# Religiosity of Cybersex Perpetrators: Case Study of Quran Memorizer Students from Islamic Boarding School Backgrounds

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#### Abstract / Abstrak

Cybersex behavior as one of the impacts of technology in the field of information and communication has been rife in various circles, including Hafiz Qur'an students with Islamic boarding schools backgrounds at one of the Islamic-based universities in the city of Bandung. It was found that two cybersex offender subjects were Hafiz Qur'an students with Islamic boarding schools backgrounds. Therefore, this study aims to see the religiosity of the two subjects. This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. Data collection was carried out by interview and observation methods. The results showed that there were various images of religiosity in each aspect of the two subjects and found religiosity factors, especially in the experience factor of the two subjects as victims of bullying at Islamic boarding schools as well as the factor of individual needs for the presence of storytellers and fulfillment of emotional affection from both parents who making the two subjects start looking for friends virtually but in the end become perpetrators of cybersex.

Perilaku cybersex sebagai salah satu dampak teknologi di bidang informasi dan komunikasi sudah marak terjadi di berbagai kalangan tidak terkecuali pada mahasantri Hafiz Qur'an berlatar belakang pesantren di salah satu Universitas berbasis Islam di Kota Bandung. Ditemukan dua subjek pelaku cybersex yang merupakan mahasantri Hafiz Qur'an berlatar belakang pesantren. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat gambaran religiositas kedua subjek. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Pengambilan data dilakukan dengan metode wawancara, dan observasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya gambaran religiositas yang berbeda pada masing-masing subjek dan ditemukan faktor religiositas terutama pada faktor pengalaman kedua subjek sebagai korban perundungan di pondok pesantren serta faktor kebutuhan individu akan kehadiran teman cerita dan pemenuhan kasih sayang secara emosional dari kedua orang tua yang membuat kedua subjek mulai mencari teman secara virtual namun pada akhirnya menjadi pelaku cybersex.

### Keywords / Kata kunci

October 2024, Vol.7, No.2

Page: 105-126

Religiosity; Cybersex; Mahasantri; Hafiz qur'an

Religiositas; Cybersex; Mahasantri; Hafiz Qur'an

#### DOI:

https://doi.org/10.15575/jpib.v7i2.29961

Article Info

**Received:** September 26, 2023 **Accepted:** May 13, 2024 **Published:** December 23, 2024

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#### Introduction

Along with the development of increasingly sophisticated technology, the use of the internet in everyday life has also increased. Based on the results of a survey from Data Reportal in 2020, there was an increase in internet usage in Indonesia of 17% during the period 2019-2020 (Kemp, 2020). Then, it increased again by around 16% from 2020-2021 (Kemp, 2021). It has reached 73.7% of the total population of Indonesia, or 204.7 million people out of 277.7 million people during the period 2021-2022 (kemp, 2022).

In addition to providing convenience and positive impacts, the internet also often raises concerns because individuals can access various things without limits. As a result, people also have the same chance of seeing and accessing harmful content. Anjani (2021) claimed that Zubairi Djoerban had criticized Twitter because it is a social media platform that is accessible to anyone and at any time but frequently displays unsettling hashtags that contain explicit pornographic content on trending topics. In addition, as of 31 December 2019, 1,025,263 pornographic sites have been blocked (Kominfo, 2020). The Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo) (2024) stated that as of 14

September 2023, Kominfo had cut off access to 1,950,794 pornographic contents.

The use of the internet for sexual purposes, such as accessing or posting pornographic content, is termed online sexual activity (OSA). Grov et al. (in Courtice et al., 2021) stated that the majority of young adults reported involvement in one or more types of online sexual activity (Online Sexual Activity/OSA).

Online sexual activity has six categories, one of which is sexual contact. This category has two interrelated sub-sections, namely conducting cybersex and searching for sexual partners via the internet (Döring et al., 2017).

Cybersex is real-time communication with other people through media such as computers or smartphones connected to the internet to then share activities, behaviors, fantasies, or sexual desires through chat sex or cam sex with other people. It allows for self-stimulation during the conversation (Döring et al., 2017). From the results of a study by Puteri and Sumaryanti (2021) on 20 students at University X in Bandung City, there were 14 students, or around 70% of respondents, who admitted to having done cybersex, including chat sex, phone sex, and video call sex.

Students have quite diverse educational backgrounds, including high school and equivalent or Islamic boarding schools. Some students also choose to live in Islamic boarding schools and become students. Students study religion in Islamic boarding schools (KBBI, 2016).

Islamic boarding schools, as educational institutions, often create excellent programs to improve the quality of students. One of the excellent programs quite popular today is the Al-Qur'an memorization program to become a Quran memorizer or Hafiz Qur'an. Memorizing the Al-Quran requires dedication, perseverance, and high commitment (Sejati et al, 2024).

On the other hand, the Qur'an is a guide for Muslims worldwide and a guideline in living life. Memorizing the Qur'an is one of the worship routines that can increase a person's religiosity. Religiosity is teaching related to values and ethics in religion that is internalized, known, understood, interpreted, experienced, and believed by someone who then becomes a commitment and is implemented in the form of worship and rituals and becomes the person's daily routine (El Hafiz & Aditya, 2021). Usually, the level of religiosity can influence cybersex behavior in a person. This relationship has been

widely studied, such as in the study of Zulfa et al. (2022) on 347 adolescents aged 18-24 years living in Aceh; the results showed that religiosity influenced the cybersex variable by 35.1%. Mubina et al. (2023) also studied 100 students in Karawang, which proved that at least religiosity had an 8% influence on cybersex behavior. Then, from 21 literature reviews analyzed by Adilah and Winarti (2021) it was found that religiosity has a negative correlation with cybersex behavior, although it does not entirely influence it

Therefore, the researcher tried to conduct a preliminary study through a survey of 21 students from 6 different faculties at an Islamic university in Bandung City who are students who have memorized the Qur'an from Islamic boarding schools to see the respondents' experiences related to exposure to pornography tendencies of cybersex behaviour. 100% of admitted respondents to having advertisements or pornographic content while accessing the internet in the last three months, with the most frequent types of content appearing being image content (85.7%) when accessing web searches (66.7%) and social media applications (47.6%). Of the 21 respondents, two women with the initials AF and AR have been involved in cybersex with partners online.

From the survey results, the researcher then conducted a second preliminary study using the interview method to ensure the involvement of subjects in cybersex activities in AF and AR. The research's subjects, AF and AR, both had known pornography since elementary school from the cellphone gallery belonging to AF's uncle and AR's older brother. AF began accessing pornographic content in junior high school by reading fan pages of fanfiction authors recommended by peers at the Islamic boarding school. At the same time, AR began accessing pornographic content when invited to watch together online by the first cybersex partner.

AF and AR had several cybersex partners at one time and were open to having cybersex with other people's partners. AF then dated one of the cybersex partners and made an appointment to have sex directly. While AR made an appointment first with one of the cybersex partners, who was at that time someone else's partner, then AR started a relationship.

Research related to cybersex has been widely conducted both in adolescents and adults, such as qualitative research from Hadia et al. (2023) which examined 32 cybersex perpetrators

on Facebook social media; phenomenological research from Widjaja (2024) related to the use of the Grindr application to find one-night stand partners in gay relationships; and case study research from Khusniawati (2023) related to cybersex behavior on the Tinder application among young people.

However, based on the literature review conducted by the researcher, no previous research has been found either on a national or international scale that discusses the phenomenon of cybersex in Islamic boarding school graduate students or a Quran memorizer. Therefore, this study needs to continue to dig deeper into the religiosity of AF and AR as Islamic boarding school graduate students who engage in cybersex.

#### Method

This study uses a qualitative research method with an exploratory case study research design. The focus is on describing religiosity, including the factors influencing it. Sampling and determination in qualitative research use purposive sampling techniques adjusted to certain considerations and objectives (Fiantika et al., 2022). Based on the results of the initial study in the introduction, the researcher took 2 Hafiz Qur'an students from Islamic boarding schools who engaged in cybersex as samples in the study.

We collected data through interviews and direct observation of 2 subjects and two significant others who were the subjects' biological parents. Interviews were conducted separately four times, and observations were conducted twice for two days at each subject's home, namely in cities B and S.

This research tool uses two instruments for subject anamnesis: one that researchers created based on Sigmund Freud's psychosexual development theory and the other that Tupling and Brown developed (Wilhelm, 2016) An instrument adapted from the Fetzer Institute's quantitative religiosity measurement tool (2003).

The data analysis involved presenting the observational findings, categorization, coding of interview results, and triangulation of data sources concerning the interview outcomes. Triangulation of data sources is an endeavor to verify the accuracy of information acquired from various sources (Fiantika et al., 2022). This study employed triangulation by comparing the subject's statement, the assertions of significant individuals, and the observational findings of the researcher's concerning religiosity.

