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Digital Mourning and the Evolution of Grief: A Review of Social Media's Role in Shaping Contemporary Bereavement Practices

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Abstract	Review Article

In the digital era, mourning has transcended traditional boundaries, increasingly manifesting through social media platforms that provide novel avenues for expressing grief and maintaining bonds with the deceased. This review explores the evolving landscape of bereavement practices in the context of digital mourning, analyzing how platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are reshaping contemporary understandings of death and loss. Drawing upon interdisciplinary literature from sociology, psychology, media studies, and thanatology, the article examines key themes including online memorialization, continuing bonds, collective grieving, and ethical concerns surrounding digital legacies. It further considers how digital platforms influence the grieving process, both positively—by fostering support networks and ritualization—and negatively—through issues of privacy, commercialization, and prolonged mourning. By synthesizing existing research, this review highlights the need for updated frameworks that account for the psychosocial and cultural implications of grieving in an increasingly connected world. The article concludes by identifying gaps in current scholarship and suggesting future research directions to deepen our understanding of grief in the digital age.
Keywords: Digital Mourning, Social Media, Grief, Bereavement Practices, Online Memorialization, Digital Legacy, Continuing Bonds, Collective Grieving.

1. INTRODUCTION

Grief, a profound emotional response to loss, has historically been shaped by cultural, religious, and communal norms that govern how individuals mourn the dead. Traditional mourning rituals—from funerals and wakes to prescribed periods of mourning—served both psychological and social purposes, helping communities process loss and reaffirm social bonds [1]. However, in the last two decades, the advent of digital communication technologies has disrupted conventional bereavement practices, giving rise to a new phenomenon often referred to as digital mourning**.**

Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok have become virtual spaces where grief is expressed, shared, and memorialized. These platforms enable the bereaved to engage in mourning practices that are asynchronous, widely accessible, and deeply personal, yet publicly visible [2]. This transformation is not merely a shift in medium but signals a fundamental change in how people experience, perform, and witness grief in contemporary society.

Digital mourning includes a range of practices such as creating memorial pages, posting tributes, using hashtags like #RIP, participating in online support groups, or even interacting with the profiles of deceased individuals [3]. These practices are redefining the boundaries between public and private grieving, altering the temporality of mourning, and challenging established norms around death and remembrance.

The purpose of this review is to explore the evolving role of social media in shaping modern bereavement practices. By examining the psychological, social, ethical, and cultural implications of digital mourning, this paper aims to provide a comprehensive overview of how grief is being experienced and expressed in the digital age. It draws on interdisciplinary sources from psychology, media studies, sociology, and

cultural anthropology to offer insights into this emerging and increasingly significant aspect of contemporary life.

2. Theoretical Foundations

Understanding how grief manifests on social media requires grounding in both classical theories of bereavement and newer frameworks that address the role of media and technology in social behavior. This section explores foundational grief models and integrates perspectives from media theory and cultural studies to contextualize digital mourning.

2.1 Classical Models of Grief

Historically, grief has been conceptualized as a linear psychological process. One of the most well-known frameworks is Elisabeth Kübler-Ross's five-stage model—denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance—which, although originally developed to describe the emotional stages of terminally ill patients, has been widely applied to bereavement [1]. Later theorists critiqued its rigidity, proposing more dynamic models such as Worden's *Tasks of Mourning* [2], and the *Dual Process Model* by Stroebe and Schut, which emphasizes oscillation between loss-oriented and restoration-oriented coping [3]. While these models remain influential, they often assume grief is a private, time-bound process. Digital mourning challenges these assumptions by introducing public, ongoing, and socially networked expressions of loss that do not necessarily align with traditional models of closure.

2.2 Social Construction of Mourning Rituals

From a sociological perspective, mourning is not just an internal psychological state but a socially constructed performance. Erving Goffman's theory of *dramaturgy* suggests that individuals perform social roles in accordance with cultural scripts and expectations [4]. In the digital era, social media platforms become new stages for these performances of grief, where users curate their mourning in ways that align with platform norms and audience expectations. Mourning online also reflects changing cultural attitudes toward death, memory, and identity. The concept of "continuing bonds"—maintaining a psychological relationship with the deceased rather than seeking closure—has gained prominence in grief literature [5]. Social media facilitates these ongoing connections by allowing people to post on the deceased's profiles, share memories, and revisit content, reinforcing the presence of the departed in everyday life.

