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Behavioral Economics and Islamic Consumption Values: A Conceptual Study on The Rojali-Rohana Phenomenon

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Abstract

Introduction: This study examines how prospect theory and Islamic consumption values intersect in explaining the rise of Rojali and Rohana in Indonesia. **Research Method**: Using a qualitative approach with a conceptual comparative design, the study analyzes secondary sources, including academic literature, consumer survey reports, and Islamic economic texts, through content analysis to identify points of convergence between the two frameworks. **Results**: The analysis shows a clear shift in the reference point of these consumers from seeking shopping satisfaction toward safeguarding financial stability, supported by stronger loss aversion and a growing tendency to delay gratification. Islamic values such as halal, tayyib, i'tidal, and the prohibitions of israf and tabdzir reinforce moral discipline that keeps consumption proportional. These psychological and ethical forces combine to create a cautious consumer profile where browsing, comparing prices, or leaving stores without purchasing reflects deliberate risk management rather than irrational hesitation. Their behavior protects financial well-being and aligns each purchase with religious and practical considerations. **Conclusion**: The main limitation of this study lies in its reliance on secondary data, which cannot fully capture lived consumer dynamics. Future research should adopt quantitative models to measure the scale of this phenomenon or employ ethnography and netnography for a deeper cultural examination of how this behavior emerges and evolves in everyday consumption.

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Page: 22-33

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INTRODUCTION

Consumer behavior in the modern economy keeps evolving and no longer fits the assumption of pure rationality found in conventional economic theory. One visible shift in public consumption patterns in retail spaces is the growing trend of visiting shopping malls without making any purchases. Malls now act as social spaces, visual recreation sites, and information hubs. In Indonesia, two viral terms have emerged to describe this pattern in retail behavior. Rojali, an acronym for Rombongan Jarang Beli or the group that rarely buys, refers to consumers who frequently visit malls but have a very low intention to purchase. Rohana, short for Rombongan Hanya Nanya or the group that only asks questions, refers to consumers who actively seek product information without following through with a transaction (Mudjiyanto & Launa, 2025). Several factors have contributed to the rise of Rojali and Rohana behavior. Declining purchasing power caused by global economic uncertainty and inflation plays a role. Malls have shifted their function toward recreation and social interaction. The post pandemic environment and digitalization have also pushed consumers toward online shopping (Snapcart, 2025). As an example, Bank Mandiri reported that between January and May 2025, visits to experience based merchants in malls such as restaurants and cinemas rose by 102 percent year on year, yet average individual spending on goods fell by about 19.1 percent annually (Borneo Bulletin, 2025). This shows that malls are increasingly functioning as experience spaces rather than transaction driven venues. Another survey noted that retail sales of nine major companies grew by less than five percent in the first half of 2024 even though mall traffic remained high. This reflects a disconnect between visits and actual purchases (Rosalina, J, Krisna, & Wiyogo, 2025).

From a behavioral economics perspective, Rojali and Rohana may appear irrational because rising consumer presence does not translate into stronger sales, and in some sectors sales have even declined. Prospect theory offers a different interpretation. It sees Rojali and Rohana as a form of defense mechanism during economic uncertainty. Prospect theory, developed by Kahneman and Tversky, centers on three core mechanisms: the reference point, which is the psychological benchmark against which outcomes are judged as gains or losses; loss aversion, which describes how the pain of losing outweighs the pleasure of an equivalent gain; and diminishing sensitivity, where emotional responses to change weaken as distance from the reference point grows (Tversky & Kahneman, 1992). Purchasing non-essential goods in a weak economy is perceived as a clear loss. There is a shift in the reference point from “acquiring goods” to “maintaining financial security” which becomes the basis for loss avoiding decisions. The theory states that people evaluate outcomes relative to a reference point and that the fear of losses often outweighs the desire for gains (Kleinlercher, Linzmajer, Verhoef, & Rudolph, 2020).

From the Islamic economics perspective, Rojali and Rohana reflect self-control and caution in spending. Their behavior aligns with Islamic teachings that discourage israf or excess, discourage tabdzir or wastefulness, uphold moderation or i’tidal, and encourage seeking maslahah or benefit in every transaction (Sudana, Marlina, & Awaludin, 2025). Through this lens, Rojali and Rohana are not merely cases of “choosing not to buy” due to fear

of financial loss. They can also represent moral awareness. A consumer may postpone purchasing to ensure that their spending is lawful, useful, and not excessive. What looks like simple “hanging out” or “window shopping” can carry deeper moral or spiritual meaning. For this reason, Rojali and Rohana should not always be interpreted as irrational. They can express religious consciousness and ethical consumption practices consistent with Islamic values.