Table 1
Examples of Items in Measuring Tools

Measuring instrument	Item Examples
mstrument	item Examples
Psychosexual Development	Bagaimana cara orang tua saudara membimbing saudara ketika mulai tertarik dengan lawan jenis? How did your parents' guide you when
	you started to be interested in the opposite sex?
	Bagaimana pandangan saudara terkait pertemanan lawan jenis ataupun pernikahan? What are your views on opposite-sex
	friendships or marriage?
Parental Bonding	Bagaimana cara orang tua saudara menunjukkan rasa peduli mereka kepada saudara? How do your parents show they care about you?
	Bagaimana cara orang tua saudara merespon curhatan, keluhan dan keinginan saudara?
	How do your parents respond to your concerns, complaints and desires?
	Bagaimana cara orang tua saudara mengontrol penggunaan gadget saudara?
	How do your parents control your gadget usage?
	Bagaimana cara orang tua saudara menegur ketika saudara melakukan kesalahan? How do your parents correct you when you make a mistake?
D. I	
Religiosity	Bagaimana keyakinan saudara tentang dosa zina karena melakukan cybersex? What are your beliefs about the sin of adultery due to cybersex?
	Apakah ada praktik ibadah yang berkurang sebelum ataupun sesudah saudara melakukan cybersex? Have there been any reductions in religious practices before or after you
	engaged in cybersex?
	Ibadah apa saja yang biasanya saudara lakukan di rumah? What kind of worship do you usually do at home?
	Bagaimana cara saudara berkomitmen sebagai mahantri hafiz Qur'an? How do you commit to being a mahasantri hafiz Qur'an?
Religiosity Factor	Seberapa mudah saudara terbawa oleh lingkungan?

Measuring instrument	Item Examples
	How easily do you get carried away by your surroundings?
	Apakah saudara pernah memiliki pengalaman emosional menyenangkan ataupun tidak menyenangkan yang sulit dilupakan?  Have you ever had a pleasant or unpleasant emotional experience that is hard to forget?
	Apa yang biasanya membuat saudara merasa dicintai? What usually makes you feel loved?
	Bagaimana cara saudara meyakini diri sendiri tentang agama yang dianut? How do you convince yourself about the religion you follow?

The research procedure was carried out in five stages: the preliminary stage, which involved consolidating with the subject and significant others individually for three meetings; the preparation stage, which involved preparing informed consent and recording devices and compiling interview guidelines and observation sheets; the implementation and analysis stage, which followed the previously determined method; and the report writing stage.

## Results

This research was conducted on 2 subjects and 2 *significant others* with the following details:

Subject Identity

Identity	Subject A	Subject B
Name	A.F.	AR
Gender	Woman	Woman
Age	24 years old	20 years
What order do you come in your family	1	3
Number of siblings	1	2
Education	S-1 (semester 9)	S-1 (semester 3)
Religion	Islam	Islam
Ethnic group	Sunda	Sunda

Table 3
Significant Other Identity

Identity	Subject A	Subject B
Name	L	LI
Gender	Woman	Woman
Age	47 years old	52 years
Work	Teacher	Trader
Religion	Islam	Islam
Ethnic group	Sunda	Sunda

According to the Fetzer Institute (2003) religiosity has 11 aspects or dimensions: daily spiritual experience, meaning, values, beliefs, forgiveness, personal religious practices, religious coping, religious support, religious history in religion, commitment, and religious organizations. Based on the results of interviews and observations, a summary of the research results description with the following verbatim code meanings:

- 1. SA/SB/SOA/SOB codes indicate the participant interviewed
- 2. The PP/PB/R/FR code and the item number indicate the aspect being studied.
- 3. Code V shows the verbatim along with its serial number.

# Religiosity

Daily spiritual experiences. Subject AF acknowledged the existence of God in everyday life but chose to engage in cybersex out of compassion for men who she thought would feel pain if they could not climax when aroused. AF also failed to remember God's presence while engaging in cybersex.

"... tuhan teh ada, tuhan teh ngawasin, tuhan teh ngawasin semua perilaku aku" (SA,R3.V66) " ... aku ga mau karena ga suka, tapi akhirnya aku iyain karena aku lebih ke kayak kasihan." (SA,R10,V47) "waktu lakuin itu mana ada inget tuhan, ga inget apa apa" (SA,R1,V62)

"...God exists, God watches, God watches all of my behavior." (SA,R3.V66) "...I didn't want to because I didn't like it, but in the end, I agreed because I felt more like pity."(SA,R10,V47) "When I did that, I didn't even remember God, didn't remember anything." (SA,R1,V62)

Likewise, the subject AR did not remember God when doing cybersex. But AR still remembered God's existence when contemplating the lecture heard on social media.

"... kemungkinan buat sadar nyebut Allah tuh mustahil loh kak dalam kondisi begitu tuh" (SB,R1,V59). "kan di media sosial suka ada konten ceramah, dijelasin hukum ini itu, nah aku jadi mikir, gimana kalau Allah gini gitu" (SB,R1,V60).

"...You know, It is quite difficult to remember to say Allah's name in a situation like that." (SB,R1,V59). ""On social media, there are often sermon posts explaining various laws, and I started to think, what if Allah is like this or that?" (SB,R1,V60).

**Meaning.** Subject AF attempted to interpret Islamic law regarding suicide as a process of finding the meaning of life based on divine values. However, the results showed that she was unable to interpret the pain she experienced after committing self-harm.

"kan ga boleh bunuh diri, jadi masih aku pikir pikir jadi ga yah beli racun" (SA,R13,V70) "hikmahnya tuh aku tau loh kalau di sebelah sini sakit ... jadi lain kali aku di tempat yang ga sakit aja" (SA,R14,V69).

"Muslim not supposed to commit suicide, so I'm still thinking about whether or not to buy poison." (SA,R13,V70). "The lesson is that I know it hurts over here... So next time, I'll just be in a place that doesn't hurt." (SA,R14,V69).

Meanwhile, the AR subject is contemplating ending her life to find meaning in a life that lacks divine values.

"aku sampe sempet berada di fase kayaknya aku mati aja deh ... sampe ngeliat tali tuh kayak apa aku mati aja kali ya" (SB,R13,V22)

"I was in a phase where I thought I would be better off just dying... even when I saw the rope I was like, should I just die?" (SB,R13,V22)

**Values.** AF subjects have several religious values that are prioritized even though they are not comprehensive (*kaffah*). Using a veil in the initial stages of cybersex prevents sin, and refraining from accepting payment in the form of money or

food during cybersex prevents sin from illicit earnings.

"pas awal awal tuh kalau vcs masih tetep pakai kerudung ... kalau keliatan sehelai rambut itu eee neraka banget" (SA,R15,V30) "lumayan yah kayanya aku dapat uang BO.. tapi engga lah nanti masuk ke makanan aku, haram" (SA,R15,V60)

"At the beginning, during vcs, I still wore a hijab... If even one strand of hair showed, it felt like I'd go to hell." (SA,R15,V30). "It seems like I could make some money from booking orders... but I don't want to, or it'll end up in my food and become haram." (SA,R15,V60)

However, in some behaviors, AF still prioritizes other values, such as AF's intention to have an abortion if pregnancy occurs and when AF believes that fasting can restrain lust but chooses not to fast because of the difficulty in staying fresh.

"kalau jadi mau aku matiin, mau aku aborsiin.. aku malu, kebayang kayak bakal dikucilin sama keluarga" (SA,R15,V61) "aku paling susah tuh puasa. kayak kalo puasa teh lemes gitu" (SA,R15,V77).

"If I decide to go through with it, I want to end it, I want to have an abortion... I'm embarrassed, I can just imagine being shunned by my family." (SA,R15,V61) "Fasting is the hardest for me. Like, when I fast, I just feel weak." (SA,R15,V77).

In addition to AF, AR also has several other values that are prioritized above religious values. For instance, AF prioritizes the existence of children as an investment, leading them to delay marriage. In addition, AR chooses to do cybersex based on the pleasure felt, even though she considers online dating to be a wrong act.

"anak itu invest ortu... harus timbal balik ke orang tua" (SB,R15,V22) "aku tuh nikah harus aku udah bisa apa apa sendiri ... aku engga mau jadi beban keluarga lagi" (SB,R15,V23) "suka suka aku gitu, mungkin aku salah, tapi kan aku ga ngerasa dirugikan" (SB,R15,V54).

"The child is an investment for their parents... there has to be something in return for the parents." (SB,R15,V22). "I need to be able to handle things on my own before I get married... I don't want to be a burden on my family anymore." (SB,R15,V23) "I do

whatever I want, maybe I'm wrong, but I don't feel like I'm at a loss." (SB,R15,V54).

**Beliefs.** Subject AF's religious hesitancy stemmed from her belief that Muslims often suffer from mental illnesses, while Christians generally enjoy stronger social relationships. Regarding beliefs in the afterlife, AF was afraid of going to hell because of the cybersex she had done, but continued to do it because she had never received direct punishment in the world.

"aku liat kristen lebih baik dari islam tentang sosialnya ... orang islam tuh kayak lebih banyak kena masalah mental" (SA,R16,V67) "namanya udah terbiasa lakuin ... takut lah masuk neraka, tapi kalau udah disana mah ga bisa apa apa" (SA,R17,V64) "kurang mungkin hukumannya.. astagfirullah, kurang bukti" (SA,R17,V65)

"I see that Christianity is better than Islam in terms of social issues... Muslims seem to have more mental problems." (SA,R16,V67). "I'm already used to doing it... I'm scared of going to hell, but once you're there, there's nothing you can do." (SA,R17,V64). "The punishment is probably not enough... astagfirullah, there's not enough evidence." (SA,R17,V65)

Meanwhile, subject AR believes that cybersex is a sin but does not feel regret or guilt because she consciously chooses to continue engaging in online sexual conduct...

"ga ada penyesalan walau tau dan yakin itu dosa, gada rasa bersalah juga karena ya aku milih untuk lakuin itu" (SB,R17,V40)
"I don't regret it, even though I know and believe it's a sin, and I don't feel guilty

**Forgiveness.** Subject AF explained that the cybersex behavior she displayed was her own mistake in neglecting her worship. Regarding forgiveness from God, AF believes that God will forgive her because God still answers her prayers. AF has also tried to forgive herself, but he still cannot forgive her first cybersex partner, who taught her cybersex.

because I chose to do it."(SB,R17,V40).