2.3 Media Ecology and Digital Culture

Neil Postman's media ecology theory posits that technologies are not neutral tools but shape human perception, behavior, and social organization [6]. Within this framework, social media platforms are not passive carriers of grief expressions; they actively shape how mourning is structured, distributed, and consumed. Algorithms, interfaces, and platform policies influence which expressions of grief are amplified or suppressed, and how users interact with digital memorials.

Additionally, contemporary digital culture—characterized by immediacy, visibility, and participatory engagement—encourages real-time sharing of emotions, including those associated with death. The affordances of likes, comments, and shares turn grief into a networked activity, where communal validation plays a significant role in shaping the mourning experience [7].

3. Emergence of Digital Mourning

The transition from physical to digital forms of mourning reflects broader societal shifts in communication, community, and identity. As online platforms become integral to everyday life, they have also emerged as significant spaces for expressing grief and commemorating the dead. This section outlines the origins and key developments of digital mourning, focusing on the platforms and practices that have reshaped how individuals and communities engage with loss.

3.1 Definition and Scope of Digital Mourning

Digital mourning refers to the use of digital platforms and tools—primarily social media—to express, share, and process grief following the death of a person or even a pet, public figure, or fictional character. Unlike traditional mourning, which often occurs within localized, physical settings, digital mourning is spatially unbounded, temporally flexible, and potentially visible to vast audiences [8]. It includes public posts of tribute, profile memorialization, digital shrines, hashtags, livestreamed funerals, and even ongoing communication with the deceased's accounts [9].

The digital environment has introduced a level of personalization and immediacy to mourning. Individuals now have the agency to shape their own grief narratives, select the audience, and control the timing and format of their expressions—opportunities not always available in conventional rituals.

3.2 Historical Milestones and the Rise of Online Memorials

The emergence of social networking sites in the early 2000s, particularly Facebook, marked a turning point in the way people mourned online. Facebook introduced memorialized profiles in 2009, allowing friends and family to preserve a deceased user's timeline as a digital tribute [10]. This development provided a structured way to keep the memory of the dead alive and to interact with their profile in ways that mirrored traditional mourning practices.

Other platforms soon followed. Twitter enabled hashtag-based public grieving (#RIP[Name]), while Instagram and TikTok allowed for highly visual and multimedia storytelling around loss. Meanwhile, websites like Legacy.com and ForeverMissed.com

became dedicated spaces for creating digital obituaries and guestbooks.

3.3 Popular Platforms for Digital Grief Expression

- Facebook remains the most widely used platform for digital mourning, particularly due to its memorialization settings, group functions, and event coordination features for funerals or anniversaries [11].
- Instagram and TikTok cater to more visual and creative expressions of grief, including videos, montages, poetry, and storytelling. These platforms are particularly favored by younger users [12].
- Twitter facilitates real-time grief expression and collective mourning, often during celebrity deaths or public tragedies. Hashtags allow strangers to participate in shared experiences of loss.
- Reddit hosts grief-specific subreddits (e.g., r/griefsupport, r/Grief) that offer peer support, storytelling, and advice in semi-anonymous formats [13].

Each platform brings unique affordances and norms that shape how mourning is practiced. The affordances of likes, comments, and sharing enable a participatory dimension, while platform algorithms often continue to surface memories (e.g., Facebook's "On This Day") that unexpectedly trigger renewed grief or comfort [14].

4. Functions of Social Media in Bereavement

Social media has not only changed the medium of mourning but has also introduced new functions that support and extend traditional grieving processes. These platforms offer more than mere spaces for communication; they facilitate emotional expression, community support, memory preservation, and the creation of continuing bonds with the deceased. This section explores the multifaceted roles that social media plays in contemporary bereavement.

4.1 Emotional Expression and Catharsis

One of the most immediate uses of social media in mourning is as a channel for emotional expression. Grief, which is often overwhelming and isolating, finds an outlet in status updates, photo captions, stories, and memorial posts. These digital expressions serve as a form of catharsis, allowing users to externalize their pain in their own words and at their own pace [15]. The asynchronous nature of social media enables grieving individuals to post whenever they feel ready, without the pressure of face-to-face interactions.

