamic legal theory, particularly maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah and uṣūl al-fiqh, in order to assess the normative implications of the phenomenon within an analytical generalization framework.

The data analyzed in this study consist of eight online news articles related to the “cek khodam” phenomenon on TikTok, namely: “*Viral Fenomena Cek Khodam Online di TikTok, Ini Kata Dosen UM Surabaya*”,¹⁶ “*Fenomena Cek Khodam di Medsos, Begini Kata*

¹³ Robert M. Entman, “Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power,” *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 163–73, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x>.

¹⁴ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Open Road Media, 2011).

¹⁵ Creswell and Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*.

¹⁶ Devita Savitri, “Viral Fenomena Cek Khodam Online Di TikTok, Ini Kata Dosen UM Surabaya,” *Detik.Com*, June 24, 2024, <https://www.detik.com/edu/edutainment/d-7406306/viral-fenomena-cek-khodam-online-di-tiktok-ini-kata-dosen-um-surabaya>.

Psikolog”,¹⁷ “*Tren Cek Khodam di TikTok, Hiburan atau Misteri?*”,¹⁸ “*Fenomena Cek Khodam Live di TikTok, Antropolog Unair Sebut Hanya Hiburan, Jangan Jadi Acuan*”,¹⁹ “*Fenomena Tren 'Cek Khodam' di TikTok dan Kaitannya dengan Kesehatan Mental*”,²⁰ “*MUI Akan Keluarkan Fatwa Soal Fenomena Cek Khodam di TikTok*”,²¹ “*Geliat Bisnis Cek Khodam di TikTok, Mengapa Masih Ada Orang-Orang yang Percaya?*”,²² and “*Cek Khodam di TikTok Viral, Tren Gaib yang Berujung Lelucon*”,²³ which collectively serve as the primary data sources for media discourse analysis in this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Framing Analysis of Online Media News About “Cek Khodam” on TikTok

In Entman's concept, framing emphasizes four main elements in framing a news story. These elements can broadly describe how events are understood and signified by journalists. These elements are: The first element, defines problems, which is the most important frame that emphasizes how events or issues are understood. The second element is to diagnose causes, which is a framing element to see who is the cause

¹⁷ Mufidah Adzkia, “Fenomena Cek Khodam Di Medsos, Begini Kata Psikolog,” *NU Online*, June 28, 2024, <https://nu.or.id/nasional/fenomena-cek-khodam-di-medsos-begini-kata-psikolog-sEAvK>.

¹⁸ Angga S. Olii, “Tren Cek Khodam Di TikTok, Hiburan Atau Misteri?,” *Rri.Co.Id*, July 1, 2024, <https://www.rri.co.id/hiburan/798953/tren-cek-khodam-di-tiktok-hiburan-atau-misteri>.

¹⁹ Sulvi Sofiana, “Fenomena Cek Khodam Live Di TikTok, Antropolog Unair Sebut Hanya Hiburan, Jangan Jadi Acuan,” *Tribunnews.Com*, July 2, 2024, <https://jatim.tribunnews.com/2024/07/02/fenomena-cek-khodam-live-di-tiktok-antropolog-unair-sebut-hanya-hiburan-jangan-jadi-acuan>.

²⁰ Nafilah Sri Sagita K, “Fenomena Tren ‘Cek Khodam’ Di TikTok Dan Kaitannya Dengan Kesehatan Mental,” *Detik.Com*, June 24, 2024, <https://health.detik.com/berita-detikhealth/d-7405177/fenomena-tren-cek-khodam-di-tiktok-dan-kaitannya-dengan-kesehatan-mental>.

²¹ Munawir Awi, “MUI Akan Keluarkan Fatwa Soal Fenomena Cek Khodam Di Tiktok,” *Inikata.Co.Id*, June 30, 2024, <https://inikata.co.id/2024/06/30/mui-akan-keluarkan-fatwa-soal-fenomena-cek-khodam-di-tiktok/>.

²² Rizki Baiquni Pratama, “Geliat Bisnis Cek Khodam Di TikTok, Mengapa Masih Ada Orang-Orang Yang Percaya?,” *Kumparan*, June 26, 2024, <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/geliat-bisnis-cek-khodam-di-tiktok-mengapa-masih-ada-orang-orang-yang-percaya-230pPzgYjFF/full>.