These two perspectives lead to a central research question. How can Rojali and Rohana behavior be understood through an integrated reading of prospect theory and Islamic consumption values. This question matters because the two frameworks represent complementary dimensions of human rationality. Psychological rationality centers on how individuals perceive risk and loss. Moral rationality is grounded in fairness and balance. Integrating the two creates a more comprehensive understanding of economic behavior in modern Muslim societies. Consumption decisions are shaped not only by the instinct to avoid losses but also by spiritual intentions to safeguard ethical responsibility, social welfare, and the pursuit of blessing. This integrated approach can help bridge the gap between conventional behavioral economics and Islamic consumption ethics. It also opens the possibility of a new interpretive model for behavioral economic research in religious contexts. Limited literature connects conventional behavioral perspectives with Islamic consumption values, especially when examining phenomena like Rojali and Rohana. This gap motivates the author to explore the issue further. The purpose of this article is to link these two often separated perspectives. The expected contribution is to enrich the study of economic behavior in the context of Indonesia’s Muslim society as it continues adjusting to ongoing economic and social change.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a qualitative approach with a conceptual and descriptive comparative design. This approach is used because the goal is not to measure or test relationships between variables in a quantitative way. The aim is to understand the Rojali and Rohana consumer behavior phenomenon in depth through two theoretical lenses, which are Prospect Theory and Islamic consumption values. This approach allows the researcher to examine the meaning, context, and social background that shape modern consumption patterns while still considering the religious values that accompany them. Sugiyono explains that qualitative research is meant to understand social phenomena from the perspective of participants and the context surrounding them (Sugiyono, 2019).

The unit of analysis in this study is the consumption behavior of urban Muslim communities in Indonesia who frequently visit shopping malls without making a purchase. This object is selected because it reflects a social pattern that is becoming increasingly common in the era of digitalization and the experience economy. The data used are secondary sources obtained from literature review, including scientific articles, consumer survey reports, retail statistics, and Islamic sources such as the Qur’an, hadith, and academic works on Islamic economics. The choice of secondary data is based on efficiency, validity, and the completeness of information needed to support conceptual analysis (Busetto, Wick, & Gumbinger, 2020).

Data collection is carried out through library research by examining both national and international scholarly sources that discuss behavioral economics, Prospect Theory, and Islamic consumption values. Sources were selected based on their relevance to the study's two theoretical frameworks and their credibility as peer-reviewed publications, institutional reports, or established Islamic academic texts. These include scientific articles, consumer survey reports, retail statistics, and Islamic primary sources such as the Qur'an, hadith, and classical works including Al-Ghazali's Ihya Ulumuddin. Data from journal publications, economic institution reports, and credible online sources are gathered and interpreted thematically. Data analysis uses content analysis, in which the researcher identifies, groups, and compares relevant theoretical concepts to find similarities, differences, and points of intersection between modern behavioral economic theory and Islamic consumption theory (Moleong, 2018).

The analysis begins by identifying key concepts in Prospect Theory such as reference point, loss aversion, and decision making under uncertainty. These concepts are then compared with Islamic consumption values that include halal, tayyib, israf, tabdzir, and i'tidal. After that, the researcher conducts a conceptual synthesis to uncover connections between the two perspectives. The validity of the findings is maintained through source triangulation, which involves checking the consistency between empirical data such as economic reports and consumer surveys and normative data such as Islamic literature. Through this process, the study is expected to produce a conceptual model that can explain the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon through two theoretical lenses that differ yet complement each other.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Rojali and Rohana Phenomenon in the Perspective of Prospect Theory

Prospect Theory, developed by Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, reshaped the understanding of economic behavior by rejecting the assumption of perfect rationality. The theory argues that individuals do not make decisions based on final wealth. They evaluate outcomes through changes in value relative to a reference point. In consumer behavior, this reference point can take the form of a product's normal price, personal financial conditions, or even social expectations shaped by digital environments (Gisbert-Pérez, Martí-Vilar, & González-Sala, 2022). Prospect Theory contains three core components. The first is the reference point, a psychological benchmark used to assess whether a choice produces gains or losses. The second is loss aversion, where individuals feel the pain of losses more strongly than the satisfaction of gains of equal size. The third is diminishing sensitivity, meaning that the emotional impact of a change becomes weaker the further it moves from the reference point (Tversky & Kahneman, 1992).

