

## 'The Muslim Blog': Current Conversations on Islam from Russian Muslim Women on YouTube

<https://doi.org/10.25008/caraka>

*Sabina Abdulaev*

[abdulaev@post.bgu.ac.il](mailto:abdulaev@post.bgu.ac.il)

University of the Negev, Be'er-Sheva, Israel.

*Narmina Abdulaev*

[narmina@post.bgu.ac.il](mailto:narmina@post.bgu.ac.il)

University of the Negev, Israel

### Abstract

In the Russian Federation, there is a community of 20 million Muslims, making up roughly 13% of the country's population. This demographic presents a diverse minority, characterized by variations in ethnicity, language, and culture. Notably, the case of Russian Muslims stands out due to the significant generational shift observed within the community. Unlike their predecessors, who experienced a disconnect from Islam because of the secularist and communist ideologies prevalent during the Soviet era, the younger generation exhibits a heightened level of religious devotion. This phenomenon underscores the unique dynamic within Russian Muslim society. Central to this discussion are Muslim female YouTubers, who serve as a reliable and easily accessible resource for understanding Islam. Beyond disseminating religious teachings, these content creators utilize the platform to address the challenges confronting Muslims in Russia and the wider Islamic community (ummah). Their presence on YouTube not only facilitates dialogue but also fosters a sense of community among viewers, offering a platform for the exchange of ideas and perspectives.

**Key Words:** Islam; YouTube; Islamophobia; *da'awa*; *hijab*; gender

Author's email correspondent: <a href="mailto:abdulaev@post.bgu.ac.il">abdulaev@post.bgu.ac.il</a>
The author declares that she/he has no conflict of interest in the research and publication of this manuscript
Copyright © 2024 Sabina Abdulaev, Narmina Abdulaev Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0) Available at <a href="http://caraka.web.id">http://caraka.web.id</a>
Submitted: 10/10/24; Revised: 13/10/24; Accepted: 01/12/24

## Introduction

Russian Muslim female vloggers discuss Islam, share their perspectives on controversial topics, and critique Salafism—a conservative branch of Sunni Islam that advocates for adherence to the practices of the early Muslim generations—on YouTube in the Russian language. The situation of Russian Muslims, a significant minority within the country, is noteworthy due to the contrast between the younger generation's increased religious devotion and their parents' detachment from Islam, influenced by the secularist and communist ideologies of the Soviet era. Presently, these YouTubers serve as dependable and accessible resources for learning about Islam, while also using the platform to address issues faced by Muslims in Russia and the wider Islamic community, or ummah.

## The Representation of Islam and Muslims in Russian Mass Media

In the Russian Federation, there are approximately 20 million Muslims, constituting around 13% of the nation's population. This diverse minority encompasses individuals of various ethnicities, languages, and culture (World.population.review, 2022). Throughout the communist era spanning from 1918 to 1991, Islam and other religions faced severe repression. Mosques, Islamic primary schools known as maktabs, and Islamic secondary schools called madrasas were shut down. Women were forbidden from wearing hijabs, and the Sharia, the Muslim code of law, was abolished. Additionally, clerics were subjected to execution. Soviet mass media propagated messages advocating for the ban of Islam and Muslim cultures, while also ridiculing Muslims, their customs, and their religion (Gradszkova, 2020; Husni et al., 2020).

Following the final dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, there has been a gradual revival of Islam, primarily driven by organizational efforts overseen by the Center of Coordination of Religious Affairs in Russia. Political and social leaders, including religious scholars (ulama), mosque leaders (imams), judges (qadis), and legal experts (muftis), have played pivotal roles in promoting Islam by establishing madrasas, mosques, and various social organizations. Furthermore, this revival has been reinforced through the establishment of connections between Muslims in Russia and Islamic centers in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey. Russian Muslim students are also welcomed to madrasas, where they receive Islamic education scholarships (Aitamurto, 2021; Gradirovski & Esipova, 2008; Husni, et al., 2020; Pilkington & Yemelianova, 2003; Хабибуллина, 2021).

Furthermore, in contemporary Russia, one can discover restaurants offering halal (permissible) meals, as well as halal products available in markets, ranging from meats and sweets to cosmetics, perfumes, and other goods. However, not all Muslims in Russia adhere strictly to Islamic practices, such as performing the five daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan, giving zakat (mandatory charity), and maintaining traditional Islamic appearances, such as wearing a beard for men and modest clothing or hijab for women. Statistics indicate that approximately 60% of

young Muslims in Russia visit mosques only once a year, with a mere 16% attending regularly for prayers (Lukyanova & Sabirova, 2021; Rabinovich, 2017).

The Russian mass media often perpetuates stereotypical portrayals of Islam and Muslims, with women frequently depicted as passive and oppressed, wearing black niqabs—a garment that covers the face while leaving the eyes exposed. Additionally, following the emergence of militant Islamic groups in Chechnya in the mid-1990s, women were unfairly implicated in terrorist attacks (Islam, 2019; Pemberton & Tahkar, 2021; Tolmacheva, 1994; Хабибуллина, 2021).

Russian is among the top ten languages utilized on the Internet. As of 2021, the number of Russian YouTube users amounted to 255 million (Statista, 2023). The Internet, functioning as a medium for interactive communication and a platform for diverse perspectives, provides Russian Muslims, including women, with the opportunity to collaborate with Muslims both within and beyond Russia's borders, allowing them to be part of the ummah and amplify their voices. Consequently, cyber-Islam serves as an accessible avenue for fostering unity within the ummah and combating Islamophobia. This trend of Islam's mediation through media is also observed among Muslim minorities in non-Muslim nations, such as Indonesian Muslims in Hungary (Hazim & Musdholifah, 2021). Furthermore, according to Mosemghvdishvili & Jansz (2013), Muslims view YouTube as an effective platform for challenging stereotypes surrounding Islam and its followers. This stands in contrast to individuals who use the platform to disseminate jihadist (holy war) and anti-Western propaganda (Weisburd, 2009).