"awalnya disebabkan dari kelalaian aku dalam beribadah" (SA,R18,V81) "Allah tuh pasti maafin, buktinya walaupun aku melakukan itu, doa-doa aku teh masih terkabul" (SA,R19,V63) "aku maafin diri

aku semuanya" (SA,R20,V81) "sejatinya, aku ga pernah bisa benar-benar memaafkan dia" (SA,R21,V82)

"It all started because of my negligence in worship." (SA,R18,V81). "Allah definitely forgives; proof is that even though I do that, my prayers are still granted." (SA,R19,V63). "I forgive myself for everything." (SA,R20,V81) "Honestly, I can never really forgive him." (SA,R21,V82).

Then, regarding forgiveness from others towards her, subject AF felt that it was okay if her partner did not forgive the affair that the subject had committed, but the subject felt that her mental state would be in disarray and her parents would find it difficult to forgive her if they found out about the cybersex that he had committed.

"kalau ga dimaafin juga udah gapapa, yaudah" (SA,R22,V72) "pastinya ga akan secara langsung. maksimal 1-2 bulan.. dan selama itu mental aku berantakan .. rumah ga akan sedamai dulu" (SA,R22,V83)

"If I'm not forgiven, that's okay, that's fine" (SA,R22,V72). "It definitely won't happen right away. At most, 1-2 months... and during that time, my mental state will be a mess... the house won't be as peaceful as it used to be." (SA,R22,V83).

Unlike AF, subject AR did not express God's forgiveness for her cybersex, but she did have the opportunity to ask for forgiveness when he experienced a fire shortly after accessing pornographic material.

"aku ga mau mempermainkan maha pemaafnya Allah.. bukan ranah aku buat jawab bakal dimaafin apa engga" (SB,R19,V65) "aku sampe mohon maaf gitu ke Allah, aku tobat, aku yakin banget itu tuh adzab" (SB,R18,V64)

"I don't want to play around with Allah's forgiveness... it's not my place to decide if I'll be forgiven or not." (SB,R19,V65) "I even begged for forgiveness from Allah, I repented, and I'm really sure that it's a punishment/adzab" (SB,R18,V64).

Regarding self-forgiveness, AR experienced anger due to the challenges he faced in upholding her faith, despite being aware of her ability to refrain from cybersex.

"aku pernah kak ngerasa marah banget ke diri sendiri... tapi ya gitu, ga bertahan lama, karena pasti suka nyebur lagi nyebur lagi" (SB,R20,V67) "lebih ke kesel sama diri aku sendiri ... sebenernya sih kalau mau dilepas gampang yah" (SB,R20,V68)

"I've felt really angry at myself before... but it doesn't last long because I always end up doing it again." (SB,R20,V67) "It's more about being frustrated with myself... actually, it's easy to let go if I want to." (SB,R20,V68).

When it comes to forgiveness from others, including her family, AR still harbors anger towards her first cybersex partner, believing that he used her solely as a material object to satisfy her lust. Additionally, he believes that if her parents find out about the cybersex he engaged in, they won't forgive her and will throw her out of the house.

"aku masih marah si ... kalau dulu sampe nangis nangis ya ... aku dijadiin bahan coli doang" (SB,R21,V68) "mungkin udah ga dianggap anak atau diusir ... mereka ga akan maafin aku" (SB,R22,V66).

"I'm still angry, you know... back then, I even cried... I was just used as material for their pleasure." (SB,R21,V68) "Maybe they don't see me as a child anymore or they'll kick me out... they won't forgive me." (SB,R22,V66).

Private religious practices. Subject AF. Even though AF performs prayers at the beginning of the day, she often does so without reading the prayers. However, AF has developed a habit of independently reading the Qur'an every day when she is in the Qur'an dormitory, a habit he inherited from the institution. Meanwhile, regarding the memorization of the Qur'an, the subject has difficulty memorizing when in a state of *junub* after doing cybersex

"kita sholat tepat waktu, tapi baca engga? ... aku mah engga baca .. gerakan hungkul" (SA,R23,V74) "pas di asrama Qur'an emang karena pembiasaan, kalo sehari ga baca qur'an itu kayak ada yang kurang" (SA,R24,V80) "mau tilawah ataupun menghafal Qur'an dalam keadaan junub itu boleh, paling ya sulit masuk aja hafalannya" (SA,R25,V79).

"We pray on time, but do we read? I don't... just the movements, that's all." (SA,R23,V74) "At the boarding school, reading the Quran became a habit; if I don't

read it for a day, it feels like something's missing." (SA,R24,V80) "You can read or memorize the Quran while in a state of junub; the only thing is, it might be hard to remember what you've memorized." (SA,R25,V79).

Unlike AF, AR sometimes skips the dawn and evening prayers because he is lazy and then falls asleep. Subject B does not have a habit of independently reading the Qur'an, except for the purpose of memorizing passages during her time in Islamic boarding schools and Qur'an dormitories.

"bolong bukan yang disengaja si, kadang tuh malas gitu, sholat isya nanti aja ... ternyata pas subuh ga bangun" (SB,R23,V69) "kalau di pondok dulu mah kan udah diatur kak, pagi misal setoran hafalan ... aku tuh kalo di rumah ada waktu luang ya main hp" (SB,R24,V72).

"It's not on purpose; sometimes I get lazy, thinking I'll pray Isya later... but then I wake up when it's already time for Subuh." (SB,R23,V69) "Back in the boarding school, the schedule was set, like in the morning for memorization sessions... but at home, when I have free time, I just play on my phone." (SB,R24,V72).

However, Mrs. LI, who is the biological mother of subject AR, explained that the subject often reads the Qur'an during the boarding school holidays, either at dawn or dusk, on the house's terrace.

"kan ada setoran itu sama ustadznya dari asrama Qur'an.. setiap magrib" (SOB,R24,V36) "kalau subuh diluar disitu tuh.. hapalan.. subuh subuh paling, habis magrib gitu" (SOB,R25,V37).

"There was that memorization session with the ustadz at the Quran boarding school... every Maghrib." (SOB,R24,V36) "For Subuh outside, that's when we do the memorization... mostly at dawn, and then after Maghrib." (SOB,R25,V37).

**Spiritual/religious** *coping*. Subject AF visited a psychologist on her own and received counseling to stop her cybersex behavior, but the therapy proved ineffective for her. The subject ultimately decided to approach God through prayer. The individual holds onto the belief that Allah will consistently conceal the disgrace of engaging in cybersex.

"aku konsul ke psikolog ... harus isi kayak ceklis harian gitu. aku malah ngerjainnya cuma sekali doang itu. habis itu malah kayak makin membuncah gitu keinginan aku (SA,R27,V55) "baru kepikiran aku punya tuhan, aku bisa doa, aku bisa minta tutupin aib aku" (SA,R27,V70).

"I consulted a psychologist... I had to fill out a daily checklist like that. I ended up only doing it once. After that, my desires just kept growing." (SA,R27,V55) "I just realized I have a God; I can pray, and I can ask Him to cover my faults." (SA,R27,V70).

Subject AF also had time to fast vows and give alms when she had a problem with late menstruation after previously having direct sex with a partner. Despite the menstrual disruption, she resumed direct sex.

"setelah hubungan langsung itu aku tuh harusnya hari itu tuh haid" (SA,R26,V50) "puasa nadzar sambil mikir kek ya allah ga ga mau lagi kok, ga akan gitu lagi .. aku puasa nadzar dua hari setelah aku haid, sama sedekah juga .. tapi november di minggu kedua sama keempat itu main langsung lagi" (SA,R27,V51).

"After that intimate encounter, I was supposed to get my period that day." (SA,R26,V50) "I was fasting for my vow while thinking, 'Oh Allah, I don't want to do that again.' I fasted for two days after my period and also gave charity... but in November, during the second and fourth weeks, I had intimate relations again." (SA,R27,V51).

In response to her partner's discovery of the affair, AF also found time to indulge in self-harm. However, after that, the subject returned to approach Allah by doing dhikr in the morning and evening while reciting the Koran and praying to Allah

"liat deh teh, sampe begini, ini hasilnya haha, pake jarum" (SA,R26,V37) "aku setelah nyayat itu tuh nangis sampe rutinin dzikir pagi petang ngaji karena emang lagi haid, doa sampe nangis kayak ya allah, aku cuma mau memperbaiki diri, pokoknya tolong jagain aib aib aku. aku pertahanin doi 3 tahun ini teh karena takut kesebar, jadi makin takut kesebar setelah masalah selingkuh kemarin" (SA,R27,V72)

"Look at this, this is the result, haha, using a needle." (SA,R26,V37) "After that incident,

I cried and made it a routine to do morning and evening dhikr and read Quran since I was on my period. I prayed until I cried, saying, 'Oh Allah, I just want to improve myself; please protect my flaws.' I've kept this relationship for three years because I was afraid of my faults getting exposed, and I became even more scared after the cheating issue." (SA,R27,V72).

Similar to AF, AR experienced delayed menstruation after having direct sex with her partner. She then consumed red ginger to facilitate a smooth menstrual cycle.