Such posts often include messages like "I miss you," "Can't believe it's been a year," or "You were taken too soon," serving both as declarations of grief and invitations for others to acknowledge and validate the loss [16].

4.2 Community Building and Social Support

Social media fosters community-based grieving, allowing people to share loss with a wider network of friends, family, and even strangers who offer condolences, share memories, or participate in communal mourning. This aspect of collective grieving can be especially comforting when physical proximity is not possible, such as during pandemics, migration, or sudden deaths.

In group pages, comment sections, or hashtag threads, individuals find solidarity in shared experiences of loss. This online support mimics—and in some cases surpasses—the comfort traditionally found in wakes or religious gatherings [17].

Platforms like Facebook offer "In Memoriam" groups where people continue conversations with or about the deceased, turning individual grief into a shared emotional process. Online communities such as Reddit's r/Grief Support or specialized grief forums provide safe spaces for individuals to connect anonymously and receive peer-to-peer support [18].

4.3 Memorialization and Continuing Bonds

Digital spaces allow for long-term memorialization, which supports the concept of *continuing bonds*—maintaining a psychological relationship with the deceased rather than seeking complete closure. Memorial pages, pinned posts, and photo/video archives function as evolving digital shrines that users can revisit, contribute to, or interact with [19].

Some users even continue to post on the deceased's timeline as if in conversation, sharing updates or simply saying "good night." These interactions demonstrate an ongoing presence of the deceased in the mourner's life and create a narrative that death has not completely severed the relationship [20].

4.4 Temporal and Spatial Flexibility

Social media removes the constraints of time and place associated with traditional mourning. Memorial posts can be made months or years after a death, and users from any location can engage with the content. This flexibility is especially important for diasporic communities or those who cannot attend funerals physically but want to express their grief and solidarity virtually [21].

4.5 Identity Construction and Legacy Building

Through carefully curated posts, photos, and stories, mourners often participate in legacy-building for the deceased. This form of storytelling reconstructs the identity of the person who passed, often emphasizing their best qualities, memorable moments, and the impact they had on others. In this way, social media becomes an

archive of the deceased's digital identity and an evolving biography written by many hands [22].

This identity work also affects the mourner. By posting tributes or sharing memories, individuals often reinforce their own social role—e.g., "devoted son," "grieving friend," or "survivor"—which helps them find meaning in their loss and place in the bereavement process.

5. Challenges and Ethical Considerations

While digital mourning offers unique opportunities for expression, connection, and memorialization, it also presents a range of challenges and ethical concerns. These issues involve privacy, consent, platform control, digital legacy management, and the psychological consequences of grieving in public or semi-public digital spaces. This section explores the key dilemmas faced by individuals, communities, and platform providers when grief intersects with technology.

5.1 Privacy and Consent

One of the primary ethical challenges in digital mourning revolves around privacy—both of the deceased and of those engaging in online grieving. Posting images, memories, or even personal stories about someone who has died may violate their privacy or go against their wishes, especially if the deceased left no instructions regarding their digital legacy [23].

Similarly, family members may disagree on what should be shared or kept private. This can lead to conflicts, especially in cases where posts about the deceased are made public without the family's consent or where different grieving styles clash online [24].

There are also concerns about context collapse—where audiences from different spheres (friends, colleagues, strangers) all see the same mourning content, possibly misinterpreting or misusing it.

5.2 Platform Control and Algorithmic Intrusion

Social media platforms control much of what users can or cannot do with memorial content. For instance, Facebook requires formal requests and documentation to memorialize a deceased user's profile [3]. Even after memorialization, the platform's algorithms might continue to generate birthday reminders or "memory" posts, triggering unexpected grief or emotional distress for survivors [25].

Additionally, these algorithms prioritize engagement rather than sensitivity, meaning grief-related content might be promoted or buried depending on platform logic—not user needs.

5.3 Commercialization and Exploitation of Grief

Digital mourning can also be commercialized, with some platforms placing ads near memorial posts or offering premium features for digital remembrance. Third-party apps that allow you to create virtual candles, videos, or holographic tributes often charge users, monetizing what should be a personal and sacred experience [26].

Public expressions of grief can also be exploited by the media or online trolls, particularly in high-profile or controversial deaths. In such cases, the boundary between mourning and spectacle becomes blurred, raising concerns about emotional commodification and performative grief.