### **YouTube and Muslim YouTubers**

Since 2005, YouTube has enabled users to upload and share their videos, as well as subscribe to channels that pique their interest (Bekkering, 2020; Rasmussen, 2018; Strangelove, 2020). The title of an influencer on YouTube and other platforms is determined by the quantity of their subscribers. There are four main categories of influencers. A nano-influencer typically has between 1,000 and 5,000 subscribers; a micro-influencer has between 10,000 and 100,000 subscribers, while an influential-macro influencer has between 100,000 and a million subscribers. Those with millions of subscribers are referred to as mega-influencers (Berne-Manero & Marzo-Navarro, 2020; Lowe-Calverley & Grieve, 2021).

Each category of influencer possesses distinct traits. A nano-influencer is typically a YouTuber with several thousand followers, and their content is perceived as more authentic by the audience. In contrast, mega-influencers often collaborate with various corporations, resulting in content tailored to their objectives. Nano-influencers actively engage with their followers, being proactive and responsive to comments, and even arranging meetings with them. While a small follower count may suggest limited reach, many viewers watch content without subscribing to the channel. Additionally, the popularity of a channel and follower count can be deceptive due to influencers who purchase fake followers and create fictitious accounts (ibid.; Cristea, 2022).

YouTubers create diverse content ranging from beauty tips, fashion, gaming, tutorials, do-it-yourself (DIY) projects, professional topics, and more. When their primary aim is to foster parasocial relationships with their followers, influencers often upload personal vlogs showcasing their daily routines (Lee & Lee, 2022; Mahmudova & Evolvi, 2021). For instance, Muslim female YouTubers may offer insights into modest fashion and provide tutorials on hijab styling (Bouclin, 2013).

YouTubers often invite guests to their channels and collaborate with others to increase their follower count and foster a sense of community among users who share similar interests and common ground (Gannon & Prothero, 2018). However, there are influencers who aim to derive financial benefits from their craft. Numerous muftis allow Muslims to pursue a career as YouTubers, provided they upload halal content and utilize filters to regulate advertisements that do not conflict with the fundamental principles of Islam (Fitria & Romdhoni, 2021; Sharif, 2020).

In recent years, there has been a notable increase in sociological studies examining discourse surrounding Islam and Muslim women on social platforms. The phenomenon of vlogs created by Muslim female influencers is particularly intriguing as it provides an opportunity to delve into the key characteristics, meanings, and implications of this trend. Many female influencers predominantly share diary-style vlogs across various social platforms. This practice of sharing stories is rooted in the belief that individuals who are close to one another will naturally share their experiences, even if it's just by leaving a comment on engaging content. Consequently, Muslim YouTubers and their followers also exchange views and thoughts, thus challenging stereotypes about Islam and Muslims who wear the hijab (Bouclin, 2013; Islam, 2019; Khabibullina, 2020; Peterson, 2020; Хабибуллина, 2021).

This trend is noticeable among Muslim female bloggers residing in non-Muslim nations. Watt et al (2019) highlighted the experiences of three young Muslim bloggers from Ottawa, Ontario, discussing their feelings about wearing the hijab and practicing Muslim customs in a non-Muslim country. Similarly, Mahmudova & Evolvi (2021) examined how young Muslim women in the Netherlands utilize Instagram as a platform to challenge stereotypes and express their thoughts and emotions about being believers in a non-Muslim environment. Furthermore, they utilize Instagram not only to produce content but also to engage with content created by other influencers who share similar perspectives and opinions on Islam and tradition.

Furthermore, Pemberton & Takhar (2021) delineated the challenges faced by Muslim women in France concerning Islamophobia and explored the convergence of Islamic and secular modest fashion. Additionally, Khabibullina (2020) elucidated how Russian Muslim women, both born into the faith and converts, utilize blogs as a means to counteract negative portrayals of Islam and Muslim women perpetuated by official Russian media outlets. These women assert themselves as the most authentic sources of information regarding their own experiences.

This study builds upon existing research on Islam and female discourse on YouTube, concentrating specifically on contemporary Islamic discourse on the platform.

Consequently, the primary inquiries of this research are: What brand of Islam do female YouTubers in Russia advocate? What types of content do they share on their channels?

### Methodology

This study examines the vlogs of three Russian-born female Muslim YouTubers spanning from 2014 to February 2023. Utilizing a thematic analysis approach, qualitative content pertaining to Islam, domestic Muslim traditions, and the lives of Muslim minorities in Russia is analyzed by scrutinizing individuals' views, opinions, and experiences to identify key themes. All videos from the three Russian-speaking YouTubers were viewed, and the content was translated by the authors.

Table 1: Three Russian-born Female Muslim YouTubers

Vlog Title	YouTuber name	Number of Videos	Total Duration	Video
The Muslim Blog	Aydan Mamedova	177	6-30 min.	
Farida birmutluinsan	Farida Minibaeva	61	1-30 min.	
Khawa Shaidullina	Khawa Shaidullina	116	10-90 min.	

### The Three YouTubers: An Introduction

Aydan Mamedova, aged 31, is a Russian citizen born into a secular Azeri family. Raised in a household that valued national traditions and customs, she began attending mosque lessons in 2020. Within a year, she chose to publicly wear the hijab and observe fasting during Ramadan, as documented on October 23, 2015.<sup>1</sup> Mamedova worked as a journalist for channels Russia-24 and Alif-TV. Prior to her marriage, she resided with her parents and younger brother in a village near Saratov, Russia. Presently, she resides in Saratov with her spouse and toddler daughter. Mamedova has chosen not to disclose her affiliation with Sunni or Shi'i Islam, as of October 18, 2016. As of 2015, Mamedova operates a channel called 'The Muslim Blog' boasting 401K subscribers. Her vlog aims to showcase the beauty of Islam and address inquiries pertaining to Islam, particularly in Russia. She tackles topics such as the experience of wearing a hijab, responding to questions posed by both Muslim and non-Muslim viewers from Russia in the Russian language. Her videos often feature a cappella music, considered permissible in Islam, in contrast to instrumental music, which is forbidden, as noted on January 20, 2016. Mamedova has earned recognition as 'The first Muslim YouTuber in Russia to discuss Islam'.<sup>2</sup>

The two additional YouTubers, Farida Minibaeva and Khawa Shaidullina were interviewed several times by Mamedova on her channel (20.8.20 and 1.9.2021). Farida Minibaeva, 25 years old and single, is a Tatar who resides in Kazan with her mother. Her siblings are married and have families of their own. During her school years, she attended a madrasa and mosque (*masjid*) (11.3.2017). In seventh grade,

<sup>1</sup> <https://daily.afisha.ru/cities/1132-kak-zhivet-pervaya-v-rossii-musulmanka-videoblogger/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://mir24.tv/news/16454038/otkrovenno-ob-islame-o-chem-rasskazyvaet-podpischikam-avtor-youtube-kanala-blog-musulmanki> (in Russian)

she became devout after her mother began praying regularly. Following her graduation from school, she enrolled at the Russian Islamic University in Kazan, but later opted to discontinue her studies. Presently, Minibaeva is employed in the field of marketing. Her channel, 'birmutluinsan Farida', has amassed 19.1K subscribers since 2014. Minibaeva incorporates background music into her videos (5.10.2018).