In this article, Rojali and Rohana are interpreted as categories of collective behavior, referring to groups of individuals who show similar patterns of action even if they do not know one another or belong to the same social group. The word "rombongan" reflects an aggregated social trend rather than direct social interaction. An individual who visits a mall alone yet spends time browsing without buying still falls into the Rojali category. Likewise,

someone who frequently asks sellers for information without making a purchase is categorized as Rohana.

When linked more closely to Prospect Theory, the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon can be understood through the shifting of reference points. The reference point represents the psychological standard used to judge outcomes as gains or losses. In uncertain economic conditions, this standard moves from "acquiring goods" to "maintaining financial stability." Consumers no longer assess purchases by the satisfaction of owning something but by their ability to preserve financial security. This aligns with Kleinlercher et al., who argue that economic change and digitalization influence how consumers set reference points for spending decisions (Kleinlercher et al., 2020). This shift encourages consumers to browse, compare prices, or gather information without committing to a purchase, which is precisely what Rojali and Rohana behavior represents. Recent studies show that reference groups also influence consumer behavior such as rojali and Rohana (Amalia & Aminuddin, 2023). Consumers tend to follow the trend to maintain financial stability within their social circles or online communities.

Loss aversion explains the tendency to avoid losses more intensely than the desire to gain. In the Rojali and Rohana context, this is visible when consumers perceive buying non-essential goods during economic uncertainty as a risky choice. They prefer to hold back rather than later regret a purchase if prices drop or urgent needs arise. Zheng's study shows that loss aversion can slow decision making, especially in unstable economic conditions (Zheng, 2025). This makes actions such as "only asking" or "just looking around" a direct expression of psychological loss avoidance.

Diminishing sensitivity further clarifies the pattern. Sensitivity to economic differences weakens as the magnitude of change increases. A ten-thousand rupiah difference feels significant for a low cost item but meaningless for an expensive product. This explains why Rojali type individuals may easily buy small items like snacks but become far more cautious with higher value goods such as fashion or electronics. They prefer to wait for major discounts or clear evidence of product quality before making a purchase.

Together, these three components of Prospect Theory operate simultaneously and shape the collective behavioral pattern seen in Rojali and Rohana. The shifting reference point, the dominance of loss aversion, and the decline in sensitivity to economic variation create a tendency toward careful and selective decision making. What appears irrational to sellers is in fact a form of psychological rationality as individuals navigate-increasingly complex economic and social risks.

The Rojali and Rohana Phenomenon from the Perspective of Islamic Consumption Values

In Islamic economics, consumption is not viewed merely as the act of fulfilling needs. It is also seen as a form of worship and a reflection of moral values. The purpose of consumption is to achieve falah, which refers to well-being in this world and the hereafter, through a balance between material and spiritual needs (Chapra, 2000). The core principles in Islamic consumption include halal, tayyib, and i'tidal, along with the obligation to avoid israf

(excessiveness) and tabdzir (wastefulness) (Ibrahim et al., 2021). The behaviors shown by Rojali and Rohana can be understood as expressions of these principles. Even though they appear economically passive because they do not produce direct transactions, their behavior shows a process of self-control and ethical awareness. They avoid buying immediately because they want to make sure that their spending is truly necessary and does not fall into the category of israf or tabdzir. Sudana et al. explain that this kind of prudence reflects a form of consumption awareness that aligns with the objectives of sharia, particularly in safeguarding wealth (ḥifẓ al-māl) (Sudana et al., 2025).

The principle of halal is a fundamental guideline in every consumption decision. Muslim consumers tend to be cautious and make sure that the goods they purchase come from lawful sources and processes, whether in terms of the product itself, the transaction, or the ethics behind its production. Consistent with findings from previous studies, Muslim Consumers tend to prioritize product that are explicitly certified or widely recognize as halal (Majid & Rahmawati, 2024). Other research employing a quantitative approach shows that halal awareness has a positive and significant effect on consumers purchase intentions (Putri & Putranto, 2024). This implies that consumers who possess stronger awareness of halal principles are more likely to evaluate product choices through a halal lens. Thereby increasing their likelihood of selecting products they perceive as religiously compiliant. In the context of the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon, the behavior of "just looking around" or delaying a purchase can be seen as a form of carefulness in ensuring product halalness. This aligns with (Qur'an 2:168), which instructs people to consume only what is lawful and good. This attitude reflects the spirit of tahqiq al-halal, or the verification of lawful status, which guides consumers not to rush into transactions before being certain about the product's legitimacy. One of the factors that may contribute to this phenomenon is illustrated in previous studies, which show that even when food stall vendors are aware of halal requirements, they often remain unconcerned about the absence of halal certification for their products (Salsabila & Kalimah, 2024).