5.4 Digital Legacy Management

Managing the digital legacy of the deceased is a complex and often legally ambiguous task. Many users die without clear instructions on what should happen to their social media accounts, email, cloud data, or digital assets. As a result, family members may face obstacles in gaining access or making decisions about memorialization or deletion [27].

Some platforms allow users to appoint a "legacy contact" (e.g., Facebook), while others offer no clear process. The lack of standardized regulations around digital death continues to pose legal and ethical challenges worldwide.

5.5 Psychological and Social Risks

While digital grieving offers support, it can also intensify psychological distress in some users. Constant exposure to mourning content may lead to prolonged grief disorder, rumination, or a sense of obligation to publicly perform grief [28].

For young users, especially adolescents, navigating grief in the public eye may lead to identity conflicts, peer judgment, or cyberbullying. Some may feel pressured to curate their grief for likes or sympathy, diluting the authenticity of their mourning experience [29].

Moreover, there is a risk of re-traumatization through "memory reminders" or comments that revive painful emotions at unpredictable times.

6. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Digital Mourning

Digital mourning is not a universal experience—it is shaped by cultural norms, religious beliefs, societal values, and levels of digital access. While social media platforms offer global access, the ways in which different cultures adopt, adapt, or resist online grieving practices vary widely. This section explores how mourning online is interpreted and practiced across diverse cultural and religious settings, highlighting both convergences and tensions.

6.1 Western vs. Non-Western Grieving Norms

In many Western societies, especially in North America and Western Europe, individualism and open

emotional expression are often emphasized. As such, public mourning on platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter) is relatively normalized. Users frequently post tributes, photos, and "grief updates," often inviting others to comment and engage in the mourning process [30].

By contrast, in many non-Western cultures, such as those in South Asia, East Asia, and the Middle East, grief is often seen as a private or family-bound matter. Public displays of sorrow may be discouraged or considered culturally inappropriate. In such contexts, digital mourning is either minimal or carefully coded through symbolic language or imagery rather than explicit emotional declarations [31].

Nevertheless, globalization and digital literacy are shifting these boundaries. For example, younger generations in countries like India or Indonesia may blend traditional mourning rituals with online tributes, forming hybrid mourning practices [32].

6.2 Religious Interpretations and Digital Rituals
Religions also play a crucial role in shaping attitudes toward digital mourning. For instance:

- In **Christian** contexts, online memorials are often embraced as extensions of prayer chains or community vigils, with scripture and spiritual language frequently used in posts [33].
- In **Islam**, where modesty and respect for the deceased's privacy are emphasized, some scholars and community members express concern over public mourning posts, particularly those featuring images of the deceased [34]. However, online Quran readings, dua (prayers), and condolence messages are increasingly common.
- In **Buddhist** and **Hindu** traditions, digital platforms are sometimes used to stream rituals or pujas (ceremonies), especially for diasporic families who cannot attend in person. However, the idea of karma and spiritual purity may limit the extent of online grieving in certain sects [35].

These religious perspectives influence how people post, what content is deemed respectful, and how long digital mourning is considered appropriate.

6.3 Indigenous and Marginalized Voices
Indigenous and marginalized communities often bring unique cultural grieving frameworks to digital spaces. For example, some Indigenous Australian and Native American tribes have strict taboos around naming or showing images of the deceased, which can conflict with the norms of mainstream social media platforms [36].

In such cases, mourning online may involve coded language, use of initials, or private group settings to respect cultural protocols. These practices challenge platform policies and demand more culturally sensitive design features, such as temporary profile memorialization without images or the ability to disable algorithmic reminders.

6.4 Diaspora Communities and Hybrid Mourning
For diaspora populations, digital mourning serves as a bridge between the homeland and host country. Online platforms allow these communities to synchronize traditional rituals with virtual presence, making it possible to attend funerals via livestream or participate in mourning prayers remotely.

This is particularly evident in times of crisis, such as during the COVID-19 pandemic, where travel restrictions forced families to conduct virtual funerals, memorials, and condolence meetings across continents [37]. Social media, in such cases, played a pivotal role in maintaining cultural grieving practices in the absence of physical proximity.