The third YouTuber is Khawa Shaidullina, a 30-year-old Tatar who works as a psychologist and sexologist.<sup>3</sup> She is also the founder of the Hakima center, which offers religious studies and psychological consultation services specifically tailored for women. Shaidullina is a single mother of five children from Kazan, ("the most comfortable city in Russia for Muslims"<sup>4</sup>). She was born into a religious family, with her mother working as a teacher of Arabic and the Qur'an, and her father serving as an imam, leading prayers at a mosque. She received her education from both a madrasa and a secular school (4.8.2020). Shaidullina is proficient in Arabic, proficiently reads the Qur'an, and holds a degree in religious studies. She married psychologist Airat Graffulin at the age of 18 but divorced two years ago. Following the birth of her second child, she began studying psychology (13.8.2020). She asserts that Islam is compatible with psychology because the religion does not contradict secular sciences (4.8.2020). As of 2017, her channel 'Khawa Shaidullina' (written in Russian) had 7.99K subscribers.

## Findings and Discussion

### 1. *Islamophobia and Da'awa in Islam*

The three YouTubers express their personal perspectives, feelings, and daily experiences with Islam. They emphasize that they are not authoritative sources for learning about Islam. For instance, Mamedova acknowledges that she is not a religious scholar and lacks formal religious education. Therefore, she depends on contemporary fatwas available in Russian (17.6.2016). Similarly, Minibaeva highlights various channels by ulama (Islamic scholars) as dependable sources for learning about Islam, stating:

I will share something about myself. If I choose to discuss Islam, I will ensure to study it thoroughly before speaking about it. This is because those who mislead others will be held accountable on Judgment Day. I strive to steer clear of raising controversial topics within Islam! (24.6.2017).

However, we can glean insights from their personal experiences on navigating life as Muslim women in Russia. Furthermore, the three YouTubers engage in spreading da'awa (act of inviting people to Islam), while also dismantling stereotypes and misunderstandings surrounding the religion and its followers. In her inaugural video, Mamedova indicates that her target audience comprises Russian speakers, with her primary objective being the dispelling of stereotypes about Islam in both Russia and abroad. She emphasizes that Muslim men and women who wear the hijab are often

---

<sup>3</sup> <http://islampsiholog.ru/specialisty-shajdullina-xava-irekovna/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.idelreal.org/a/31687996.html>

subject to suspicion by others. Consequently, her channel focuses less on beauty tutorials and hijab styling, as these topics are already covered extensively by English-speaking YouTubers (23.10.2015). For instance, she recounts feeling terrified following the terrorist attack in Paris on November 13, 2015. She highlights how the Prophet Muhammad treated non-Muslims with peaceful manners during his lifetime (17.11.2015) and emphasized the importance of treating non-Muslims in a peaceful manner (17.5.2016). After some time, during an interview, Mamedova disclosed that it is the most watched video on her channel:

I questioned myself, "Should I fear terrorists or disturbed individuals?" If our aim is to combat Islamophobia, Muslims should emulate the actions and words of the Prophet Muhammad, showing kindness to both Muslims and non-Muslims, and displaying greater humanity during difficult times.

Furthermore, Mamedova emphasizes that Islam accepts and even encourages the diversity among humans, stating, "We have different fingerprints because God wills it." (17.5.2016). Furthermore, she clarifies the true meaning of 'Allahu Akbar': "The meaning of takbir is the greatness of Allah. Muslims say takbir when they are sad or happy. It has nothing to do with terror." (13.4.2020).

Mamedova criticizes the Russian authorities and media for exacerbating Islamophobia and promoting hate speech in the country. For instance, she recounts instances of lecturers reacting negatively to students wearing hijab during her university days (20.07.2017). Furthermore, Mamedova criticizes the government's policy of banning the hijab in public spaces, including schools, prior to the start of the FIFA World Cup in Russia in 2018 (30.1.2017). Additionally, Minibaeva uploaded a video titled 'War is Not the Answer' with English subtitles. In the video, two strangers are walking on the street when suddenly the papers in the hands of a woman wearing a hijab fall to the ground. A man behind her helps collect the scattered pages. However, after receiving a phone call and finishing the conversation, he becomes angry and insults her. The woman is terrified and falls to the ground. Later, she receives a call from the hospital. The voice on the other end informs her that there was a terrorist attack in the city and one of her relatives is among the victims. The film highlights that both Muslims and non-Muslims are victims of terror (25.10.2016).

Furthermore, the three YouTubers assert that embracing Islam is a deliberate decision and not merely a result of being born into a Muslim family. Their sincere faith motivates them to showcase the beautiful aspects of Islam, which is known in Islam as da'awa. As a psychologist, Shaidullina suggests that childhood traumas can impact one's faith in God and their relationship with Him. For example, if someone had a difficult childhood due to parental mistreatment and a lack of nurturing, resulting in a strictly hierarchical relationship, that individual may feel apprehensive about approaching God and uncomfortable asking for anything, fearing judgment from their creator. Consequently, they may believe in adulthood that God does not hear their prayers. Shaidullina encourages individuals to reach out to God, emphasizing that He will provide comfort even if they ask for material possessions. Islam does not dictate a strict relationship between the believer and God. By

learning about Islam and addressing childhood traumas, individuals can find support from God (9.10.2018 and 4.2.2019).