The value of tayyib, which refers to goodness in terms of quality and benefit, also shapes Rohana-like behavior involving detailed questioning before making a purchase. Such behavior shows the effort of Muslim consumers to ensure that what they buy is not only lawful but also good, both in terms of quality and broader impact. This includes social, health-related, and environmental considerations. The principle encourages the idea that proper consumption is one that offers real benefit without causing harm. In this regard, tayyib becomes an ethical standard that helps consumers evaluate whether a product is truly worth purchasing.

Alongside this, the principle of i'tidal, or balance, helps explain why some consumers behave like Rojali by choosing not to consume excessively. They visit shopping centers not solely to buy but also to practice self-regulation and maintain balance between needs and desires. This reflects the spirit of wasathiyah, or moderation, taught in (Qur'an 25:67), which calls for avoiding wastefulness while also not being miserly towards oneself. This behavior demonstrates awareness of financial priorities and a commitment to managing them wisely.

Moreover, the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon also represents an effort to avoid israf and tabdzir. Israf refers to consumption that surpasses actual needs even when the goods are lawful. Tabdzir refers to spending on things that offer no real benefit, as described by Al-Ghazali in Ihya Ulumuddin. When consumers choose to delay purchases because they feel the items are not yet necessary, they are practicing a form of rational restraint that stems from ethical and spiritual awareness. In the framework of maqashid al-shari'ah, this behavior aligns with the principle of hifz al-mal, which emphasizes protecting wealth, so it is not wasted and ensuring it is used for beneficial purposes.

These observations show that the actions of "not buying" in the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon are not driven solely by economic pressure. They also reflect the spiritual rationality of Muslim consumers who aim to balance material needs with Islamic moral values. In conclusion, the behavior of Rojali and Rohana does not simply represent economic irrationality as suggested by conventional theory. It reflects a form of spiritual rationality rooted in Islamic values. Their behavior reveals an integration of financial prudence, which is explained in Prospect Theory through loss aversion and shifting reference points, with Islamic moral consciousness that emphasizes halal, tayyib, i'tidal, and the avoidance of israf and tabdzir. This means the phenomenon is not only a reaction to economic uncertainty but also a representation of how Muslim consumers think when navigating both worldly and spiritual considerations.

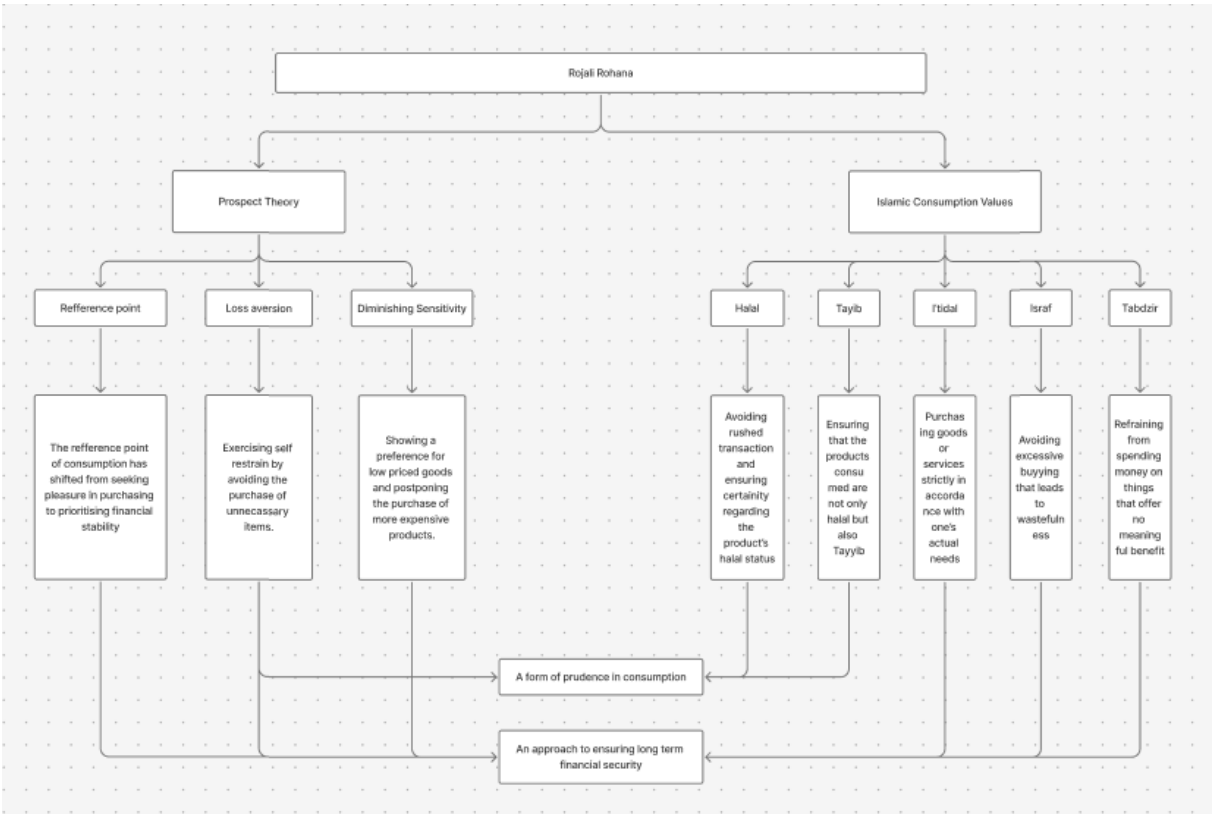
The Intersection of Prospect Theory and Islamic Consumption Values in the Rojali and Rohana Phenomenon