²³ Qommarria Rostanti, “Cek Khodam Di TikTok Viral, Tren Gaib Yang Berujung Lelucon,” *Republika*, June 20, 2024, <https://ameera.republika.co.id/berita/sfd3qj425/cek-khodam-di-tiktok-viral-tren-gaib-yang-berujung-lelucon>.

of an event. The third element is to make moral judgments, which is a framing element used to justify or provide arguments for the definition of the problem made. The fourth element, treatment recommendation, is an element used as a tool to assess what journalists want (what path is chosen to solve the problem).

To further systematize the findings, the framing patterns identified across online media are summarized in the following matrix based on Entman’s four analytical elements.

Table 1. Media Framing Analysis Using Entman’s Model

Framing Elements	Dominant Media Construction	Variations Across Media	Analytical Interpretation
Define Problems	The “cek khodam” phenomenon is framed as a viral digital trend combining entertainment, spirituality, and interactive participation on TikTok.	Some media frame it as harmless entertainment, while others emphasize it as a controversial and potentially misleading spiritual practice.	Media construct the issue within a dual frame: entertainment vs. normative concern, reflecting tension between digital culture and religious values.
Diagnose Causes	The phenomenon is attributed to public fascination with mysticism combined with TikTok’s algorithmic and interactive features (live streaming, gifting system).	Certain media emphasize cultural roots (local spiritual beliefs), while others stress platform dynamics and virality mechanisms.	Indicates that the phenomenon is a hybrid product of culture and technology, not purely a digital trend.
Make Moral Judgment	Media narratives are divided between normalizing the practice as entertainment	Religious and academic sources tend to highlight risks to belief systems, while	Reveals a discursive conflict between entertainment logic and moral-

	and criticizing it as misleading or ethically problematic.	popular media sometimes present it more neutrally.	religious norms in digital space.
Treatment Recommendation	Emphasis on digital literacy, critical thinking, and public awareness.	Some media suggest soft regulation (education), while others imply the need for legal or religious intervention.	Reflects recognition of the phenomenon as a social issue requiring governance, both culturally and legally.

The matrix above demonstrates that media framing of the “cek khodam” phenomenon is characterized by a dynamic interplay between entertainment narratives and normative concerns. This indicates that digital spiritual content operates within a contested discursive space shaped by cultural beliefs, media logic, and regulatory considerations.

Online media coverage of the “cek khodam” phenomenon demonstrates a complex pattern of meaning construction shaped by the interaction between digital culture, social beliefs, and normative frameworks. Using Robert N. Entman’s framing model, the analysis reveals that media do not merely report the phenomenon but actively construct its meaning through selective emphasis and interpretation.²⁴

In terms of problem definition, the “cek khodam” phenomenon is consistently framed as a viral digital trend on TikTok that combines elements of entertainment, spirituality, and interactive participation. This framing situates the phenomenon within the broader dynamics of digital culture, where content is designed to attract attention and engagement. However, variations emerge across media narratives. Some outlets portray the phenomenon as light entertainment driven by humor and creativity, while others frame it as a controversial practice with potential implications for religious understanding and mental health. This dual framing reflects the tension between entertainment-oriented media logic and normative concerns embedded in social and religious values.

²⁴ Robert M. Entman, “How the Media Affect What People Think: An Information Processing Approach,” *The Journal of Politics* 51, no. 2 (2025): 347–70, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2131346>.

Regarding causal diagnosis, the media largely attribute the emergence of the phenomenon to the convergence of cultural beliefs in mysticism and the affordances of digital platforms. The persistence of supernatural beliefs within Indonesian society provides a cultural foundation that makes such content meaningful and appealing. At the same time, TikTok’s algorithmic system, participatory features, and monetization mechanisms significantly amplify its circulation and popularity. This finding aligns with the concept of participatory culture, where users are not passive consumers but active participants in producing and circulating meaning.²⁵ It also reflects the broader transformation of communication in the digital era, where cultural narratives are continuously reshaped within networked environments.²⁶

In the dimension of moral judgment, media discourse reveals a clear divergence between normalization and critique. On one hand, several narratives present the phenomenon as harmless entertainment that reflects creativity and social interaction. On the other hand, more critical perspectives highlight risks such as misinformation, the commodification of spiritual beliefs, and the potential psychological impact on audiences. This divergence illustrates what can be understood as a discursive contestation between entertainment values and ethical or religious norms. As noted by Campbell and Evolvi, digital religion often involves the negotiation of authority, authenticity, and meaning within technologically mediated spaces, where traditional boundaries are increasingly blurred.²⁷

In terms of treatment recommendation, the media converge on the importance of strengthening digital literacy and critical awareness among users. Audiences are encouraged to approach such content with caution and to distinguish between entertainment and credible knowledge. At the same time, some narratives suggest the need for regulatory intervention, either through legal mechanisms or religious guidance. This indicates that the phenomenon is increasingly recognized as a social issue that requires both cultural and institutional responses.