Minibaeva asserts that Islam provides answers to some of the most fundamental questions, unlike other prominent religions such as Christianity and Buddhism. She emphasizes, "There is no contradiction between ayats and hadiths. Everything in Islam is harmonious." Minibaeva highlights that her choice of Islam is based on its ability to address her inquiries, such as concerns about the end of the world and the state of humanity (27.11.2016). Shaidullina also discusses faith in God as a rationalistic choice that emerges through a natural process. She explains that if Islam is imposed on a Muslim or anyone else, the bond is weak. However, if the believer comprehends the significance of shahadah (the Muslim declaration of faith in God and acceptance of Muhammad as God's Prophet) and other principles of the religion, the bond will strengthen day by day (7.2.2019).

Mamedova showcases in her vlog a center for religious studies tailored for blind children, where they learn the Qur'an, often referred to as the "book of science." (24.11.2015 and 17.5.2016). She explains that God motivates the humans to create "big things" (7.10.2016), thereby allowing individuals to determine their own destiny. In Islam, there is no concept of 'maktub' (predestined fate) (20.1.2016). Mamedova emphasizes the importance of providing a comprehensive understanding of Islam and Muslims to foster peace and uphold universal values. She explains that while she is not opposed to vegetarianism, scarification (the practice of sacrificing animals) holds significance in believing in God, particularly due to its social impact of providing food for impoverished families who cannot afford meat. Meat, being a rich source of protein, offers health benefits for the body. Mamedova criticizes those who idolize celebrity chef Nusret Gökçe, also known as Salt Bae, the owner of Nusret restaurant in Turkey. She highlights that when Muslims discuss scarification in Islam, the act of eating meat is often misconstrued as religious fanaticism and viewed as extremely cruel and uncivilized. Mamedova emphasizes that Islam advocates for the welfare of birds and animals, and not all animals are permissible for consumption. She underscores that slaughter is conducted through humane methods to ensure that the animal does not suffer during the process (21.6.2017 and 11.8.2019). According to Mamedova, Islam condemns israf, which refers to the wastage of money and natural resources. Israf not only leads to economic inefficiency but also contributes to negative changes in climate and air pollution (25.07.2016).

Minibaeva discusses the concept of ummah and solidarity within Islam. She emphasizes that Muslims are part of a united community, where they are considered brothers and sisters despite having different eye shapes and colors. This highlights the inclusivity and unity that Islam promotes among its followers (29.7.2018). Minibaeva expresses that within the Muslim community, there is a strong sense of support and solidarity. She notes that after she became devout, she experienced a significant increase in the number of friends who were willing to help her in times of need (27.11.2016). She describes the Russian Islamic University in Kazan as a place where all lectures and students are Muslims, creating a comfortable environment for those studying there (1.10.2016).

The YouTubers emphasize the prohibition of compelling Islam on others, which is considered a sin in the religion and contradicts the Russian constitution. Minibaeva clarifies that according to the constitution, every citizen in Russia has the right to choose their religion, as well as the right to freedom of thought and expression (27.11.2016). Mamedova adds, "You may ask why my female relatives don't cover themselves with a hijab? This is their choice. They are Muslim. I can only serve as a role model for them; I am not a preacher." (23.2.2017).

Furthermore, Mamedova acknowledges that Muslims and converts may struggle to communicate their decision to become more pious with family members. She encourages them to be honest, stating, "They will respect you more. But if friends are not pleased, let them go." Mamedova recognizes that non-Muslim parents are often fearful of Islam, advising converts to be tolerant and not become angry with them. She believes they will offer support, as they may think something bad will happen to the convert. Drawing from her own experience, she notes that she and her mother grew closer after she decided to wear a hijab every day (23.2.2017).

Mamedova continues by advising, "If this is your first fast in Ramadan, explain to your family the importance of fasting and ask them to help you prepare dinner." (23.5.2016 and 31.03.2020). She also adds, "You must prove to them that you have become a better person and maintain a connection with God." (17.5.2016).

Mamedova advises individuals to learn about Islam from apps, read more literature on the religion, and avoid seeking guidance from people, as they may lead you to mistakes (13.3.2020). She also recommends reading the Qur'an in Arabic or listening to surahs in Russian or Turkish, as it can evoke tears of excitement (18.10.2016 and 13.7.2016). Moreover, she emphasizes that Muslims should be kind (26.12.2015) She also underscores the importance of not judging people based on their appearance, emphasizing that "Only God can judge." (11.4.2016), and:

Be friends with people smarter than you... Also, first you should accept bad treatments and then fight them. We all experience jealousy sometimes... We need to overcome it. We need to have internal conversations; it's better than going to a psychologist... Abu-Huraira said: "It is better to say nice things or remain silent." (11.3.2016).

Mamedova opposes the Salafi prohibition on celebrating birthdays. According to her, celebrating birthdays for children is not considered haram (forbidden): "The child will ask you: why do Sasha and Masha celebrate birthdays and I do not?" (18.10.2016). Minibaeva celebrates her 25th birthday with her Muslim female friends, who give her presents from her WishList. She remarks in her video that there are significant non-material presents that cannot be purchased; only God can bestow them upon individuals (27.12.2023). Mamedova states that celebrating the New Year is not haram (forbidden): "This is a holiday observed by the state and not a religious event; we have nine days of holidays to visit our family, to gather. What I find concerning is people believing in superstitions. There is no Santa Claus! Parents tell children that he exists, but no one has seen him! It's akin to believing in God!" (29.12.2016).

## **2. The Greater Jihad: How to Become a Pious Muslim?**

### **2.1. Etiquette and Appearance**

The three YouTubers provide guidance to Muslims and converts regarding appropriate behavior and appearance for a believer, in addition to emphasizing the importance of maintaining good health and cleanliness. Mamedova highlights that Prophet Muhammad warned against excessive eating, advising that one-third of the stomach should remain empty (8.2.2016). Additionally, he prohibited consuming swine meat, which is considered haram (forbidden) in the Qur'an (Q6:145). In the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliya, swine meat was involved in idolatrous rituals, and today it is known for its harmful impact on both health and iman (faith). Swine meat has been linked to cancer and hormonal imbalances due to chemicals present in the animal's blood, as well as the unique digestive process of the animal. Therefore, Mamedova encourages Muslims to visit halal cafes and recommends consuming meat from halal slaughter (22.5.2017).

Moreover, in Islam, alcohol, drugs, products containing chemical ingredients and preservatives, as well as gelatin derived from animals' bones (unless it's artificial), are forbidden. Mamedova cautions against businesses and brands that knowingly or unknowingly claim to sell *halal* products (30.7.2017). Also, Minibaeva recommends *halal* sausages and sweets after visiting Dubai twice (16.2.2020 and 2.9.2021).

