

WOMAN ULAMA'S AUTHORITY ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract: *This paper discusses woman's authority in social media, presenting how female scholars appear in social media and convey messages of Islamic teachings. This qualitative study finds that the concept of Maqāṣid shari'ah was used by them in outlining their da'wah messages. The implication of using this approach leads them to explain religious messages textually and contextually. In practice, they take advantage of the opinions of previous Muslim scholars to support the messages they spread. The presence of women ulama who interact actively through online platforms provides opportunities for Muslim women to choose different information about Islamic teaching in a proportional and personal.*

Keywords: *Women Ulama; Indonesia; Social Media.*

Abstrak: Artikel ini membahas otoritas ulama perempuan di media sosial, mendiskusikan bagaimana para sarjana perempuan tampil di media sosial dan menyampaikan pesan-pesan ajaran agama Islam. Penelitian qualitative ini menemukan bahwa konsep *maqashid syariah* digunakan sarjana perempuan dalam menguraikan pesan dakwah mereka. Implikasi dari penggunaan pendekatan tersebut mendorong mereka untuk menjelaskan pesan agama secara tekstual dan kontekstual. Dalam praktiknya mereka memanfaatkan pendapat ulama terdahulu untuk mendukung pesan yang disampaikannya. Kehadiran ulama perempuan yang berinteraksi aktif melalui platform online memberikan peluang bagi perempuan muslim untuk memilih berbagai informasi tentang ajaran Islam secara proporsional dan personal.

Kata kunci: Ulama Perempuan; Indonesia; Media Sosial.

Introduction

Many studies of Muslim women's public activities have found that they misunderstand Islam, especially in relation to some patriarchal cultures. Researchers believe that Islamic women are subordinate to men in social life because of the socio-cultural construction of patriarchal Islamic societies and the teachings of discriminatory Islam. However, some researchers are trying to see the phenomenon of Muslim women in public in the context of negotiating values and norms between tradition and Islamic law.¹

The presence of Muslim women in public is not only showing what they look like in the traditions of *Majelis Taklim*, but also spreading to the digital world. With the rapid development of new media, women as members of society are automatically searching for new media. The process of transforming *pesantren's* subculture is also beginning to evolve in the digital space. This has made digital space a new area for *santri* to claim their identity as part of the community..

Even in the digital era nowadays, the existence of *Nyai* is often questioned, especially about their position and identity as women, as wives of *Kiai*, as caretakers for *pesantren*, and as male subordinates. This problem arises as a consequence of the existing textual understanding of the woman's position and role in Islamic religious teachings. So that there is a stigma from the formalist Islamic community that *Nyai* who are active in the public sphere is breaks of the *pesantren* tradition. This phenomenon was highlighted later by several Indonesian researchers, which then led to the statement that the presence of Muslim women in the public sphere more represented the influence of strengthening Islamic orthodoxy or modernization and liberalization movements.

However, women and *da'wah* in this millennial era are increasingly showing their activities on social media platforms. The ease of social media

as a source of *da'wah* content drives the emergence of “millennial *Ustazah* identity”. On the other hand, is a “religious agent” that places women as preachers still getting bad stereotypes? By observing the socio-cultural practices of *Nyai*, *ustazah*, *dā'iyah*, influencers, and students as well as female students in the Muslim community on internet-based social media. Some questions arise are follows, What is their position and authority in the digital space? Is this phenomenon the same as the real world that has a different character from the digital world?

The study in this article uses a qualitative research model with literature research techniques and focuses on the study of the authority of Muslim women scholars on social media. Through this method, I read the phenomenon of *da'wah* among Muslim female social media users, based on their activities in the digital world.

The Position of Women in Islam

History shows that Islam is the only religion with the concept of monotheism that promotes justice and equality among people. There is no difference between men and women. It is Islam that raised the dignity of women from a low position in the days of Jahiliyah. The arrival of Islam had a major impact on the changes of the patriarchal culture of Arab society at the time, and Islam slowly reformed the social system of Arab society towards in a more humane way. Historically, women, both religious and social, have influence the concept of justice that is essential to women, but this has not been much discussed. From an Islamic point of view, in life as caliph, both men and women are complete actors, so in order to achieve true justice for all, both must recognize their benefits and enjoy together. It is obligatory.