"pokoknya itu telat berapa hari gitu ... kek ya allah ini gimana. aku tuh sering minumin jahe terus.. kalo minum jahe kan buat lancarin haid, orang hamil ga mungkin haid kan?" (SB,R26,V41)

"Anyway, I was late by a few days... like, 'Oh Allah, what's going on?' I kept drinking ginger all the time... because ginger is supposed to help with periods, and if you're pregnant, you can't get your period, right?" (SB,R26,V41)

Subject AR also experienced a disaster when he was visiting an Islamic boarding school to avoid her mother. He got burns only on her right ear, which he had used to listen to pornographic audio (*Pornosuara*) through the T application. Only the genital area of AR's clothing sustained burns.

"aku pake headset dengerin ASMR, tiba tiba gas meledak, kebakaran, badan kebakar yang kiri, tapi kuping yang kanan sendiri .. sampe aku paksa, aku mau sholat, aku mau wudhu ... soalnya waktu itu aku takut banget sumpah kak" (SB,R26,V61) "gamisku bersih, ga kebakar, bagian celana legging yang bawah juga bersih, tapi tau kak? bagian vaginanya tuh kebakar coba, bolong gitu ... ini adzab kali ya" (SB,R26,V62) "aku sampe sempet stop semuanya ... aku tobat gitu, walau akhirnya ya kembali ngelakuin lagi" (SB,R27,V60).

"I was using my headset listening to ASMR when suddenly there was an explosion, and a fire broke out. My left side got burned, but my right ear got hurt instead. I forced myself to pray and do wudhu because I was really scared at that time, I swear." (SB,R26,V61) "My dress was clean, not burned, and the bottom part of my leggings was also fine, but you know what? The part of my pants

around my vagina got burned, like it had a hole... maybe this is a punishment." (SB,R26,V62) "I even stopped everything for a while... I repented, but in the end, I ended up doing it again." (SB,R27,V60).

**Religious support. Subject** AF was nearly finished with college, her family provided her with emotional support. However, the subject felt uncertain about the support he would receive because he had not interacted with friends whom he considered to be trustworthy.

"mereka lagi banyak mikirin, kemana yah kakak, kemana.." (SA,R28,V70) "si kakak teh abis lulus ini nanti mau lanjut ke tahfidz ya .. rencana dia mah, dia pengennya tuh habis lulus terus pondok gitu kan, fokus ngafal, baru hafalan beres dia keria, tapi kalau dari saya atau suami mah mending udah weh atuh diterusin di pondok .. kan kalo ga diulang ulang mah bisa lupa lagi, yang awalnya mutqin bisa jadi ga mutqin gitu teh. jadi kami mah ngarahinnya sok kalau mau ngafal mah, tapi konsisten disana." (SOA,R34,V32) "aku nya udah ga temenan sama yang sholehah ... mereka kan bakal inget sama orang orang yang lama temenan sampe mati sama mereka, aku kan cuma selewat" (SA,R31,V64)

"They're all wondering where I'm going after I graduate, like, 'Where will I go?" (SA,R28,V70) "My daughter plans to continue with tahfidz after she graduates. She wants to go to a boarding school to focus on memorizing, and once she's done, she'll start working. But from my and my husband's perspective, it's better for her to continue at the boarding school. If she doesn't keep reviewing, she might forget; what was once mutgin could become nonmutqin. So we guide her to have the freedom to memorize if she wants, but to stay consistent there." (SOA,R34,V32) "I don't hang out with the pious ones anymore... They'll remember the people they've been friends with for life, while I was just passing through." (SA,R31,V64).

In addition to AF, AR received support from her mother.

"hafiz Qur'an kan harus dijaga juga, dijaga bersih dari fisiknya sepanjang wudhu itu bersih kebersihannya juga qolbunya juga lisannya. Lisannya kan bisa menghapus semua kan kalau kita ghibah kan menghapus semuanya, kita tidak dapat apa-apa. kan semacam itu. Udah dibilangin, tapi gak tau" (SOB,PB6,V35).

"A Hafiz of the Qur'an needs to take care of themselves too, keeping their physical cleanliness during wudhu, as well as their hearts and tongues. The tongue can erase everything; when we gossip, it wipes out all the good. So, we end up with nothing. It's been said before, but I don't know if they understand." (SOB,PB6,V35).

However, unlike AF, AR still has contact with beneficial friends and provides emotional support to friends by keeping them from getting involved in cybersex like herself.

"aku was was, aku takut temenku tuh kayak aku gitu" (SB,R29,V24) "sebisa mungkin menjaga mereka biar mereka ga kayak aku" (SB,R29,V54)

"I'm anxious; I'm afraid my friend is going to be like me too." (SB,R29,V24) "I'll do my best to keep them from turning out like me." (SB,R29,V54)

Subject AR also received emotional support from seniors at the Islamic boarding school, although he often received negative responses from peers when he told her story later.

"kita tuh temenan kayak kakak adek gitu, saling support, saling cerita ... aku nangis disamping dia, kita lagi nangis, dan kita pelukan sambil duduk" (SB,R28,V10) "aku cerita ke siapapun ... aku pernah dimarahin ... pasti pokoknya yang salah itu pasti anak" (SB,R28,V21).

"We're friends like siblings, supporting each other and sharing stories. I was crying next to her, and we were both crying and hugging while sitting." (SB,R28,V10) "I told anyone... I've been scolded before... and it's always the kid who gets blamed." (SB,R28,V21)

**History in religion** (*Religious / spiritual history*). Subject AF started learning religion in a family environment where reading the Qur'an and studying religious knowledge was a daily routine. However, upon entering the Islamic boarding school, the implementation of the school's rules and religious regulations was quite minimal, allowing AF to engage in activities without restriction.

"magrib biasanya ada ngaji bareng sekeluarga di ruang tamu, kalau dulu sih sampe baca artinya, sampe bahas hadits" (SA,R33,V6) "saya suka bawa ke masjid, ngajarin. nah itu termasuk iqro ya. solat ikut, diajarin iqro, sekolah, kerudung gitu .. pernah dibawa mabit, mabit tahajud bareng .. masih nenen waktu itu" (SOA,R32,V24) cuma peraturan dalam kertas, ga dikerjain.. yaudah weh bebas" (SA,R33,V75).

"During Maghrib, we usually have family Quran recitation in the living room. Before, we even read the translation and discussed hadith." (SA,R33,V6) "I liked taking her to the mosque to teach her. So that included Iqro. She would join the prayers, learn Iqro, go to school, and be told to wear a hijab. She was even taken for a night of worship, doing tahajjud together... she was still breastfeeding back then." (SOA,R32,V24) "Just rules on paper, not enforced... so whatever, it's free." (SA,R33,V75).

AF was motivated to enter the Islamic boarding school for the first time because she wanted to be free from her parents and be able to talk to friends. She was also motivated to memorize the Qur'an due to the different responses from her parents, who had previously rarely given praise to the subject when she was a child. Other motivations from the subject AF when she chose to enter the Qur'an R dormitory were as therapy to eliminate the cybersex behavior she was doing.

"waktu itu aku kayak oh asik nih bebas. ketemu banyak temen gitu, bisa cerita bebas sama temen" (SA,R34,V7) "pertama kali dipuji karena hafalan dan itu berkesan banget ... ingin dapat itu lagi" (SA,R35,V8) "aku masuk asrama R ini teh bisa yah kayak terapi lah, tapi ternyata ga bisa" (SA,R34,V61)

"At that time, I was like, 'Oh, this is cool, I'm free. I can meet a lot of friends and share freely with them." (SA,R34,V7) "Getting praised for my memorization for the first time was really special... I want to experience that again." (SA,R35,V8) "I thought entering R dorm would be like therapy for me, but it turns out it wasn't." (SA,R34,V61).

AF then had the goal of entering the Qur'an R dormitory in 2019 to break up with her partner as a way for herself to rely on godly values.

"... salah satu motivasi masuk teh buat putus" (SA,R13,V61)

"... one of the motivations I entered was to break up" (SA,R13,V61).

Similar to AF, AR also started learning religion from the family environment and never thought about other religions because the whole family is Muslim. AR also acquired the ability to read the Qur'an and learn about religion from private or religious schools.

"semua keluargaku Islam, jadi pasti aku Islam juga, diajarin dari kecil sholat puasa gitu. jadi ga pernah sedikitpun mikir Islam bener ga ya" (SB,R32,V70) "kalau itu, ngajinya, dikhususkan ada guru ngaji ke sini .. kalau di sekolah kan di A itu plus ya.. di M juga ada agama.. jadi kumplit" (SOB,R33,V24).

"Everyone in my family is Muslim, so of course I am too. I was taught to pray and fast since I was little, so I've never really thought about whether Islam is the right faith or not." (SB,R32,V70) "For that, the Quran lessons are specifically taught by a teacher who comes here. At school A, there's religious education as a bonus, and at school M, they also have Islamic studies, so it's well-rounded." (SOB,R33,V24).

The subject AR also had another motivation for enrolling in the Qur'an dormitory: he didn't want to burden her family any longer because they have always made decisions about her life. However, her peers at the Islamic boarding school had successfully memorized the Qur'an, motivating the subject to do the same.