Mamedova adds that the home of a Muslim must be kept neat, as "a clean home is clean thoughts." She believes that the cleaner one's body and home are, the stronger their iman (faith) will be. (2.12.2016). In leisure time, she advises Muslims to engage in workouts (17.5.2016) and to play puzzles or games like snakes and ladders, with questions on Islam (10.2.2017 and 27.4.2017). Also, they can attend the theater and other shows (8.2.2016) despite the prohibition by Salafi ulama due to mixed-sex activities. Yet, she stresses that what is more important in Muslims is inner beauty.

Mamedova explains various aspects of hygiene in Islam, such as performing wuḍu' (ablution), trimming the mustache and beard for men, brushing teeth, removing public and armpit hair, maintaining manicure (preferably without nail polish, even if it is halal), and wearing appropriate clothes to the masjid (mosque) (30.6.2017). However, if a woman wishes to paint her nails, she should opt for neutral shades because "the color red attracts attention." (1.8.2016). Additionally, she provides a cosmetic tip for women to correct the shape of their eyebrows using white shadows and beige correctors. She emphasizes, "If you change the shape of your brows, it's like you want to change what God has created. Satan always whispers to women to change their brows. Today, wide eyebrows are in trend, which is beneficial for us!" (15.2.2016). Women can pray with makeup if it does not interfere with their wuḍu' (ablution) (31.3.2016). To maintain healthy hair, women should take care of their hair rather than shaving it (31.10.2015). It is permitted to wear a burkini to the beach and swimming pool (20.7.2016 and 30.6.2017), sport suit (1.2.2017) wide and fashionable clothes (2.5.2016, 1.6.2017, 20.5.2019 and 1.9.2021), wearing clothes with prints, such as a T-shirt with words like "boom," is permissible. Mamedova suggests that Muslims should be able to laugh at themselves (8.9.2016) Indeed, a

print like “babe” might be considered inappropriate due to its suggestive connotations (5.12.2015)). Minibaeva criticizes Caucasian Muslim women who wear bold makeup and tight clothes, contrasting them with the modest attire of Tatarian women, particularly seen at Wandi Bazar in Moscow in 2018 (5.10.2018).

Mamedova and Minibaeva showcase a variety of clothing styles in their videos, whereas Shaidullina maintains a consistent personal style with a capsule wardrobe of wide clothes in natural colors. Initially, in her early videos, Shaidullina did not reveal her face to the audience. In interviews, she often sat with her back to the camera or wore a mask, and during lectures, she would show a table, notebook, pen, and other items. Over the past year, however, she has started wearing a hijab that does not cover her face and even wears lipstick. It is speculated that these conscious changes began following her divorce and as part of her personal growth process during the Covid-19 period (9.8.2020).

Mamedova criticizes ulama who forbid women from wearing pants due to their resemblance to men's clothing, which is considered haram (forbidden) in Islam. She highlights Abu-Hanifa's permission for women to wear a tunic or dress over pants. Mamedova personally wears pants daily due to her active lifestyle and during the harsh Russian winter (18.10.2016). Mamedova clarifies that Islam permits a woman to wear any clothes at home without wearing a hijab if she is with a mahram, a man with whom marriage is considered haram (forbidden). However, she should sleep with a hijab if there is any possibility that a non-mahram will see her (31.10.2015).

Mamedova states that hijab is an obligation in Islam and an integral part of iman (faith) (20.1.2016 and 30.1.2017). Minibaeva advises those who want to start wearing hijab to first cover their hearts with good behavior and thoughts before covering their heads. She suggests preparing both oneself and parents for potential criticism from society, especially considering that “you will be different in Russia.” Additionally, she recommends reading the book “Does My Head Look Big in This?” (2005) by Randa Abdel-Fatah, an Australian writer of Palestinian and Egyptian parentage. The book follows the journey of a Muslim teenager from Australia who decides to wear the hijab to school (10.2.2017).

In the interview, Minibaeva asked Shaidullina about the sharia's stance on wearing hijab. Shaidullina explained that according to the Qur'an, there is an obligation to cover the body except for the hands and face. She also noted that the size of the hijab and how much to cover can vary between different cultures. Shaidullina emphasized that the decision to wear hijab daily should come from the heart and mind, and not as an act of rebellion against parents (11.8.2020).

Mamedova assumes that Russian citizens respect women who wear hijab (22.2.2017 and 13.4.2017). The same sentiment was expressed during the interview with Minibaeva's female friends. They assume that wearing the hijab does not diminish one's individuality (8.11.2022). Mamedova demonstrates three styles of wearing a hijab: Russian, Arabian, and Indian (13.11.2015).

Minibaeva demonstrates how to wrap the hijab in five different ways, incorporating accessories and brooches to enhance the style (19.1.2017). However, Minibaeva showcased in her experimental project "One Day in Hijab" that she and Alina, an Instagram influencer and the daughter of a Christian mother and a Muslim father who does not wear hijab daily, were treated unfairly in random clothing stores. However, in the subway and at a store for halal clothing, they felt more secure in public places where they encountered women wearing hijab (14.3.2019).

## *2.2. Prayers and Fast in Ramadan*

The three YouTubers emphasize the obligation of performing the five daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan. Mamedova poses a question to her followers: "You, as Muslims, often say that you do not have time to pray. If you were invited to meet with Putin five times a day for three minutes each time, would you refuse? Of course not! So, why do Muslims claim they do not have fifteen minutes a day for the five daily prayers? Why would you refuse to meet with God, who created you?" (23.10.2015).

Additionally, Mamedova clarifies that the movements (rak'as) during prayer are beneficial for bones and muscles. She adds: "Praying five times a day is an effective tool for time management. Also, it is better to pray in Arabic, but if you cannot, pray in your mother tongue. For non-Muslims, if you do not pray, at least speak with God. You can always address your requests to God; it is not rude, so do not be shy." (8.6.2016).