Beyond media framing, the “cek khodam” phenomenon reflects a broader transformation in digital culture, particularly in the commodification of spirituality. In the context of social media, spiritual

²⁵ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*.

²⁶ M Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Polity Press, 2015), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=MzDOCQAAQBAJ>.

²⁷ Campbell and Evolvi, “Contextualizing Current Digital Religion Research on Emerging Technologies.”

concepts that were traditionally sacred and esoteric are transformed into consumable and performative content. This transformation is driven by platform logic, where visibility, engagement, and monetization become central values.

The interactive nature of TikTok, especially through live streaming and virtual gifting systems, enables the conversion of symbolic or spiritual claims into economic value. This phenomenon can be understood within the framework of attention economy, where user engagement is translated into visibility and financial gain.²⁸ As a result, spiritual practices are no longer confined to private or communal religious spaces but are reconfigured as public performances within digital environments.

This shift also reflects the emergence of what scholars describe as digital religion, where religious and spiritual expressions are mediated by technology and shaped by platform dynamics.²⁹ However, this transformation raises critical concerns regarding authenticity, authority, and the potential trivialization of religious values. When spiritual beliefs are commodified and detached from their traditional epistemological foundations, they risk being reduced to entertainment, thereby altering their meaning and social function.

From the perspective of Indonesian positive law, the “cek khodam” phenomenon raises significant legal concerns, particularly in relation to fraud and misleading information. Under Article 378 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP), acts involving deception for personal gain may be classified as fraud if they involve false representations intended to induce others to provide material benefits.³⁰ In this context, claims regarding the identification of khodam, which cannot be empirically verified, may potentially fall within the scope of deceptive practices if they are used to obtain financial rewards from audiences.

Furthermore, the dissemination of such content through digital platforms is regulated under the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE), particularly Article 28(1), which prohibits the spread of false and misleading information that results in consumer harm. If “cek khodam” content is interpreted as misleading information that influences

²⁸ Abidin, “Cultural Science Mapping Internet Celebrity on TikTok : Exploring Attention Economics and Visibility Labours.”

²⁹ Campbell and Evolvi, “Contextualizing Current Digital Religion Research on Emerging Technologies.”

³⁰ Moeljatno, *KUHP (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana)* (Bumi Aksara, 2021), https://books.google.co.id/books?id=_TZCEAAQBAJ.

user decisions or causes material loss, it may be subject to legal sanctions under this provision.

These legal considerations highlight the existence of a regulatory grey area, where the boundaries between entertainment, cultural expression, and deceptive practice are not always clearly defined. As noted by Lessig, behavior in digital environments is shaped not only by formal law but also by social norms, market forces, and technological architecture.³¹ Therefore, addressing the “cek khodam” phenomenon requires a multidimensional regulatory approach that considers both legal enforcement and platform governance.

From the perspective of Islamic law, the “cek khodam” phenomenon raises profound normative concerns that extend beyond legal technicalities into the realm of belief and ethics. Within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*, Islamic law seeks to preserve fundamental values, including the protection of faith (ḥifẓ al-dīn) and العقل (ḥifẓ al-‘aql). The proliferation of unverifiable spiritual claims in digital spaces poses a potential threat to these objectives.

One of the primary concerns is the presence of gharar (uncertainty), as the claims associated with “cek khodam” lack clear epistemological grounding and cannot be verified through reliable means. In addition, the phenomenon may involve elements of tadlīs (deception) when such claims are presented in a convincing manner that leads audiences to believe in their validity, particularly in contexts involving economic transactions.

More critically, the phenomenon may lead to shirk, which is the act of associating partners with God. If individuals attribute supernatural power or protection to entities such as khodam, this may contradict the principle of *tawḥīd*, which is central to Islamic theology. The Qur’anic warning against reliance on supernatural beings, as reflected in QS. Al-Jinn (72:6), reinforces the prohibition of such practices.³²

In this context, the principle of *sadd al-dharī‘ah* becomes highly relevant. This principle emphasizes the prevention of actions that may lead to harm or deviation from Islamic teachings. Therefore, even if the “cek khodam” phenomenon is presented as entertainment, its potential to mislead belief systems justifies a cautious and preventive approach within Islamic legal reasoning. Ultimately, the integration of media analysis and Islamic legal theory reveals that the “cek khodam”

³¹ Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*.