From the previous discussions, we have seen how the behavior of Rojali and Rohana is interpreted through Prospect Theory and through Islamic consumption values. Both perspectives show that the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon illustrates how everyday consumption behavior never stands alone. There is always a psychological force that drives the decision to buy or to hold back, and at the same time there are normative values that shape moral boundaries, especially when consumption is understood within the framework of Islamic ethics.

The convergence diagram between Prospect Theory and Islamic consumption values shows that the two approaches meet at two major points. First, both guide individuals to be more cautious when making purchasing decisions. Second, both emphasize the importance of maintaining financial security, so consumption does not slip into risk or wastefulness. In the context of Rojali and Rohana, this convergence is not only theoretical but becomes evident in how they manage shopping temptations, assess prices, delay gratification, and link their consumption decisions to their financial conditions.

In the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon, the reference point clearly shifts from pursuing shopping satisfaction to maintaining financial stability. Both begin to place financial security as their new reference point. They no longer buy simply because something is discounted or because of an emotional impulse. They now weigh whether a purchase is truly necessary. This signals that their reference point has changed. This perspective intersects directly with the

Islamic values of i'tidal and the prohibition of israf, which discourage excessive consumption and direct individuals to remain proportional and moderate. For Muslim consumers, this reference point is not only economic but also moral and spiritual. The decision to buy is shaped not only by price but also by whether the product is halal, beneficial in the sense of tayyib, and not harmful to long term financial stability, which is linked to hifz al mal. This shift in the reference point makes behaviours such as window shopping or comparing prices, as seen in Rojali and Rohana, a form of prudence that ensures each purchase aligns with ethical and religious values (Dewi, Pradana, Huertas-García, Rubiyanti, & Syarifuddin, 2022). When someone sees money not as a tool for impulsive gratification but as a trust that must be protected, the logic of Prospect Theory meets the religious values that regulate consumption. In other words, their new reference point reflects not only a psychological stance but also a moral orientation that aligns with Islamic teachings: avoiding excessive purchases, ensuring that spending is relevant to real needs, and safeguarding wealth from waste.



Source: Compiled and analyzed by the author

Figure 1. Intersection Prospect Theory and Islamic Consumption Values on Rojali and Rohana Phenomenom

Loss aversion becomes stronger in both Rojali and Rohana. They are more afraid of losing money on something unnecessary than missing the chance to buy a particular item. Most people show the opposite bias, fearing the loss of a shopping opportunity because of a lower price. In their case, however, reluctance to spend becomes a protective mechanism. This aligns closely with Islamic values such as the prohibition of tabdzir, which refers to wasting money on useless things. Islam emphasises that expenditure must have a clear purpose. Loss aversion works like a psychological brake, while Islamic values provide the moral direction: do not spend money unless it brings benefit. The two reinforce each other. Their reduced spending is not caused by stinginess but by an understanding of the financial risks that may arise. Diminishing sensitivity is also visible in their preference to postpone purchasing expensive items and opt for more affordable ones. They understand that the appeal of costly goods tends to fade over time, while the benefits of delaying a purchase can be much greater, such as avoiding debt, maintaining savings, or reallocating money to other needs.