Mamedova describes the journey to the masjid as akin to coming closer to God. She advises against speaking with friends inside the masjid; instead, one should converse with God. Believers should stand close together in line during the salat, as leaving empty spaces between prayers can allow Satan to disturb them (27.2.2020). She explains that while visiting the masjid to pray Jumu'ah, the Muslim Friday prayer, is an obligation for men, it is not mandatory for women due to their household chores and other obligations. However, it is permitted for women to come to the masjid, but they should enter from a separate entrance. The imam in the masjid is likened to a psychologist, as he listens to Muslims and can provide advice (28.9.2016).

The fast during Ramadan is one of the obligations for Muslims. Mamedova discusses who is obligated to fast, how to prepare the body beforehand, and the proper way to break a fast (26.5.2017), ideas for special gifts to family and friends (22.6.2016). Restrictions and permissions exist for Muslims during fasting. For instance, Muslims are permitted to swallow saliva, brush their teeth, chew gum, visit the dentist, take a bath, and taste food while cooking but should avoid swallowing it. If a Muslim unintentionally forgets about fasting and eats, it does not invalidate their fast (9.6.2017 and 15.5.2018).

Mamedova emphasizes the significance of Ramadan, especially the last ten nights, for Muslims to strengthen their iman. She suggests listening to podcasts and watching religious programs on television and the internet as ways to enhance spiritual growth during this sacred time (19.06.2017 and 25.05.2018). She

recommends engaging in conversations with devout and spiritual individuals who possess more religious knowledge than others. Additionally, she suggests speaking with God through prayers, reading the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, traveling, and spending time close to nature as ways to deepen one's spiritual connection (5.6.2017 and 31.03.2020). Additionally, gathering with family and friends is considered a blessing (2.7.2016 and 6.6.2018).

Engaging in good deeds during this month is especially important because "in this month, God imprisoned Satan. So, if someone commits a bad deed, it reflects their true character, and not Satan's influence." (26.05.2017). She encourages students to fast, as she believes that "a hungry student is a good student." Additionally, she advises those who do not pray Salat daily but fast during Ramadan that "it is better than doing nothing." Moreover, she highlights that fasting is beneficial for health (23.5.2016 and 31.03.2020). Mamedova clarifies that a non-Muslim is permitted to eat in the presence of a fasting Muslim friend (10.6.2016).

Moreover, Mamedova gives zakat to the poor and to those who are strong or weak in faith during the holy month (14.6.2018). She advises women to complete household chores before starting the fast because women are responsible for caring for their families and homes, often dedicating more time to these responsibilities than men, who prioritize prayer (2.4.2022). Likewise, Minibaeva emphasizes the significance of fasting, describing it as an act done for one's creator. She highlights that fasting is not about starvation but rather purifying one's inner world and heart. During Ramadan, those who have food throughout the year come to understand the plight of the poor and experience hunger. Minibaeva stresses that during this month, one receives rewards from God. She also notes that any wrongdoing during Ramadan reflects one's true self, as Satan is imprisoned by God during this time (13.6.2016).

Minibaeva recommends both physical and mental exercises, emphasizing the importance of keeping the body and mind active. Additionally, she suggests cleaning the home before the fast begins, ensuring a clean and organized environment for the month of Ramadan (20.4.2020). In her vlog, viewers can find ideas for halal gifts to give to family members during the fasting period. These ideas include Qur'ans printed on colorful pages, postcards, table games, dolls wearing hijabs, lamps, dates, water from Zamzam, watches with Arabic numbers, or watches that display the times of salat (9.5.2019). She encourages meeting with friends and fostering community bonds. For instance, she organized a picnic iftar and then went to the masjid with her friends (15.5.2019). Since 2017, she has been volunteering to organize iftar events during Ramadan every year. These events also extend invitations to Muslim tourists, fostering a sense of community and inclusion during the holy month (16.06.2017, 21.07.2018, 24.5.2019 and 1.5.2020).

### ***3. Gender Issues: Marriage, Polygamy and Domestic Violence***

The main topics covered on Shaidullina's channel revolve around psychology and family relationships, delving into subjects such as dynamics between mothers-in-law and second wives. Additionally, she explores Western theories on sub-identities and

provides insights into the definition of an Alpha male (8.9.2018); tips for raising independent children (6.1.2017); nursery education (8.9.2018); and setting healthy boundaries in relationships (10.8.2020). Her rational and 'secular' explanations have provoked radical imams to publish fatwas, alleging a contradiction between psychology and sexology with Islam (20.10.2020 and 25.02.2022).

Shaidullina outlines the nuclear family as a natural and functional unit within society and offers strategies for protecting it from external influences, such as parents-in-law and additional women who may alter the family dynamics (21.9.2018). She also engages in discussions about polygamy with her spouse, who asserts that polygamy is not an obligation in Islam. He highlights that while there may be rationality behind polygamy, it is not the primary goal for Muslims. Instead, he emphasizes the importance of being responsible to one's family, ensuring their welfare, and practicing justice with all wives and children. He acknowledges that polygamy may not bring happiness to everyone involved and suggests questioning its relevance in contemporary society (17.8.2020).

Mamedova describes the conditions and restrictions of polygamy in Islam, noting that its permission was revealed after the Battle of Badr in 624 AD. This occurred because many of the Prophet's soldiers were killed by idolaters of Mecca, leaving widows and children without a custodian. Polygamy is mentioned in the Qur'an (Q4:3), which also warns Muslims against unfair treatment of their four wives. However, polygamy is permitted in two specific cases: first, when a first wife is unable to bear children, and second, when a man has a high libido. Furthermore, she emphasizes the importance of supporting women in need without resorting to sexual coercion (18.3.2017 and 23.04.2018). She asserts that Muslim men can marry non-virgin Muslim women, reasoning that "if God forgives a sinful woman, why would other men not?" (31.3.2016). One of Mamedova's interesting videos is titled 'Five Myths About Marriage'.

The first myth is that Muslims marry at a young age. This is not universally true, but it is acknowledged that marriage can address physical needs. The second myth is that parents choose partners for their children. This practice is not a universal Islamic tradition and varies across cultures. The third myth is that parents often force marriages without their children's consent. This is not true in many cases. The fourth myth is that the bride and groom only see each other for the first time at the wedding ceremony. This is also false. The fifth myth is that Muslim men do not see their future wives without hijab before marriage. However, they can request to see their future spouse without hijab, and it is acceptable for a female relative to ask the bride to remove her hijab in front of her (23.9.2016).