³² Kementerian Agama RI, *Kementerian Agama RI, 2017, 2017*.

phenomenon cannot be understood solely as a digital trend. It represents a complex intersection of culture, technology, law, and religion, requiring a holistic analytical framework that considers both its social construction and its normative implications.

Digital Behavior and Culture and Legal Issues Related to the “Cek Khodam” Phenomenon on TikTok

The development of digital technology has brought significant changes in various aspects of human life, including cultural and social dynamics. Digital technology, especially social media, has changed the way humans interact and communicate. Platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube allow individuals to share their experiences, views, and spiritual practices with a wide audience. This phenomenon creates a new cultural dynamic where spiritual practices can be accessed, learned, and even adopted by people from different cultural backgrounds. According to Castells, digital communication technology has formed a global network society where information and culture flow quickly and across geographical boundaries.³³

The phenomenon of “cek khodam” on TikTok shows the complex relationship between behavior and digital culture. In the context of digital culture, we see how traditional practices can adapt to modern technology. “Cek khodam,” which originates from traditional mystical beliefs, now finds its place on digital platforms. This shows the ability of traditional culture to transform and be relevant in the technological era.³⁴ In the context of spirituality, this means that spiritual practices that were once local and hidden are now accessible to anyone with an internet connection. This creates what is called “cyber spirituality,” where the spiritual dimension is integrated with digital technology.³⁵

Social media has become an arena for creativity and entertainment, where mystical trends such as “cek khodam” are utilized by users to attract attention and entertain. This trend shows how social media users utilize traditional cultural elements to create interesting and entertaining

³³ M Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Information Age Series (Wiley, 2011), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=FihjywtjTdUC>.

³⁴ Agustinus Guol, “Revitalisasi Budaya Di Era Digital Dan Eksplorasi Dampak Media Sosial Terhadap Dinamika Sosial-Budaya Di Tengah Masyarakat,” *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan (JURDIKBUD)* 3, no. 3 (2023): 172–84, <https://doi.org/10.55606/jurdikbud.v3i3.2655>.

³⁵ S M Hoover and L S Clark, *Practicing Religion in the Age of the Media: Explorations in Media, Religion, and Culture*, Emersion: Emergent Village Resources for Communities of Faith Series (Columbia University Press, 2002), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=9aDg8Ih78QAC>.

content while integrating spiritual aspects into digital media consumption. In the increasingly developing digital era, social media has become a dominant force that changes the mindset of interacting and the dynamics of society as a whole.³⁶ According to Helland, the Internet has created a new space for spiritual expression and exploration that allows individuals to seek out and customize their spiritual experiences according to personal needs and preferences.³⁷ This reflects a shift from a collective and traditional spirituality to a more personal and individualistic spirituality, in which technology plays an important role as a facilitator.

In addition, social media facilitates the spread of information very quickly. However, the speed of this spread also brings its challenges, especially in terms of the validity and interpretation of information. Information about mystical practices can easily be spread without verification, causing confusion and misunderstanding among users. Social media is very easy to use as a means of spreading information in all fields. In communicating or spreading information through social media, you must be careful, because the government has issued the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE). The ITE Law regulates various legal protections for activities that use the internet as a medium, both transactions and the use of information.³⁸

From a digital behavior perspective, the "cek khodam" phenomenon reflects a change in the way individuals interact socially and seek entertainment or spiritual knowledge. Interest in this practice may be a response to the need for unique and interesting entertainment in the digital age. Interest in the practice of "cek khodam" may be a response to the need for unique and interesting entertainment in the digital age. In an increasingly digitally connected society, individuals seek experiences that can differentiate them and provide new sensations. Spiritual practices such as "cek khodam" offer this in an interesting and easily accessible way through social media.

³⁶ Guol, "Revitalisasi Budaya Di Era Digital Dan Eksplorasi Dampak Media Sosial Terhadap Dinamika Sosial-Budaya Di Tengah Masyarakat."

³⁷ Christopher Helland, "Online Religion As Lived Religion. Methodological Issues In The Study Of Religious Participation On The Internet," *Heidelberg Journal of Religions on the Internet* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2005): 16.