If Prospect Theory explains why they behave in this way from a psychological angle, Islamic consumption values explain the purpose behind that behaviour. The principle of halal makes them more cautious before purchasing anything. They do not make rushed decisions and ensure that any product or service they consume truly complies with Islamic law. This improves their ability to assess risk, because rushed decisions often stem from psychological biases. The principle of tayyib emphasises quality, so consumption is not only halal but also provides real benefit. The value of i'tidal sustains balance. The prohibitions of israf and tabdzir set boundaries to prevent consumption from slipping into waste, whether in the form of excess goods or unnecessary expenditure (Ibrahim et al., 2021).

The intersection of these two systems makes Rojali and Rohana more financially mature. They are no longer easily influenced by unnecessary consumption trends, discount euphoria, or social pressure to adopt a consumptive lifestyle. Their decisions are more thoughtful because they consider psychological and moral aspects together. They evaluate purchasing decisions through a balance of rational judgement, religious ethics, and social context, where consumption must be halal, beneficial, moderate, and free from worldly or spiritual harm (Lestari & Faizin, 2022). This shows that the meeting point between Prospect Theory and Islamic consumption values is not limited to theory. It can form consumption behaviour that is safer, more rational, and more meaningful. In this phenomenon, the final outcome is clear. Rojali and Rohana demonstrate advantageous consumer behaviour. They succeed in reducing financial risk, avoiding impulsive decisions, and keeping their consumption within ethical and proportional limits. Their caution becomes a strength that protects them from loss. From both the perspective of Prospect Theory and Islamic consumption values, their behaviour contributes to financial stability, ethical awareness, and a disciplined approach to desire. These benefits are not only material but also psychological and spiritual.

These findings carry practical implications for several stakeholders. For retailers and mall operators, understanding that Rojali and Rohana behavior reflects deliberate risk management rather than disengagement suggests that strategies focused purely on foot

traffic are insufficient. Offering transparent product information, clear halal certification, and flexible payment options may be more effective in converting visits into purchases than promotional pressure or discount-driven campaigns. For Islamic financial institutions and consumer education bodies, this phenomenon signals a need to strengthen financial literacy programs that integrate Islamic ethical consumption principles, helping Muslim consumers articulate and act on values they already hold intuitively. For policymakers working within the halal economy framework, the intersection of loss aversion and Islamic moral restraint identified here suggests that behavioral nudges aligned with Islamic values, such as promoting tayyib product labeling or supporting halal certification accessibility, may produce more culturally resonant outcomes than generic consumer protection measures.

CONCLUSION

The findings show that the Rojali and Rohana phenomenon represents a coherent form of consumer restraint shaped by both psychological and moral reasoning. Prospect Theory clarifies how shifting reference points, loss aversion, and diminishing sensitivity drive individuals to delay purchases, gather information, or limit spending on non-essential items. Islamic consumption values add a deeper layer of meaning by showing that this behaviour aligns with the principles of halal, tayyib, i'tidal, and the avoidance of israf and tabdzir. These values transform cautious consumption into an ethical and spiritual practice that protects wealth and keeps desires within moral boundaries. The intersection of both frameworks reveals that this behaviour is not a sign of indecision or economic weakness. It is a disciplined strategy to maintain financial stability, evaluate risks carefully, and ensure that each act of consumption reflects both rational judgement and moral responsibility.

This study, however, is limited by its conceptual nature and reliance on secondary sources. It does not capture the lived experiences of individuals who exhibit Rojali or Rohana tendencies, nor does it measure how demographic, cultural, or digital factors influence their decisions. Its focus on the Indonesian context also restricts the generalisability of the analysis. These gaps open opportunities for further research. Future studies could incorporate qualitative methods, such as in depth interviews or ethnographic observation, to uncover more detail about the motivations behind delayed consumption. Comparative research across regions or religious communities may help determine whether the same psychological mechanisms appear in different cultural settings. Scholars can also examine how digital platforms shape reference points and activate loss aversion or analyse how financial literacy and religiosity interact in forming prudent consumption behaviour. These directions would provide a more empirical and comprehensive understanding of how psychological and ethical forces combine in everyday economic choices.

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