Shaidullina explains that mahr, which is a gift consisting of money and assets, is given by a man to his fiancée. In the event of divorce initiated by the woman, she is required to return the mahr. Conversely, if the divorce is initiated by the man, the woman is entitled to keep the mahr, which can serve as financial support after the divorce. Arab scholars note that in modern times, Arab women often request high mahr amounts, such as money and large apartments, which young men may find difficult to afford, leading to delayed marriages until their thirties. Consequently, scholars advise Arab women to lower their mahr expectations. Similar advice is also

given by scholars in Russia to Russian Muslim women. Shaidullina suggests that influenced by such fatwas, Muslim women in Russia may ask for a lower mahr due to low self-esteem and may even agree to marry after just one meeting (10.8.2020).

Shaidullina recounts witnessing this practice among Muslims in Russia when she was 18 years old. She observed her mother and the fiancé discussing the mahr while seated in a car. Her mother expressed willingness to halve the sum after the young man mentioned that he needed time to gather the amount. Shaidullina emphasizes the importance for women to assertively request a mahr, as men do not value women who agree to marry without adequate consideration of the mahr. Typically, parents decide on the mahr without involving the daughter in the negotiations. Shaidullina argues that if a woman agrees to a low or nonexistent mahr, her husband may not make efforts to improve their lives, leading to an unhealthy relationship dynamic.

Ultimately, Shaidullina questions why anyone would desire to be in a one-sided relationship (ibid). Similarly, Mamedova asserts that the mahr given to the bride is a personal matter and should be commensurate with the groom's income. However, she emphasizes that it is forbidden to forbid a woman from requesting a high mahr (16.8.2018). Furthermore, both Mamedova and Shaidullina argue that in a nikah, which is a legal marriage agreement, women should be able to establish their own conditions (10.8.2020).

Mamedova and Shaidullina strongly condemn violence against Muslim women. Mamedova asserts that Islam prohibits men from physically harming women, although it allows for educational measures, such as a light slap akin to how parents discipline their young children, as mentioned in the Qur'an. She suggests teaching a woman to fulfill her role as a wife through verbal guidance initially, followed by gentle physical reinforcement if necessary. However, she stresses that this should not cause pain or be insulting. Additionally, a Muslim man may discipline his spouse by refusing to share a bed with her, but it is forbidden to strike her face or leave her alone at home after an argument. Mamedova cites the example of Prophet Muhammad, who treated his wives Khadija and Ayesha with kindness and did not resort to violence, even though Ayesha was known to be somewhat spoiled and occasionally jealous. She advises women to remain patient and avoid provoking conflicts (23.04.2018). In contrast, Shaidullina holds a more stringent stance. She criticizes the patriarchal order prevalent in Tatarian, Chechenyan, and Dagestanyan societies, which she argues perpetuates the acceptance of violence against women (5.11.2021 and 24.12.2021).

Moreover, they address chauvinism within Muslim societies. Mamedova criticizes ulama who advocate for women to remain primarily within the home and suggest that they need permission even to visit their parents' house (13.3.2020). Shaidullina also discusses her divorce process, during which an alem, acting as a mediator with an antifeminist approach, advised her to focus on reclaiming her femininity and spending more time at home with her children. This advice included cooking traditional dishes from Tatarian cuisine for her children at least twice a week and

avoiding the use of diapers for toddlers, based on the assumption that their parents came from poor families unable to afford them (11.02.2022).

Shaidullina interviews Gulnara Esse, a Tatarian blogger and the author of the book "My Salafi Sister." Esse, born into Islam, expresses her belief in God but chose to unveil her hijab a couple of years ago. Esse poses a rhetorical question to Shaidullina: "Have you ever felt the wind in your hair?" Furthermore, Esse criticizes ulama who oppress women and promote hate speech. She mentions hearing about women wearing oversized socks to avoid tempting their husbands. Esse recounts her transition to becoming a secular Muslim after being forbidden to visit her mother without a male guardian. She advocates for reform within Islam, although she acknowledges the resistance to change within the religion. Esse encourages Muslims to seek guidance from psychologists rather than relying solely on imams in mosques. This perspective may differ from Mamedova's viewpoint (26.10.2020 and 31.10.2020).

In a similar context, during an interview with lecturer and journalist Rezeda Rifovna, she criticizes the notion that hijab must cover the chin and throat. Additionally, she opposes those who seek to monopolize religion, questioning, "Who speaks in the name of Islam? Only men?" Rifovna emphasizes that the Quran does not specifically mention covering the ears, hair, or chains. She argues that the true essence of hijab, as depicted in the Quran, is a barrier or partition between men and women, rather than solely a headscarf for women (17.12.2021 and 26.12.2021).

Furthermore, Shaidullina condemns the Islamic intolerance exhibited by fundamentalist cells. She specifically mentions the organization "Podval Chechni," which she accuses of violating women's rights, attempting to hack her accounts, and publishing defamatory articles against her (20.10.2020). Despite facing opposition, Shaidullina expresses her willingness to engage with her detractors to discuss the issues facing the ummah (5.11.2021 and 24.12.2021).<sup>5</sup>

## Conclusions

The social platform YouTube serves as an accessible tool for learning about Islam in Russian, catering to both Muslims and non-Muslims in Russia and beyond. While the YouTubers may not hold official titles such as ulama or muftis, they provide content that competes with traditional Islamic sites like Islam-online and the al-Azhar Global Fatwa Center. Their content, although unofficial, covers topics such as the five pillars of Islam, theological texts, fatwas, and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, addressing a secular Muslim and non-Muslim audience.

These YouTubers act as unofficial educators, offering virtual lectures in Russian on various aspects of Islam, including visiting mosques, fasting during Ramadan, and wearing the hijab. Their strong connection with their audience, which continues to grow, highlights their influence online. Without platforms like YouTube, these female Muslim YouTubers would struggle to reach such a diverse and large audience, both in Russia and internationally.

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.idelreal.org/a/31687996.html>

This study reinforces previous research that underscores the significant role of female Muslim YouTubers in Russia in promoting Islamic da'awa or cultural propaganda. Through their online presence, they engage in jihad by word, promoting social and religious reforms, particularly concerning women's issues such as marriage and gender violence. They also facilitate dialogue with Salafis and non-Muslims, leveraging their religious knowledge gained from various educational courses and seminars in Russia and abroad.