³⁸ Yuni Fitriani, "Analisis Pemanfaatan Berbagai Media Sosial Sebagai Sarana Penyebaran Informasi Bagi Masyarakat," *Paradigma - Jurnal Komputer Dan Informatika* 19, no. 2 (2017): 152.

According to Jenkins, media convergence culture allows content from different sources and forms to interact and create rich and diverse experiences for users. In the context of "cek khodam", the convergence of spiritual traditions and digital technology creates a unique and engaging form of entertainment for a young generation familiar with the technology.³⁹ The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok reflects a change in the way individuals interact socially and seek entertainment or spiritual knowledge in the digital age. Interest in this practice can be seen as a response to the need for unique and interesting entertainment, facilitated by social media. By understanding this dynamic, we can see how social media is not only changing the way we communicate but also the way we experience and explore the spiritual world.

Interest in "cek khodam" can also indicate psychological influences. Many people may seek escape from stress or psychological problems through spiritual practices they find on social media. The development of technology, not only has a positive impact on the use of social media, but there are risks involved. Continuous use of social media can be harmful to mental health⁴⁰. This shows the importance of attention to mental health in the digital era, where access to information and spiritual practices is becoming easier. In addition, this phenomenon highlights the importance of regulation and ethical guidelines in the use of social media for spiritual practices. Without clear regulation, practices such as "cek khodam" can be misused or mislead users. Social media facilitates access to information and communication between users around the world, but it also shows negative influences in terms of creating gaps between individuals, giving birth to negative content, and creating unhealthy dependencies. Therefore, efforts are needed to use social media wisely and responsibly.⁴¹

Ease of access also has negative impacts. One of them is the phenomenon of "cek khodam" which shows how unverified information can spread quickly and affect many people. This emphasizes the importance of digital literacy, where users must be taught to recognize

³⁹ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*.

⁴⁰ Rhaina Al Yasin et al., "Pengaruh Sosial Media Terhadap Kesehatan Mental Dan Fisik Remaja: A Systematic Review," *Jurnal Kesehatan Tambusai* 3, no. 2 (2022): 83–90, <https://doi.org/10.31004/jkt.v3i2.4402>.

⁴¹ Abidin Pandu Wirayuda et al., "Islam Dan Tantangan Dalam Era Digital: Mengembangkan Koneksi Spiritual Dalam Dunia Maya," *Al-Aufa : Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kajian Keislaman* 05, no. 01 (2023): 1–27.

valid information and reliable sources.⁴² To address these challenges, users and policymakers need to work together to use social media wisely and responsibly. One way to do this is through good digital education and literacy. Users should be taught to recognize the signs of misleading content and understand the importance of verifying information before believing or sharing it.

Regulation also plays a vital role in creating a safe and healthy digital environment. Governments and social media platforms should work together to set clear rules about what content is and is not allowed. Strict regulation is needed to ensure that the content being disseminated meets certain standards and does not harm users. For example, in some countries, social media regulations already include prohibitions on content that can mislead or harm the public.⁴³ In Indonesia, the Government has its regulations regarding the provision of digital content through the Regulation of the Minister of Communication and Information Technology Number 5 of 2020 concerning Electronic System Organizers for the Private Sector: Regulates the provision of digital content and services on the internet, including the obligation of platform organizers to ensure that content does not violate the law or is misleading.⁴⁴ TikTok as a platform must monitor and take action against content that violates Indonesian law, including "cek khodam" content that has the potential to mislead users. Without such regulation, social media users are at risk of being exposed to inaccurate or even dangerous information.

The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok has become a trend that has attracted the attention of the Indonesian public. This activity involves individuals who claim to be able to communicate with khodam, supernatural beings who are believed to be spiritual protectors or helpers. This phenomenon can raise various legal issues that need to be reviewed within the Indonesian legal framework, both from the perspective of criminal law, consumer protection, and electronic information and transaction law (ITE).

⁴² Sonia Livingstone, “Internet Literacy: Young People’s Negotiation of New Online Opportunities,” *Matrizes* 4, no. 2 (2011): 11, <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-8160.v4i2p11-42>.

⁴³ Tarleton Gillespie, *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions That Shape Social Media*, Yale University Press, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300235029>.

⁴⁴ Kementerian Kominfo, “PM KOMINFO Nomor 5 Tahun 2020 Tentang Penyelenggara Sistem Elektronik Lingkup Privat,” *Jakarta: Kementerian Komunikasi Dan Informatika Republik Indonesia*, no. 1376 (2020).