"aku juga ke asrama kan supaya ga jadi beban buat orang tua aku" (SB,R34,V22) "aku tinggal jalanin aja. kalo ada kendala ya aku tanya lagi, nanti mereka yang tentuin" (SB,R34,V71) "pas sma sih sempat ada motivasi sendiri, karena temen temenku banyak yang udah selesai kan, jadi aku juga mau selesai hafalan" (SB,R34,V71). "aku tinggal jalanin aja. kalo ada kendala ya aku tanya lagi, nanti mereka yang tentuin" (SB,R34,V71) "pas sma sih sempat ada motivasi sendiri, karena temen temenku banyak yang udah selesai kan, jadi aku juga mau selesai hafalan" (SB,R34,V71)

"I also went to the boarding school so I wouldn't be a burden on my parents." (SB,R34,V22) "I just go with the flow. If there are any issues, I'll ask again; they'll

decide." (SB,R34,V71) "In high school, I had some motivation because many of my friends had finished, so I wanted to complete my memorization too." (SB,R34,V71). 'I just have to do it. If there are obstacles, I ask again, later they will decide' (SB,R34,V71) 'When I was in high school, I had my own motivation, because many of my friends had finished, so I also wanted to finish memorizing' (SB,R34,V71).

**Commitment.** Subject AF chose to remain a Muslim because the majority of her family also adheres to Islam, as well as the comfort he feels when praying to Allah.

"karena udah mayoritas keluarga islam, yaudah... gausah cari agama yang lain (SA,R39,V73) "aku juga pernah ko mengalami rasa gimana damainya pas doa sama allah" (SA,R39,V68).

"Because the majority of my family is Muslim, I never thought about exploring other religions." (SA,R39,V73) "I have also experienced how peaceful it feels when praying to Allah" (SA,R39,V68).

AF often performs prayers while in *junub* or takes a mandatory bath by wiping water over her body in an effort to commit to prayer if she is forced to.

"lebih sering masturbasi gitu tuh pagi, sekalian mandi besar, jadi ya sholat tuh aman gitu. walau ga baca baca seengganya masih usaha sholat kan .. kalau bablas malem ya mandinya sebelum subuh. soalnya kalau telat subuh karena mandi kan nanti orang rumah curiga .. aku biasain mandi jam 3 pagi biar orang rumah ga curiga.. kalau ya emang kebablasan aku sholat aja dulu.. baru mandi junub, baru sholat subuh lagi" (SA,R41,V78) "airnya aku usapin aja ke badan ... setidaknya aku udah usaha lah ya buat sholat, walau aku tau ya ga sah lah va sholatnya" (SA,R45,V78).

"I usually masturbate in the morning, then take a full bath, so my prayers are fine. Even though I'm unsure about the proper recitations during the bath, at least I still try to pray, right? If it happens at night, I make sure to bathe before the Subuh prayer. Because if I miss Subuh because of the bath, my family might get suspicious. I've gotten used to bathing at 3 AM so they won't notice. If I oversleep, I just pray first, then take the junub bath, and pray Subuh again."

(SA,R41,V78) "I just rub the water on my body... at least I've made an effort to pray, even though I know the prayer isn't valid." (SA,R45,V78).

Subject AR shows commitment to prayer by attending congregational prayers at the Qur'an Q dormitory every evening and performing *qadha* prayers, such as making up the evening prayer at dawn.

"balik ke asrama buat ikut sholat jama'ah" (SB,R41,V4) "biasanya aku kalo isya ga solat tuh kadang qadha di subuh. meskipun ga boleh sebenernya ... yang penting solat aja dulu, diterima apa engga yaa.. itu mah urusan Allah" (SB,R41,V69).

"Going back to the dormitory to join the congregational prayer." (SB,R41,V4) "Usually, if I miss the Isya prayer, I sometimes make it up during Subuh. Even though it's not allowed, the important thing is to pray first, whether it's accepted or not... that's up to Allah." (SB,R41,V69).

However, AR showed a difference in commitment to clothing as a cover for the genitals; the subjects often stopped at the nearest mosque to change their appearance when leaving or heading home.

"ini versi dari rumah, kerudungnya kan gini. kalo udah sampe luar ya beda lagi. kadang tuh ya aku suka berhenti dulu di masjid kalo ga dimana gitu pake rok gitu ke rumah" (SB,R39,VI).

"This is the version from home, the hijab is like this. When I'm out, it's different. Sometimes, I stop by the mosque or somewhere, wearing a skirt on my way home." (SB,R39,V1).

**Religious organization** (*Organizational religiosity*) . Subject AF had joined a religious community twice, upon invitation from a senior in the faculty, but felt incompatible due to the differences in views. Meanwhile, Mrs. L, AF's biological mother, stated that subject AF sometimes joined other communities near her house.

"terus terusan disuruh menghadap pembina gitu buat baiat ... jadi aku langsung mundur gitu" (SA,R46-50,V76) "ga mau ah, takut sesat" (SOA,R48-49,V25) "mungkin ikut halaqah gitu ya, pernah ikut grup T, L, pernah ikut itu dia, ada gurunya disini juga" (SOA,R46,V25).

"I kept being asked to meet with the supervisor for pledge of allegiance, so I just stepped back." (SA,R46-50,V76) "I don't want to, I'm afraid it will lead me astray." (SOA,R48-49,V25) "Maybe joining a halaqah, she has joined T and L groups before. Yeah, she did join, and there's a teacher here as well." (SOA,R46,V25).

Meanwhile, subject AR joined a religious community on campus together with friends from the same boarding school. The subject also often attended religious materials and other activities and felt a sense of compatibility with the community and individuals in the religious community she joined.

"aku ikut lembaga dakwah gitu, bareng sama temen aku yang alumni pondok itu juga ... kalo di lembaga ini juga setiap minggu kadang ada kayak apa ya, kajian ceramah gitu, jadi ya ikut aja" (SB,R46-50,V73) "aku nyaman nyaman aja si kak kayaknya.. apalagi ada temen deket aku yang ikut juga kan, jadi kayak bener bener ayo ada acara ini, ikut yo gitu." (SB,R48-49,V74).

"I joined a da'wah organization, along with my friend who's also an alumni of the pesantren. In this organization, we sometimes have lectures or sermons every week, so I just join in." (SB,R46-50,V73) "I feel comfortable, Kak, especially since my close friend is also joining. It really feels like, 'Hey, there's this event, let's go.' That's how it is." (SB,R48-49,V74).

# **Religiosity Factor**

**Educational factors**. Subject AF prefers to engage in cybersex due to social pressures associated with their status as alumni of Islamic boarding schools, their possession of the hafiz Quran, and their parents' status as Ustaz and teachers.

"aku anak pesantren, hafiz qur'an, jadi ya bisa dan amannya lewat online aja" (SA,FR3,V39) "mana abi ustadz, umi guru" (SA,FR3,V69) "temen aku sendiri dilarang sama mamahnya .. jangan main sama A gitu, nanti kamu keikutan pacaran" (SA,FR6,V10).

"I'm from a pesantren (Islamic boarding school), a hafiz of the Qur'an, so it's safer for me to do things online." (SA,FR3,V39) "On top of that, my father is an ustadz, and my mother is also a teacher." (SA,FR3,V69)

"My friend was forbidden by her mom, told not to hang out with A, because she might end up getting involved in a relationship." (SA,FR6,V10).

Subject AF also frequently performs religious duties because of the home environment's customs of praying and fasting together.

"misal pas ramadhan yang emang puasa barengan, kan kalo ga puasa sendiri atau tiba tiba batal dan makan kan curiga juga." (SA,FR3,V79).

"For example, during Ramadan when everyone is fasting together, if you're not fasting or suddenly break your fast and eat, people might get suspicious." (SA,FR3,V79)

In addition, social demands from the family, especially the mother, make AR think that children are an investment for parents.

"mamaku tuh pernah bilang, udah ngasih semuanya sampe ga punya apa apa .. tapi ga ada yang membanggakan .. apakah ibuku merasa sia sia.. kayak investasi gagal" (SB,FR3,V22) "kita kan selalu diajarkan untuk sayang sama bapak, ibuku kayak ngerasa ga ada yang sayang sama ibu aku.. padahal ya itu pikiran dia sendiri (SB,FR6,V15).

"My mom once said, she gave everything until she had nothing left... but there's nothing to be proud of. Does my mom feel like it was all in vain, like a failed investment?" (SB, FR3, V22) "We're always taught to love our father, but my mom feels like no one loves her. Even though, it's just her own thoughts." (SB, FR6, V15)

Then there is the social custom in the Islamic boarding school environment, where people of the same sex tend to have older or younger siblings who then give each other support or gifts; the subject AR received demands from the teachers at the Islamic boarding school to stay away from her female friends.

"di pondok tuh banyak loh yang kayak gitu. emang kakak adek itu tuh suka ngobrol berdua, ngasih hadiah" (SB,FR6,V10) "dulu sampai dipanggil ustadz F.. aku tuh disuruh hindarin dia, aku sampe disuruh pergi" (SB,FR3,V11).

"In the pesantren, there are many like that... It's common for brothers and sisters to chat alone, give each other gifts." (SB, FR6, V10) "Back then, I was even called by Ustadz F... I was told to avoid her, I was even told to leave." (SB, FR3, V11).

Individual experience factors. When AF first arrived at the Islamic boarding school, a misunderstanding resulted in peer bullying. Additionally, AF received moral education from her parents about the importance of polite communication and the importance of wearing a headscarf.

"di pondok pertama kali itu, aku dibully.. kayak difitnah gitu aku.. kebayang ga dilabrak sekelaseun teh?" (SA,FR10,V17) "aku kan diem jadi kadang tuh ga ngeh untuk bilang maaf terimakasih.. itu diingetin. terus sering diajarin dari kecil tuh pakai kerudung, aurat gitu." (SA,PB3,FR8-9,V15)

"In the first time at the pesantren, I was bullied... like I was slandered. Can you imagine how it felt to be cornered by my classmates like that?" (SA, FR10, V17) "I tend to be quiet, so sometimes I don't realize I need to say sorry or thank you. They always remind me of that. And I've also been taught since I was little to wear a hijab and cover my aurat." (SA,PB3,FR8-9,V15)

In addition to bullying, AF was also accustomed to seeing physical violence from her father. However, when she was an adult, her parents realized that they had done introspection, and her relationship with her family had improved.