As the Prophet Muhammad recognizes the position of women, as follows:

عن عائشه قالت: إنما النساء شقائق الرجال

“Indeed, women are brothers (parallel partners) of men”.

This hadith clearly states that men and women are equal.

الأم مدرسة الأولى

“Mother is the first madrasa for her children.”

Therefore, mothers need to guide their children to successful people in this and future worlds. What is important is that education is very important for women to inherit an intelligent, strong and healthy generation. Many hadiths imply promoting women's education on an equal footing with men, regardless of gender.

This fact was historically practiced when the Prophet Muhammad replaced the ransom policy of Badr's war by teaching 10 people in Medina literacy. Ḥafṣah was the only wife of the Prophet SAW who was asked first to learn, read, and write at the time. On the other hand, the other wives of the prophet, such as 'Ā'ishah and Umi Salamah could read but not very good in writing like Ḥafṣah. And in historical records, women who are good in writing and reading, namely:

1. Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar, the Prophet's wife
2. Umm Kalthūm bt. 'Uqbah
3. 'Ā'ishah bt. Sa'd.
4. Al-Shifā' bt. Abdullāh Al-'Adawiyah
5. Karimah bt. al-Miqdād

The Prophet's policy of involving women in literacy participation was a breakthrough that eradicated women in public roles. 'Ā'ishah's role as a hadith teacher and Nafisah as Shāfi'ī's teacher are some examples of the undeniable reality of women's public involvement. Their intellect was recognized by the great scholars of their time. Al-Qāsim, a leading fiqh expert in Medina stated that 'Ā'ishah gave fatwas independently during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and so on until the end of her life. So even though 'Ā'ishah is a woman, her intellectual abilities are by no means inferior to those of the Prophet's male companions." 'Urwah b. Zubayr also said, "I do not see a friend who knows more about medicine, poetry, and fiqh than 'Ā'ishah." The Prophet himself also said, "take part of your religion from this Humairah (a reddish-white woman) ('Ā'ishah)."

Howefer, the situation in the Islamic world today seems far from ideal, especially when it comes to women's rights. It is undeniable that the practice of desecrating human values against women still exists in the Islamic world today. Violence against women, sexual harassment, restrictions on women's right to participate in public places, and systematic exclusion of women are widespread phenomena in Islamic countries. A social thinking paradigm that tends to be patriarchal, national policies that do not adapt women's rights, a global economic system designed to ignore women ensure us to create a system that renounces women's rights.

The existence of patriarchal culture in society has alienated women and made them a source of the accusation. Its basic meaning is trial or test. However, the meaning of false accusations is now a source of confusion and social harm. Because of these cultures and beliefs, women were considered the cause of the accusation, and men became subordinate to women's rights. It is also a cliché for women looking for justification in religious texts. As the Prophet said, "*I do not leave, after me a slander that is*

more dangerous to men than women.” And in Islamic history, female ulama has not yet received enough attention from both historians and the groups.

Woman's *Da'wah*

Preaching is an obligation for every Muslim, not limited to men, but also for women. Women have played an important role in the spread of *da'wah* since the beginning of Islamic history. The first person to react to Rasulullah's *da'wah* was a woman named Khadijah, Rasulullah's wife. She helped Rasulullah SAW's mission by donating her property. Many women are mentioned in the Quran. From the family environment to the general community environment, their role in society and religion is enormous. Their existence and role in the welfare of the entire nation cannot be denied.

Allah said:

كنتم خير أمة أخرجت للناس تأمرون بالمعروف وتنهون عن المنكر وتؤمنون بالله

Indeed, you are the best ummah born for mankind, calling to the Ma'ruf (preaching), preventing the evil, and believing in Allah... ”(Q.S. Ali Imran: 110)

Allah gave this praise not only for men, not only for Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, but also for Khadijah, 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah, Fāṭimah, Summayyah, Asmā', and the other.