Overall, these YouTubers serve as exemplars of non-formal Islam, advocating against radicalism and advocating for reforms within the religion. Their platform also serves as a space to discuss the challenges facing the ummah and foster solidarity among Muslims in Russia.

### **Bibliography**

Aitamurto, K. (2021). Patriotic loyalty and interest representation among the Russian Islamic elite. *Religion*, 51(2), 280-298. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2021.1865604>

Bekkiring, D. J. (2020). Studying religion and YouTube. In: A. Possamai-Inesedy & Nixon, A. (eds.). *The digital social: Religion and belief* (pp. 49-66). De Gruyter. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.bgu.ac.il/10.1515/9783110497892>

Berne-Manero, C., & Marzo-Navarro, M. (2020). Exploring how influencer and relationship marketing serve corporate sustainability. *Sustainability*, 12(11), 4392. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12114392>

Bouclin, S. (2013). YouTube and Muslim Women's legal subjectivities. *Oñati Socio-legal Series*, 3(7), 1158-1183.

Cristea, (23 February 2022). 28 best sites to buy YouTube subscribers. *Business Review*. Review in: 24.2.2022 <https://business-review.eu/tech/online/buy-youtube-subscribers-cheap-genuine-228324>

Fitria, T. N., & Romdhoni, A. H. (2021). The profession of YouTuber: Ethics in the Islamic economics' perspective. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Islam*, 7(3), 1602-1606. <http://doi.org/10.29040/jiei.v7i3.2760>

Gannon, V., & Prothero, A. (2018). Beauty bloggers and YouTubers as a community of practice. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 34(7-8), 592-619. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2018.1482941>

Gradirovski, S., & Esipova, N. (2008). GALLUP PRESENTS... Russian Muslims: Religious Leaven in a Secular Society. *Harvard International Review*, 30(1), 58-62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43649198>

Gradskova, Y. (2020). Opening the (Muslim) woman's space—The Soviet politics of emancipation in the 1920s–1930s. *Ethnicities*, 20(4), 667-684. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796820905030>

Hazim, H., & Musdholifah, N. (2021). Mediatization of Islam: The case of the Indonesian Muslims in Hungary. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 5(1), 42-57. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v5n1.p42-57>

Husni, H., Akhmedov, O., Herlina, N. H., & Kormiltsev, I. (2020). Islam in Russia: History, challenges, and future perspective. *Religious Studies: An International Journal*, 8(1), 45-66.

Islam, I. (2019). Redefining# YourAverageMuslim woman: Muslim female digital activism on social media. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 12(2), 213-233. [https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr\\_00004\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr_00004_1)

Joffe, H. (2012). Thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research Methods in Mental Health and Psychotherapy*, 1, 210-223. <http://doi.org/10.1002/9781119973249>

Khabibullina, Z. (2020). The image of a Muslim Woman in the Russian mass media: Trying to overcome stereotypes in Islamic media space. *Journal of the European Society of Women in Theological Research*, 28, 183-199. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ESWTR.28.0.3288488>

Lee, M., & Lee, H. H. (2022). Do parasocial interactions and vicarious experiences in the beauty YouTube channels promote consumer purchase intention?. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 46(1), 235-248. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12667>

Lowe-Calverley, E., & Grieve, R. (2021). Do the metrics matter? An experimental investigation of Instagram influencer effects on mood and body dissatisfaction. *Body Image*, 36, 1-4. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.10.003>

Lukyanova, E., & Sabirova, G. (2021). Youth of Russia and Religion. In: E. Omelchenko (ed.). *Youth in Putin's Russia* (pp. 207-254). Palgrave Macmillan.

Mahmudova, L., & Evolvi, G. (2021). Likes, comments, and follow requests: The Instagram user experiences of young Muslim women in the Netherlands. *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture*, 10(1), 50-70. <https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-bja10038>

Mosemghvdlishvili, L., & Jansz, J. (2013). Framing and praising Allah on YouTube: Exploring user-created videos about Islam and the motivations for producing them. *New Media & Society*, 15(4), 482-500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812457326>

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 1-13. <http://doi.org/1609406917733847>

Pemberton K. & Tahkar J. (2021). A critical technocultural discourse analysis of Muslim fashion bloggers in France: charting 'restorative technoscapes'. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 37, 387-416.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2020.1868551>

Pilkington, H., & Yemelianova, G. (2003). *Islam in post-Soviet Russia*. Routledge.

Peterson, K. M. (2020). The unruly, loud, and intersectional Muslim woman: Interrupting the aesthetic styles of Islamic fashion images on Instagram. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 1194-1213. <http://doi.org/1932-8036/20200005>

Rabinovich, T. (2017). Living the good life: Muslim women's magazines in contemporary Russia. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 20(2), 199-214.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549416638614>

Rasmussen, L. (2018). Parasocial interaction in the digital age: An examination of relationship building and the effectiveness of YouTube celebrities. *The Journal of Social Media in Society*, 7(1), 280-294.

Sharif, E. A. M. (2020). Youtube As e-business platform: Understanding the impact of Hijab tutorial among Muslim (Hijab and non-Hijab) female in Klang Valley, Malaysia. *International Journal of Social Science Research*, 2(4), 272-287.

<https://myjms.mohe.gov.my/index.php/ijssr/article/view/11604>

Strangelove, M. (2020). *Watching YouTube: Extraordinary videos by ordinary people*. University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442687035>

Tolmacheva, M. (1994). The Muslim woman and atheism in Soviet Central Asia. *Islamic Studies* 33, 2(3), 183-201. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20840166>

Watt, D. Abdulqadir, K., Hujaleh, H. & Siyad, F. (2019). Three things you should know about my Hijab: The art of youth media activism on YouTube. *Journal of Literacy & Technology*, 20(1), 252-271.

Weisburd, A.A. (2009). Comparison of visual motifs in Jihadi and cholo videos on YouTube. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 32(12), 1066-1074. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100903319789>

Хабибуллина З. Р. (2021). Ислам и гендер в интернете: женщины, режим видимости и борьба со стереотипами. *Этнография*, 4(14), 119-137. [http://doi.org/10.31250/2618-8600-2021-4\(14\)-119-137](http://doi.org/10.31250/2618-8600-2021-4(14)-119-137)