"aman si kalo antara umi sama abi mah, aman ke anaknya, vang parentingnya. serem banget. pokoknya abi kalau udah meledak ledak mah serem banget. pintu mah udah rusak.. pokoknya paling meledak ledak mah ke adek aku si. meledak ledak eee pukulan." (SA,PB1,V20) "abinya teh agak keras orangnya, kalau abinya udah ngomong, udah kakak teh ngambek diemnya bakal lama yang bener bener diem, mungkin ketakutan juga bisa jadi. Tapi dari abinya juga keras begitu teh karena kan anak pertama, perempuan juga. jadi mungkin sangat fokus, apa-apa teh diperhatiin banget, jadi sangat khawatir gitu. yang terlalu" SOA,PP4,V12)"sekarang suami suka bilang kayak yaudah lah ini kesalahan kita dulu yang jarang ajak ngobrol dia pas kecilnya. bapaknya juga

kasar kan. Mungkin ya kesalahannya kan disitu" (SOA,PB2,V8). "kalo aku mati, eh keluarga aku lagi dalam kondisi ga mendukung. kayak lagi harmonis. kalo lagi cekcok mah kan termotivasi" (SA,R28,V70). "It's safe between umi and abi, but it's not safe for the kids. The parenting is really scary. When abi gets angry, it's really terrifying. The door is already broken... the worst outbursts are directed at my little sibling. It's an explosion... that's about his hit." (SA,PB1,V20) "The father (her Abi) is a bit harsh. When he speaks in anger, she (his daughter) will definitely sulk and stay silent, and it will be for a very long time, she won't say anything at all. Maybe it's out of fear too. But the reason he's so harsh is because she's his first daughter. So he might be very focused on her, paying close attention to everything, which makes him overly worried." SOA,PP4,V12) "Now, my husband also often says, 'Well, this is our mistake from the past, that we rarely talked to her when she was little.' He was also a bit rude. Maybe the mistake was there." (SOA,PB2,V8). "If I die, well, my family is not in a supportive condition. Because when things are harmonious, it's fine. But when we argue, I get motivated to just choose death." (SA,R28,V70).

Similarly, subject AR has encountered numerous unpleasant situations in her social environment, including interactions with family, peers, and teachers at her Islamic boarding school. In the family environment, mothers often take an ineffective approach to children. Mother LI's purpose is to remind AR of Islamic values when AR tells stories or behaves, which illustrates this condition.

"selalu ibu ingatkan, kalau mendapatkan kebahagiaan, syukur. iyaa, udah tau. ya kan ibu mah mengingatkan hungkul" (SOB,FR8,V71) "aku tuh juga ketawa ketawa aja di kamar .. ga boleh ketawa ketawa, masa ih ketawa tawa, ketawa tawa itu bisa mengeraskan hati. kayak apasi anjir" (SB,R33,FR8,V13) "aku ngomong, ibu aku tuh tersakiti. kalo aku ga ngomong, ibuku juga tersakiti, terus aku harus gimana" (SB,FR10,V15).

"I always remind her, when we find happiness, be grateful. She (Daughter) always says, 'Yeah, I know.' Well, I'm just reminding her as a mother." (SOB,FR8,V71)

"I was just laughing in my room... I wasn't allowed to laugh, like seriously, I can't even laugh? They said laughing can harden the heart. Like, what the heck?" (SB,R33,FR8,V13) "If I talk, my mom gets hurt. If I stay silent, my mom still gets hurt. So what should I do?" (SB,FR10,V15).

During her time at the Islamic boarding school, AR faced threats from one of the teachers due to her lesbian experience.

"ustadzah W tuh apa coba, nyalahinnya tuh ke aku banget. bilangnya tuh ee ustadzah bisa aja pertahanin ee N, soalnya N kelas akhir.. aku ga pernah bisa ngomong sama siapa siapa gitu loh. karena apa emang salah ya? apa emang aku yang berlebihan? tapi aku ga ngerti yah. kita ga pernah ngapa ngapain" (SB,FR10,V10).

"What's wrong with Ustadzah W? She keeps blaming me. She said that she could've kept N from being expelled, because N was in her final year. I never had the chance to talk to anyone about it. Was I really wrong? Am I overreacting? But I don't understand. We never did anything." (SB,FR10,V10).

During his time at the Islamic boarding school, subject AR was subjected to bullying by peers due to his lesbian issues and the lack of female friends.

"aku tuh punya masalah sama N itu kan yang dituduh itu, dituduh lesbi .. setelah masalah itu, aku tuh kayak ada rasa, aku mau bilang trauma tuh kayaknya bukan trauma, mau bilang trauma tuh agak lebay yah. lebih ke ga nyaman aja si sekarang ngeliat apapun tentang N ini. aku ga ngerti kenapa orang orang bisa sampe mikir kayak gitu" (SB,FR10,V10) "orangnya tuh ngomong waktu kelas 3, ih itu AR kayak suami istri.. anjay itu sumpah nyelekit banget anjir dia ngomongin kayak gitu" (SB,FR10,V10).

"I had this issue with N, who was accused of being a lesbian. After that situation, I felt something off. I wanted to call it trauma, but it didn't really feel like trauma—it felt a bit too dramatic to say that. It's more that I just feel uncomfortable now whenever I see or hear about N. I still don't understand why people would think like that." (SB,FR10,V10) "People were making fun of me in 3rd grade, calling me things like, 'Oh,

AR looks like a married couple.' And I was thinking, 'Wow, that really stung, how could they talk like that?" (SB,FR10,V10)

Although AR had no experience with physical violence, she did experience emotional violence from her mother.

"mamaku tuh kayak kamu tuh ngapain nangis ngapain, mama ga apa apain kamu. kenapa sampe segininya, mama ga apa apain kamu." (SB,PP14,V13) "mamaku sampe ngancem gitu loh, aku kan sempet bilang aku mau mati aja, sempet bilang apa ya trus mama tuh ga ngapa ngapain kamu, kamu diem ga. nanti orang orang lewat ngiranya mama ngapain kamu, ngapain nangis sampe segininya. padahal aku cuma mau nangis aja" (SB,PB5,V13)

"My mom always says, 'Why are you crying, what's wrong? I haven't done anything to you. Why is it this bad, I haven't hurt you." (SB,PP14,V13) "My mom even threatened me like that. I once told her I just wanted to die, and then I said something, and she was like, 'I haven't done anything to you, why are you crying like this? People will think I've hurt you or something. Why are you crying this much?' But I just wanted to cry." (SB,PB5,V13).

**Individual needs factor.** Subject AF needs a figure who can guide her in terms of religion. However, she also chooses to maintain a romantic relationship with a cybersex partner because she is worried that he will feel sexually dissatisfied if she is with someone else. In addition, AF has a pessimistic view of herself as a woman.

"aku takutnya kalau sama orang lain, dia ga bisa muasin aku .. aku juga kan butuhnya yang bisa ngebimbing bukan dibimbing. iman aku kan sering banget down" (SA,FR12,V72) "aku ngerasa ga mungkin ada orang yang suka sama aku .. aku berpikirnya engga akan ada .. soalnya kan aku diem" (SA,FR16,V22)

"I'm afraid that with someone else, they won't be able to satisfy me. What I need is someone who can guide me, not the other way around. My faith is often down." (SA, FR12, V72) "I feel like it's impossible for anyone to like me. I keep thinking that no one will, because I'm the quiet type." (SA, FR16, V22).

Furthermore, it appears that AF also needs friends who can respond to the subject's story and provide positive feedback. Her family is unable to meet this need, so she resorts to virtual friendships on social media, which exposes her to the world of cybersex. Both of her parents are also aware of her behavior, which often interacts with the opposite sex on social media.

"nyarinya temen yang bisa diajak curhat setiap hari, yang bisa aku jadiin diari" (SA,FR15,V39) "aku jadi begini kan juga bukan aku mau, awalnya bukan aku sengaja cari, tapi pas aku cari temen curhat, malah dapat partner.. akhirnya jadi susah keluar" (SA,FR15,V85) "aku ge butuh temen, ya setidaknya ngobrol kek atau chat gitu ... disitu orang orang tujuannya beda, aku tujuannya beda, aku cuma cari temen doang." (SA,FR15,V31) "ada satu laki-laki dia temuin dari medsos.. Nah yang kedua juga dari medsos lagi .. dan yang terakhir ini orang L... Yang paling utama sih, itu kan non mahram, walaupun medsos kan chatting itu bisa masuk zina ya."(SOA,FR8,V29)

"I'm looking for a friend who I can talk to every day, someone who I can treat like my diary." (SA,FR15,V39) "It's not like I wanted this to happen. It wasn't something I intentionally sought. At first, I was just looking for someone to talk to, but I ended up finding a partner who I really connected with. Over time, it became difficult to get out (of that situation and those habits)." (SA,FR15,V85) "I just need a friend, at least to talk or chat, you know... but people there have different intentions, and I have a different one. I'm just looking for a friend." (SA,FR15,V31) "There's one guy she met through social media... The second one was also from social media... And the last one is from L... The most important thing is, they're non-mahram, and even though it's social media, chatting like that can lead to zina, right." (SOA,FR8,V29)

So, when he was in college, her parents started trying to talk to him, especially when discussing the opposite sex.