Therefore, the word *kuntum* here is common and means both male and female (male and female companions). So, the responsibility of this religion lies not only with men but also with women. Since the beginning of Islamic history, women have played an important role in spreading *da'wah*, especially in this era, when morality has experienced a very serious decline and millennials have skyrocketed.

Women are effortless and more flexible in carrying out *da'wah* missions for their fellow people. And in this case, the female preacher must have different lecture rhetoric among the rhetoric dealing with mothers, students, and children who have not ever been in school, and they also convey rational material. Need, these preachers also need to learn some methods. The existing dawah has adapted to the situation and the current situation. So that what he conveys can touch the hearts of the *da'wah* connoisseurs, although to make them aware and return to the right path it takes a step that cannot be considered short but must be fed slowly until then they will open their minds and realize that what they have do is an act that they should not do.

Da'wah by showing noble personalities, good speeches, and dresses under Islamic guidance are one of the *da'wah* that Muslim women can do. Women are encouraged to practice Islamic teachings in their daily lives. It shows that Muslim women are more effective in calling others good because of the superb of the preacher's personality.

Women in Public

Women have certain advantages over men. There are some privileges that men do not have. The status and proportion of women are clear. However, at a practical level, the related roles of men and women in the public sphere have encountered various diversifications. Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī has accused working women of being acceptable, but according to Mutawallī al-Sha'rāwī, working women is considered *makrūh*.² There is no single word or passage in the Quran or ḥadīth that prohibits a woman from working. Women and men are equal before God. In fact, the role of many women in the public sphere has a great impact on society itself. Men and women need to respect one another and their potential in all areas so that there is no discrimination or inequality.

Regarding the right of women to participate in religious activities, various Islamic literature reveals that women's participation in religious activities is not *fard 'ayn*, yet it is considered a good deed for its function in spreading religious messages to the public. Furthermore, they are also advised to do it wisely and to avoid defamation that affect them.

Social Media

One of the developments in the age of globalization is characterized by technological advances, particularly in information and communication aspects. Communication occurs to satisfy human needs to interact with other humans concerning human functions as social beings. One of the fastest-growing communication technologies today is the internet. The internet has become a significant factor in the association of human knowledge, organizational management, business activities, and the like. It makes the internet extremely important for its users in their daily lives. This internet technology offers several benefits in daily life. Start from providing sources of information that can be collected, stored, disseminated, or obtained by individuals, private companies, governments, educational institutions, research institutions, etc. Internet technology is rapidly and radically changing human life. It impacts both positive and negative from the internet into many aspects of human life such as business, government, education, and personal life.

According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), social media is a group of Internet-based applications that form the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and enable the creation and exchange of user-generated content. Today, social media has made the idea of a 'global village' as expressed by McLuhan in the 1960s more real. Where this era has been connected through the communication technology of the internet with social media as a part of it. This can be called a modern revolution where everybody can almost eliminate the boundaries between time and space.³

Social media is one of the proper answers as a medium for preaching. The current phenomenology is that people are dependent on social media from waking up to sleeping again. Such is the enormity of the influence of social media on society. According to Pierre Levy, 2001, in his work entitled *Cyberculture, Electronic Mediations*, cyberculture is "a set of technologies (material and intellectual), practices, attitudes, modes of thought, and values that developed along with the growth of cyberspace." Cyberculture is explained as a culture that arises from the practice of human interaction with the internet, which includes developing virtual technology, such as forums, newsgroups, and chats. In line with it, David Bell cs, 2007, defines cyberculture as "a way of thinking about how people and digital technologies interact, how we live together." Bell states that cyberculture is a way of thinking about how people and digital technology associate and live together. Bell's frame of mind is even more specific, where virtual space is used between individuals as a forum to talk about how they meet their needs.⁴

From the above understanding of cyberculture, cyberculture is developed and owned by individuals or groups. The computer as material becomes the hardware that people use to meet their needs. Each individual connects in a network that forms a group where different thoughts meet without physical interaction. The interaction of virtual communities builds the established network in their communication relationships through symbolic interactions.