Khodam, in local beliefs, is considered a supernatural entity that can provide protection or assistance. "Cek khodam" is an activity advertised by several people on social media, including TikTok, where they offer services to identify or contact the khodam in someone. From the perspective of Criminal Law, the phenomenon of "cek khodam" can be seen as a violation of criminal law if it involves elements of fraud, as regulated in the Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (KUHP) Pasal 378 KUHP:

*"Barang siapa dengan maksud untuk menguntungkan diri sendiri atau orang lain secara melawan hukum, dengan memakai nama palsu atau martabat palsu, dengan tipu muslihat, ataupun rangkaian kebohongan, menggerakkan orang lain untuk menyerahkan barang sesuatu kepadanya, atau supaya memberi utang maupun menghapuskan piutang, dihukum karena penipuan, dengan hukuman penjara selama-lamanya empat tahun."*⁴⁵

"Anyone who, to unlawfully benefit himself or another person, by using a false name or false dignity, by trickery or a series of lies, induces another person to hand over something to him, or to grant a loan or write off a debt, shall be punished for fraud, with a maximum imprisonment of four years."

The activity of "cek khodam" which promises supernatural results can be considered a trick or a series of lies if it is not proven to be true, and the perpetrators can be charged with this article. The use of digital platforms such as TikTok to disseminate "checking khodam" services is also regulated by Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2008 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik (ITE), which has been updated with Undang-Undang Nomor 19 Tahun 2016.

*Pasal 28 ayat (1) UU ITE: "Setiap Orang dengan sengaja dan tanpa hak menyebarkan berita bohong dan menyesatkan yang mengakibatkan kerugian konsumen dalam Transaksi Elektronik."*⁴⁶

"Any person who intentionally and without right spreads false and misleading news that results in consumer losses in Electronic Transactions"

⁴⁵ Moeljatno, *KUHP (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana)*.

⁴⁶ "UU ITE Nomor 19 Tahun 2016," in *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia*, 2016.

If the content of "ekk khodam" on TikTok is considered fake or misleading news that causes harm to TikTok users, the perpetrators can be subject to sanctions under this article. The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok raises several legal issues in the context of Indonesian law. This activity can violate criminal law provisions related to fraud, violate consumer rights, and violate the ITE law if the content disseminated is considered misleading. In addition, organizers of social media platforms such as TikTok also have a responsibility to ensure that the content available does not violate the law or mislead users. This can help reduce the spread of misinformation and protect users from potential harm. Overall, TikTok has played a significant role in changing the way society accesses, understands, and adopts alternative spiritual practices while raising new questions about the ethical, cultural, and social implications of this phenomenon. The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok not only reflects individual spiritual exploration but also reflects the changing cultural dynamics and evolving values in a modern, increasingly digitally connected society.

When examined from an Islamic perspective, Khodam etymologically comes from Arabic which means "servant" or "helper". In a spiritual context, khodam is considered a supernatural being that can provide protection or assistance to someone. Belief in khodam is often associated with occult and shamanic practices. According to Islamic teachings, beliefs and practices related to supernatural beings such as khodam must be reviewed carefully. The Quran and Hadith provide clear guidance regarding the existence of supernatural beings such as jinns and demons, and warn Muslims not to engage in practices that lead to shirk or polytheism.

In interpreting the verses of the Quran that focus on Islamic law, the author refers to several verses of the Quran that discuss supernatural beings and human interaction with them. Among them is QS. Al-Jinn (72:6): "And verily, there were men among mankind who sought protection from the males among the jinn, but they increased them in sin and transgression".⁴⁷ This verse emphasizes that seeking protection from jinns or other supernatural beings is an act that is forbidden in Islam. This kind of practice can bring sin and guilt to the perpetrator.

QS. Al-Baqarah (2:102): "And they followed what the devils recited during the reign of Solomon (and they said that Solomon practiced magic), but Solomon did not disbelieve (did not practice magic), only the devils were disbelievers (did practice magic). They

⁴⁷ Kementerian Agama RI, *Kementerian Agama RI*, 2017.

taught magic to mankind...".⁴⁸ This verse reminds Muslims to stay away from the practice of magic and interaction with Satan, which is often associated with the practice of seeking help or protection from supernatural beings. QS. Al-Hijr (15:17-18): "And We have protected him from every accursed devil, except the devil who steals news and is chased by a bright flame."⁴⁹ This verse shows that Allah has made humans safe from Satan's interference if they hold fast to His teachings. This indicates that trying to interact with supernatural beings is against Allah's will.