"kalau dia lagi ada masalah ataupun nggak itu kadang kita ga bisa bedain, dia diem gitu ga ada cerita apa apa" (SOA,PP11,V9) "Karena diem banget teh anaknya. Jadi emang harus kita tanya .. Kadang ya ditegur aja jadinya, kakak tuh harus terbuka, harus jujur, apalagi udah besar sekarang. Terutama masalah jodoh gitu emang harus ditanya itu mah."(SOA,PP3,V11)

"Whether she's having a problem or not, sometimes we can't tell. She stays quiet and doesn't share anything." (SOA, PP11, V9) "Because she's really quiet, you know. So we really have to ask her. Sometimes, she needs to be reminded, like 'you have to be open, you have to be honest,' especially now that she's older. Especially when it comes to things like relationships, we really need to ask about that." (SOA,PP3,V11)

Unlike AF, AR is characterized by excessive anxiety and thoughts that often lead to smoking or the intention to try alcohol as a coping mechanism.

"aku tuh mikir kalo liat orang yang ngerokok gitu tuh kayak yang lega gitu, kayak pikiran apa yang stres dan khawatir gitu terangkat keatas bersama asap gitu. tapi aku belum rasain kenikmatan itu, jadi aku ga ngerokok ga yang sampai candu" (SB,FR12,V5) "aku pengen rasain ngeflynya itu loh" (SB,FR6,V6) "kayak suka berantem aja gitu di pikiran aku tuh, ramai banget, jadi kadang ga bisa tenang" (SB,FR12,V19) "I think when I see people smoking, it's like they're relieved, like all the stress and worries are lifted up with the smoke. But I haven't experienced that pleasure myself, so I don't smoke, and I haven't gotten addicted." (SB.FR12.V5) "I want to experience the high, you know." (SB,FR6,V6) "It's like there's always a fight in my mind, it's so chaotic, so sometimes I just can't feel at peace." (SB,FR12,V19).

Although AR also felt capable of having sex without love, on the other hand, she appeared to need love from both partners and female friends, especially after she felt traumatized by experiencing bullying related to lesbian issues.

"keknya aku tuh bisa aja lakuin seks tanpa cinta" (SB,FR14,V40) "aku tuh kek emang setulus itu sama dia, atau aku terobsesi untuk milikin dia?" (SB,FR12,V38) "kalo kayak gitu kan nyesek. kayak bertahan cuma karena rasa kasihan, jadi terpaksa kesannya." (SB,FR14,V32) "ya allah aku tuh ngerasa aku tuh ga punya temen" (SB,FR15,V11) "aku tuh ga punya bener bener besti, misal aku deket sama dia, aku tuh ga bisa ngerasa ngemilikin dia"

(SB,FR14,V11) "aku tuh sejak masalah N itu ga bisa punya besti yang deket sama satu doang" (SB,FR12,V10) "aku tuh traumanya, eh bukan trauma, ga mau temenan berdua doang.. kalo berdua jadi agak was was .. karena di pondok dulu guru dan temen temen aku tuh semua anggap aku belok .. yaudah akhirnya aku merasa ga punya temen .. kayak aku temenan sama mereka tapi aku tuh ga pernah ngerasa punya memiliki. rasa memiliki gitu. pokoknya semenjak itu aku ga pernah merasa memiliki kayak ini milik aku temennya, ini temen aku" (SB,FR12,V11).

"It seems like I could engage in sex without love." (SB,FR14,V40) "I feel like I'm really sincere with him, or am I just obsessed with having him?" (SB,FR12,V38) "If it's like that, it feels really painful. It's like we're wanting to stay just out of pity, not love. So it feels like it's forced." (SB,FR14,V32) "Oh God, I feel like I don't have any friends." (SB,FR15,V11) "I don't really have a true best friend. Even if I'm close to someone, I can't really feel like I own them." (SB, FR14,V11) "Since the issue with N, I haven't been able to have a best friend who's close to me, not even a single person." (SB,FR12,V10) "My trauma—well, it's not really trauma, I just don't want to be close with just one person. When it's just the two of us, I get uneasy. Because back in the boarding school, my teachers and friends all thought I was lesbian. So, I ended up feeling like I didn't have any friends. Like, I was friends with them, but I never felt like I truly had someone, like "this is my friend, this person belongs to me". Ever since then, I've never felt like I really owned a friendship." (SB,FR12,V11).

In addition, AR also seems to need friends who can respond to her story and provide positive feedback. The family is unable to fulfill this need, so AR seeks virtual friends who can discuss cybersex.

"aku suka cerita sama ibu aku, tapi ya itu, responnya suka ga enak" (SB,FR15,V18) "aku kan nyari temen, kalo di offline kan ibuku banyak atur, sedangkan aku mau ngobrol nyaman biasa aja gitu, jadi aku coba download, ternyata isinya banyak tentang seks" (SB,FR15,V46) "aku cari pemenuhan di virtual, tapi ternyata malah kenal cybersex begitu dan susah banget ya

keluarnya tuh kalau udah nyemplung" (SB,FR15,V53) "mungkin ibuku tuh word of affirmation dan aku love languagenya bukan itu, jadi ga dapet" (SB,FR13,V14) "aku tuh lebih suka ngobrol didengerin, bapakku ga cuek tapi diem. kalo ngerespon tuh kayak ga ngobrol panjang lebar nimpalin" (SB,FR15,V18) "aku pengen orang tuaku yang kayak temen, yang ga suka menjudgment.." (SB,FR15,V19).

"I like to talk to my mom, but the response is often not pleasant." (SB,FR15,V18) "I was looking for friends online because if I look for friends offline, my mom would control me a lot. I just wanted a friend to chat with casually, but when I downloaded the app, it turned out to be full of stuff about sex." (SB,FR15,V46) "I was looking for something to fill my needs in the virtual world, but I ended up coming across cybersex, and it turns out it's really hard to get out once you're already deep in it." (SB,FR15,V53) "Maybe my mom's love language is words of affirmation, but mine isn't, so I don't really get it." (SB,FR13,V14) "I prefer to have conversations where I'm being listened to. My dad isn't indifferent, but he's quiet. When he responds, it's not a long chat, just brief replies." (SB,FR15,V18) 'I want my parents to be like friends, who don't like to judge' (SB,FR15,V19).

**Intellectual factors.** Subject AF knows the Islamic law regarding performing prayers in a state of junub. She does it anyway because she hopes for another subjective assessment of her prayer efforts.

"setidaknya aku masih sholat, siapa tau ada penilaian subjektif kan, ada dinilai usahanya gitu" (SA,FR18,V78)

"At least I still pray, maybe there's some subjective judgment, like my effort being valued." (SA, FR18, V78).

Similarly, despite being aware of the Islamic law regarding the Isha prayer at dawn, AR continues to perform it in the hopes that Allah will accept it.

"biasanya aku kalo isya ga solat tuh kadang qadha di subuh. meskipun ga boleh sebenernya ... yang penting solat aja dulu, diterima apa engga yaa.. itu mah urusan Allah" (SB,R41,V69)

"Usually, if Isha doesn't pray, I sometimes make it up at dawn, even though it's not allowed ... the important thing is to pray first, whether it's accepted or not, it's Allah's business" (SB,R41,V69).

### **Discussions**

We conducted this study on two students from Islamic boarding schools who memorized the Qur'an and engaged in cybersex. The first subject, AF, is a hafiz of the Qur'an 8 Juz who has spent six years living in three different Islamic boarding schools. She lived in the Qur'an Q dormitory for the following three years before moving to the Qur'an R dormitory. The second subject, AR, was a hafiz of the Qur'an 30 Juz who spent six years living in Islamic boarding school A before spending the next year in the Qur'an Q dormitory.

According to the research results, subjects AF and AR acknowledged the existence of God in their daily spiritual experiences but did not remember Him when they engaged in cybersex.

Regarding the meaning of life, both AF and AR harbor the desire to end their lives, yet they continue to contemplate this option. Observations during the interview revealed that AR shed tears twice when expressing his desire to commit suicide and experienced trauma when discussing the issues between AR and Mrs. LI. On the other hand, for AF, the reason he held back the desire to commit suicide was the interaction between him and Mrs. L, which he felt was quite harmonious.

AF holds a strong religious belief about the purity of hair and the halalness of the food she consumes. However, AF still considers the views and social values associated with pregnancy outside of marriage, so she chooses to have an abortion if pregnancy occurs. In contrast, AR does not agree with the abortion plan despite the fact that she still attempts to use herbal medicine when her period is delayed. Regarding the principal values held, AR prioritizes the feeling of pleasure when having cybersex, even though she already knows the values of Islamic teachings regarding cybersex.

In terms of religious belief, AF often wavers because she feels that the social interaction of Christians is more positive than that of Muslims. However, AF continues to believe in the retribution of the end of the world and hell associated with cybersex. AR also holds the belief that engaging in cybersex is both inappropriate and sinful.

In terms of forgiveness, AF acknowledged that her cybersex was a mistake due to her negligence in worship, and as a result, she made an effort to forgive herself. AF believes that Allah will forgive her if she tries to improve herself. AF also believes that her partner and family will forgive her for having cybersex or having an affair, even if it takes time. However, AF and AR feel that they have never been able to forgive their first cybersex partner. In addition, AR believes that forgiveness is entirely God's business. AR felt frustrated and had difficulty forgiving herself before finally having cybersex again. AR also feels that her family will not forgive her if they find out that she has done cybersex.