7. Impacts on the Grieving Process and Mental Health
The integration of social media into bereavement practices has introduced new dynamics that deeply affect the grieving process and mental well-being of individuals. While online platforms can offer support, validation, and a sense of continuity, they may also contribute to prolonged grief, emotional distress, or maladaptive coping strategies. This section explores the psychological and emotional implications of digital mourning.

7.1 Emotional Support and Community Validation
One of the most recognized benefits of online grieving is the access to emotional support. Digital platforms enable bereaved individuals to share memories, express sorrow, and receive empathy from a wide network—sometimes even from strangers [38]. This networked grief provides a sense of belonging, reduces feelings of isolation, and can validate the mourner's emotional experience.

For individuals without strong offline support systems—such as migrants, LGBTQ+ individuals, or those grieving stigmatized losses (e.g., suicide or overdose)—digital mourning can offer an inclusive space where their grief is acknowledged and respected [39].

7.2 Prolonged Grief and Rumination
Despite these benefits, there is growing concern that constant exposure to memorial content and reminders may contribute to Prolonged Grief Disorder (PGD). The permanent availability of a deceased person's profile or regular "memory" notifications from

platforms can prevent emotional detachment or closure, leading to chronic rumination.

Moreover, some users may find themselves revisiting tribute pages or old messages repeatedly, reinforcing a **loop of loss** that delays acceptance or adaptation to life without the deceased.

7.3 Grief Performance and Social Comparison

The public nature of online mourning can give rise to grief performance—a phenomenon where individuals feel compelled to display their sorrow in a particular way to gain validation or meet social expectations. This performative aspect may not always reflect genuine emotion but rather a curated version of grief optimized for digital platforms.

This can be emotionally taxing and may lead to social comparison, where mourners measure the intensity or authenticity of their grief against others, potentially inducing guilt, shame, or inadequacy.

7.4 Re-traumatization and Triggers

Digital platforms, especially those with algorithmic "memory" features (e.g., Facebook's 'On This Day'), may unexpectedly resurface images or posts involving the deceased, leading to re-traumatization. These reminders can evoke strong emotions without warning, particularly for those still in early stages of bereavement or dealing with traumatic losses.

Additionally, public comment threads can sometimes become sites of conflict, misinformation, or trolling, further compounding emotional distress for the bereaved.

7.5 Positive Psychological Outcomes

Despite risks, some research suggests that digital mourning can facilitate post-traumatic growth, especially when users engage in meaning-making practices like writing tribute posts, creating digital memorials, or organizing online remembrance events. Digital platforms can also help users integrate the loss into their identity and narrative, promoting emotional resilience and continuing bonds in a healthy manner.

8. The Future of Digital Mourning: Trends and Innovations

As digital technologies continue to evolve, so too does the landscape of mourning and remembrance. From AI-generated avatars of the deceased to blockchain-based memorialization, the future of grief is increasingly mediated by innovation. This section explores emerging trends and technological possibilities that may redefine how we process and express bereavement in the digital age.

8.1 AI and Virtual Memorials

Artificial Intelligence (AI) is now being used to create chatbots or avatars that mimic the speech patterns, personality, and responses of deceased individuals using their digital footprints—texts, emails, and social media posts. These digital personas, also known as "griefbots", allow continued interaction with a simulation of the deceased, raising ethical, emotional, and philosophical questions, while some find comfort in these ongoing "conversations," critics argue that such practices could prolong grief, blur reality, and hinder psychological closure. Platforms like Replika and various start-ups are experimenting with AI-driven memorialization, suggesting a future where death does not mark the end of digital presence.

8.2 Virtual Reality (VR) and Augmented Remembrance

Virtual Reality (VR) is increasingly used to simulate memorial spaces, allowing people to visit cemeteries, attend funerals, or engage in rituals through immersive environments. VR funerals became particularly prominent during the COVID-19 pandemic, when physical gatherings were restricted. Some developers are designing interactive VR tombs, where users can walk through a digitally constructed memorial space, view photographs, and hear recorded messages. These experiences aim to personalize and preserve memory in ways that static images or text cannot.

8.3 Blockchain and Digital Legacy Preservation

Blockchain technology is emerging as a tool for secure, tamper-proof memorialization. By storing a person's digital legacy—writings, images, certificates, or wills—on decentralized ledgers, families can ensure the preservation of memories and last wishes beyond platform shutdowns or data loss.