The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok raises various legal issues in Islam that need to be considered, including: (1) Purity of Faith: Islam places great emphasis on the purity of faith or belief. Involving oneself in the practice of "cek khodam" can damage the purity of a Muslim's faith, because it leads to the belief in the existence of a power other than Allah that can provide protection or assistance. (2) Shirk: The practice of "cek khodam" can be categorized as shirk, which is associating Allah with other creatures. Shirk is a major sin in Islam and is strictly prohibited. Trusting or relying on khodam as a protector or provider of assistance other than Allah is included in the act of shirk. (3) Fraud and Exploitation: The phenomenon of "cek khodam" on TikTok can also involve elements of fraud and exploitation. Users involved in this activity may exploit the fears or beliefs of others to gain material gain or popularity. (4) Violation of Islamic Manners: Islam teaches good manners in interacting with fellow humans and Allah's creatures. Using social media to promote practices that are not by Islamic teachings is a violation of these manners.

Islam strictly forbids practices related to interaction with supernatural beings such as khodam, because it can damage the purity of faith, lead to shirk, and involve elements of deception and exploitation. Therefore, Muslims are expected to distance themselves from such activities and adhere to the pure and straight teachings of Islam. Therefore, Muslims are expected to stay away from and reject the practice of "cek khodam" on TikTok and take a more careful approach in using social media to promote values that are by religious teachings. By strengthening the understanding of Islamic law, Muslims can maintain their faith and moral principles in dealing with complex digital phenomena like this.

⁴⁸ Kementerian Agama RI.

⁴⁹ Kementerian Agama RI.

The “cek khodam” phenomenon on TikTok illustrates the growing complexity of digital religious expression in contemporary society, where cultural beliefs, media logic, and normative frameworks intersect in dynamic and often contested ways. This study affirms that such phenomena cannot be reduced to mere entertainment, as they carry significant implications for the construction of meaning, the integrity of belief systems, and the regulation of digital content. By integrating media framing analysis with Islamic legal theory, this research contributes to the development of a more comprehensive approach to Islamic digital law, particularly in understanding how emerging digital practices should be evaluated within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*

Furthermore, the findings highlight the urgent need for more adaptive and multi-dimensional regulatory strategies in addressing spiritual content in digital spaces. This includes strengthening legal enforcement against misleading information, enhancing platform governance to monitor and manage potentially harmful content, and promoting contextual religious guidance that is responsive to digital realities. Ultimately, the regulation of digital spiritual practices is not only a legal necessity but also a moral imperative to safeguard faith, protect public understanding, and ensure that technological advancement does not undermine fundamental religious values in the digital age.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the “cek khodam” phenomenon on TikTok is not merely a form of digital entertainment, but a complex socio-cultural practice shaped by the interaction between media discourse, digital culture, and normative frameworks. Through framing analysis, it is evident that online media construct the phenomenon through competing narratives that oscillate between normalization and critique, reflecting broader tensions between entertainment logic and ethical as well as religious considerations. These findings confirm that digital platforms play an active role in shaping public understanding of spiritual practices, rather than simply reflecting existing social realities.

From a theoretical perspective, this research contributes to the development of an interdisciplinary framework by integrating media framing analysis with Islamic legal theory, particularly *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* and principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. This integration expands the scope of digital religion studies into the domain of Islamic jurisprudence, offering a new approach to understanding and evaluating digital spiritual phenomena within the concept of Islamic digital law. The study highlights that practice such as “cek khodam” may involve elements of

gharar, *tadlīs*, and potential risks of *shirk*, thereby posing challenges to the fundamental objectives of Islamic law, especially in safeguarding faith and intellect.

Practically, the findings underscore the need for more adaptive and multi-layered regulatory responses to digital spiritual content. Strengthening the implementation of legal frameworks such as the UU ITE, enhancing platform governance mechanisms, and promoting contextual religious guidance are essential steps in addressing this phenomenon. In addition, improving digital and religious literacy among users is crucial to prevent misinterpretation and exploitation of belief systems. Ultimately, the regulation of digital spiritual practices is not only a legal concern but also a moral imperative to ensure that technological developments remain aligned with ethical and religious values in contemporary society.

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