Regarding personal religious practice, AF routinely performs prayers at the beginning of prayer time, but sometimes, it is just a movement to fulfill the obligation to pray. Based on the researcher's observations, this can be attributed to her habit of praying in congregation with her family at home. Additionally, AF has developed a routine of reading the Qur'an due to the emphasis placed on this habit in the Qur'an R dormitory. AF also feels greater difficulty when memorizing the Qur'an in a state of junub. In the case of AR, she often inadvertently misses the isha or dawn prayers due to her tendency to postpone services and fall asleep despite still completing the prayer readings. Regarding the routine of memorizing the Quran, AR admitted that he only memorized it at the boarding school because he followed the rules. However, Mrs. Li explained that AR has a habit of reading the Qur'an at dawn and dusk when she is on vacation at the boarding school.

When it comes to religious coping, AF and AR subjects typically approach problems with a collaborative approach or a focus on God. AF demonstrates this by addressing issues such as cybersex, delayed menstruation, and infidelity. AF tried to pray, fast, give alms, dhikr, and recite the Qur'an in the hope that Allah would help solve the problem and cover up AF's shame related to the cybersex he committed. AF also made time for counseling with a psychologist to help him overcome his cybersex behavior. Then, we can see the problems related to late menstruation and the fire caused by AR. AR attempted to consume red ginger, refrain from using the T application, and engage in prayer as a means of repentance for the cybersex he had committed.

In terms of religious support, the family of AF tried to provide support by finding a Islamic boarding school when AF asked to continue informal education at a boarding school to continue to memorize the Qur'an and eliminate the habits of masturbation and cybersex. Her family also tried to support her by providing advice and material so AR could focus on maintaining her memorization of the Qur'an. In addition, unlike AF, who felt she had no support from pious friends, AR received emotional support from her senior female students when she entered the boarding school. AR also provided support to peers to avoid cybersex.

In terms of religious history, Mrs. L has introduced AF and AR to Islamic teachings since childhood. Mrs. L often took AF to the mosque during the tahajud prayer, where she learned about the igro and prayer movements. AF also has a family routine of congregational prayers at the beginning of prayer time, reading the Qur'an together, and studying religious knowledge with her father at sunset. Meanwhile, Mrs. LI chose to bring in a private teacher specifically for AR so that he could study religion, especially reading the Qur'an. Mrs. L and Mrs. LI pay considerable attention to their children's education, especially religious education. Mrs. L and LI demonstrate their commitment to their children's education by enrolling them in Islamic boarding schools or religious-based schools, ensuring their children's deep understanding of religion and protection from unrestricted access. However, in reality, AF and AR can still easily access pornography at the Islamic boarding school because AF can bring a cell phone, and AR can play with her cell phone when visited by Mrs. L.

After graduating from elementary school, AF sought freedom from parental constraints by enrolling in a boarding school. However, during her college years, AF made the decision to live in the Qur'an R dormitory and become a student, with the goal of eradicating her previous cybersex behavior. After graduating from elementary school, AR decided to join a boarding school because he believed Mrs. Li had taken control of her life, and he only needed to enforce it. AR also chose to enter the Qur'an dormitory and become a student to reduce the burden on her parents. AF's motivation to memorize the Quran stemmed from her desire to receive praise from her parents. In contrast, AR's motivation came from her desire to finish memorizing the Quran like her friends.

AF and AR maintain their commitment as Muslim women due to their familial Muslim background. AF also has personal experience with feeling comfortable and peaceful praying to Allah. AF also strives to fulfill her obligatory prayers, which is why she opts for cybersex in the morning. AF also used to shower at 3 AM, so her family would not be suspicious if she took a junub bath before dawn. However, if forced, AF will still offer the prayer while in a junub state to avoid having her parents question her. If necessary, she will also offer the prayer again after taking a junub bath.

In the meantime, AR is striving to fulfill her obligatory prayers by participating in the Maghrib congregational prayer at the Qur'an Q dormitory and performing the Isha prayer gadha at dawn, should she miss it. Despite her knowledge of its prohibition, AR trusts that Allah will acknowledge her efforts and dedication by accepting her prayers. In terms of their commitment to dressing according to sharia, AF strives to wear a headscarf when engaging in cybersex, while AR frequently visits the nearest mosque to replace her home-worn skirt with trousers she brought in her bag. When she met researchers at a cafe, AR showed this. AR unbuttoned the top of her shirt and changed her hijab style from covering her chest to draping over her shoulders.

When it comes to religious organizations, AF has found it difficult to align with the values of Islamic teachings, often due to recommendations from senior faculty members. As a result, she rarely participates in these activities. Meanwhile, AR feels comfortable joining campus religious organizations and often attends with friends from the Qur'an Q dormitory.

Then, based on the claims made by AF and AR, who first learned about pornography from the cellphone gallery of adults in their family environment, AF and AR, who were still able to access pornographic content at the Islamic boarding school when they were in junior high and high school because they could freely use their cellphones when their parents visited or on holidays, and AF and AR, who had tried to stop engaging in cybersex behavior until AF therapy with underwent a psychiatric professional. The researcher can conclude that although the Islamic boarding school has made a policy of limiting the use of cellphones as an effort to minimize the negative impacts of the internet, such as cybersex, it all comes back to the parenting patterns applied by each parent, especially on the use of gadgets.

According to the results of a case study by Nadziroh (2020) parents can also contribute to reducing pornography addiction by exercising control, setting an example, fostering strong bonds with their children, fostering a moral understanding of pornography from a religious perspective, and providing supportive activities to prevent children from using gadgets beyond their needs.

Several factors also influence the imperfect implementation of Islamic values and teachings in AF and AR.

- 1) Educational factors. AF, who, at her age, is in a stage of psychosexual development where she is expected to channel her sexual desire through socially acceptable activities, prefers to channel it through cybersex due to the demands of her social status as a hafiz of the Qur'an, as well as the social status of her father, a cleric, and her mother, a teacher. The principal teacher requires AR, a teenager in junior high school, to steer clear of her seniors due to rumors of lesbianism.
- 2) Individual experience factors. Both have unpleasant experiences, namely bullying by peers, physical violence in her family, and emotional violence in her family.
- Factor in individual needs. Both AF and AR crave affection, leading them to pursue a cybersex relationship as a means of receiving it. Additionally, AF and AR require a comfortable space to share their stories, as their parents often offer advice when they attempt to open up immediately. This is in line with Attwood's statement in Habibi and Kurniawan (2021) that one factor causing cybersex is the desire to chat or companionships as the need for a friend to talk about what is on their mind and friends in everyday life. Companionship often serves as the initial gateway to conversation cybersex, as the may eventually delve into sexual intentions.
- 4) Intellectual factors. Despite lacking a comprehensive understanding of Islamic law, both AF and AR persist in engaging in cybersex driven by their desires and gratification. Furthermore, AF engages in prayers and fasting while in a state of junub, whereas AR conducts after-isha prayers at dawn, anticipating a favorable evaluation from Allah as a reward for their dedication to worship, particularly required prayers.

Regarding AF and AR's need for a place for stories that became the beginning of both of them getting to know cybersex until making an appointment with a cybersex partner, this is in line with the explanation from Wiranto and Akib (2022) that the act of adultery that Muslims must avoid is not only sexual intercourse or inserting a man's genitals into a woman's genitals but also all acts that can lead someone to have sexual intercourse. The Messenger of Allah, according to Abu Hurairah RA, said: "Every son of Adam has committed her share of adultery, so the two eyes commit adultery, and the adultery of the eyes is seeing; the two hands commit adultery, and the adultery of the two hands is holding; the two feet commit adultery, and the adultery of the two feet is walking; the mouth commits adultery, and the adultery of the mouth is saying; the heart hopes and dreams; as for the genitals, it is he who confirms or denies it." (Hambal in Wiranto & Akib, 2022).

The hadith classifies cybersex as adultery, even if it does not entail the insertion of a man's genitalia into a woman's genitalia. This is because during cybersex activities, an individual may witness, utter, or hear forbidden content, and in their minds, they may envision engaging in forbidden sex. Cybersex is also a way for someone to make an appointment to commit adultery by having sex directly.

Regarding the status of AR and AF as hafiz of the Qur'an, Ustaz Abdullah Zaen also explained that if there is a case of someone memorizing the Qur'an but having difficulty performing prayers or being addicted to gadgets, etc., it is because that person only memorizes the verses of the Qur'an. The Qur'an stands alone, devoid of comprehension and application. Therefore, the level of closeness between a memorizer of the Qur'an and another will vary depending on their consistency in memorizing, understanding, and practicing the values of the Qur'an (Zaen, 2023)

Based on the results of the existing discussion, this study has several limitations, such as the status of the biological mother in the Significant Other, which makes researchers need to be careful in asking questions that lead to cybersex and the responses of the AR significant other, who in some answers related to the opposite sex tend to be covert so that investigators have difficulty raising the topic of cybersex.

#### Conclusion

According to the description of religiosity in each aspect, AF and AR have parents who value Islamic values and teachings. The families also fully support their religion in their own unique ways. AF and AR students with an Islamic Boarding School background also have sufficient knowledge of Islamic values and teachings. However, the application of Islamic values or their religious practices remains imperfect due to the prioritization of several other values over religious values. These elements include social pressures, bullying by peers, parental violence, the need for love and cozy friends, and the conviction that Allah will accept their commitment to worship even if it conflicts with their religious convictions. Therefore, the apparent incomplete implemen-tation of their religiosity may contribute to the continued practice of cybersex.

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