Projects like "Eternime" and "LifeFile" offer users the ability to create long-term digital repositories, raising new considerations about data ownership, consent, and intergenerational access to grief-related content.

8.4 Algorithmic Grieving and Digital Afterlives

Social media algorithms increasingly shape how and when we grieve. For instance, Facebook's "On This Day" or memory notifications can serve as unintentional grief triggers, while recommendation engines may suggest content that perpetuates emotional vulnerability. In response, platforms are beginning to explore "grief-sensitive" design, including better memorialization options, control over legacy data, and AI moderation of offensive comments on memorialized accounts. There's also a call for algorithms that respect digital legacies and avoid inadvertently resurfacing painful content.

8.5 Ethical and Philosophical Considerations

These advancements pose significant ethical dilemmas. What does it mean to consent to a digital afterlife? Who owns the data of the dead? Can interacting with a digital version of a loved one distort the mourning

process? Scholars argue for a "digital death ethics" framework that addresses these questions, focusing on informed consent, privacy, platform accountability, and emotional well-being. The future of digital mourning, thus, lies not only in technological development but in establishing ethical and psychological boundaries.

9. Ethical and Privacy Concerns in Digital Mourning

As social media and digital technologies become deeply integrated into bereavement practices, they raise complex ethical, legal, and privacy-related questions. Who controls a deceased person's online presence? How should personal data be treated after death? This section explores the key ethical challenges and dilemmas surrounding digital mourning.

9.1 Consent and Digital Legacies

One of the primary ethical issues is informed consent. Many individuals do not leave explicit instructions regarding their digital assets or social media accounts, resulting in uncertainty about how their online presence should be handled after death. This lack of digital wills or legacy plans often places the burden on family members or platforms to make decisions, which may conflict with the deceased's presumed wishes. Some platforms have introduced legacy contact features (e.g., Facebook's Legacy Contact) or memorialization options, yet these vary across services and are often underutilized due to limited public awareness.

9.2 Ownership and Data Rights

Digital mourning raises important questions about data ownership. Who owns a deceased person's content—family, friends, the platform, or the person themselves (posthumously)? Since many platforms operate under user agreements rather than actual ownership models, families may face challenges in accessing or preserving content. Additionally, platforms often reserve the right to delete, repurpose, or restrict access to content, which can cause distress to those seeking closure or continued connection through digital memories.

9.3 Platform Responsibility and Moderation

With the increasing use of social media for grieving, platforms bear a growing responsibility to protect mourners from harm. This includes moderating harmful comments, preventing cyberbullying on memorial pages, and avoiding the resurfacing of painful content through algorithmic suggestions.

However, moderation policies vary, and content that is distressing to one user may be considered acceptable by another, making it difficult to create universal standards for grief-sensitive content management.

9.4 Identity Theft and Posthumous Misuse

Another critical concern is the posthumous misuse of online identities. Deceased individuals' profiles can be hacked, impersonated, or exploited for scams or misinformation. In some cases, bots have been created using the names or images of the dead to spread spam or fake news, posing not only ethical violations but also potential trauma to surviving loved ones.

9.5 Cultural Sensitivity and Diverse Grieving Norms

Digital mourning practices can sometimes clash with cultural or religious beliefs about death, remembrance, and privacy. In some traditions, public displays of grief may be considered inappropriate, or the continued presence of the deceased in digital form may be seen as disturbing or disrespectful. Thus, the design of digital memorial tools must consider cultural pluralism, offering customizable options that respect diverse mourning traditions and ethical worldviews.

CONCLUSION

The digital age has profoundly transformed how we experience, express, and navigate grief. Social media platforms and emerging technologies have created new spaces for public mourning, ongoing remembrance, and even interaction with digital versions of the deceased. These innovations have expanded the scope of bereavement practices, offering both comfort and complexity to individuals and communities facing loss. Digital mourning fosters connectedness, community, and continuity, especially in times when physical rituals are restricted or geographically dispersed. It also provides tools for archiving memories, preserving legacies, and building digital shrines that remain accessible indefinitely. However, this shift also brings to light crucial ethical, psychological, and legal challenges, such as consent, data ownership, platform responsibility, and emotional well-being.

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