In line with it, communication channels are media or tools for spreading messages. There must be tools or media that we use in spreading messages. In this sophisticated era, everything is easy and more friendly for the user or the community in the social system. It is progress in the actualization and application of *da'wah* in the digital era. The obligation of every Muslim to spread or deliver a message of *da'wah* would not be exhausting with an efficient and effective time.

Part of the simplicity of spreading *da'wah* via social media is that the message of the *da'wah* is accepted more quickly by the audience. The

number of believers is heterogeneous and everywhere, in all social classes, for example, adults, children, young people. Others can be heard or read continually by preachers and *da'wah* lovers (listeners or readers). Islamic *Da'wah* should comprehend as an activity that involves a transformational process that does not just happen but requires community awareness to change the situation and condition of people for the benefit of education and communication.

The Qur'an declares itself as "*hudan li-al-nās wa-bayyināt min-al-hudā wa-al-furqān*". It offers a guide that humans can choose along with the consequences that each must accept. For this matter, religion always makes two kinds of normative guidelines: universal norms and contextual norms. Universal norms are values that apply universally and transcend space and time. These values are the will of everyone's conscience anywhere and anytime. It is a fundamental norm and is inherent in all. Some of these are equality, liberty, justice, fraternity, honor (dignity), and love. These standards are the foundation required by all human cultures. Therefore, it belongs to all people, all genders, all nations, and all creeds. On the other hand, contextual norms are views, traditions, and specific rules made to fit specific cultural and social desires. The intellectual superiority of men over women, for example, is a contextual norm. It is not a norm that applies to every man towards every woman. Therefore, these norms are not always the same for all human cultures. It is also not always permanent but undergoes a continuous process to become perfect. That's called cultural norms or culture.

If we trace the *da'wah* media at the time of the Prophet and his companions, which were called *da'wah qawliyah bi-al-lisān and da'wah fi'liyah bi-al-uswah*, the media used were very limited, such as letters (*rasā'il*). A century later *da'wah* using media, namely storytellers (*qaṣaṣ*) and written essays (*mu'allafāt*) were introduced. The latter media is growing quite rapidly and can survive to this day. In the 14th century Hijri, the development of science and technology developed rapidly. On the next level, *da'wah* uses new media such as newspapers, magazines, short stories, comics, LPs, cassettes, films, radio, television, stickers, paintings, advertisements, drama performances in the arena, poetry, singing, music, and other arts which can encourage and assist *da'wah* actors (*dā'ī-dā'iyyah*) in carrying out their duties.

As the impact of globalization and modernization that attack Islam and other religions, more than 200 million Indonesian Muslims are expressing their faith in a complex way. *Da'wah* on TVs, internet fatwa services, mass religious activities in soccer stadiums, glossy jihadist magazines, Islamic

medical treatments, almsgiving via mobile phone, and electronic sharia banking services are just some of the expressions of a more consumerism-oriented to Islam which interrelates with and sometimes replaces more traditional expressions of the faith.⁵

Women and Social Media

Data from a study conducted by the Pew Research Centre, an organization that consistently researches the internet, technology, and science, shows that women dominate the use of social media, which is 76%, while men are 72%. As many as 56% of women access Facebook. It shows the dominance of women on social media compared to men only amounted to 49.5%. As many as 41% of female social media users access it via cell phones. Women also use 30% of their time to communicate through social media, while men only use 26% of their time to interact on social media. And women spend four to five times more time using social media than men. In addition, according to research published by We Are Social, there are 79 million Facebook users from Indonesia. As many as 41 percent of them are women. Although the number is still less than that of men, the number of women who reach about 32 million is not small. The large population of female accounts on Facebook can be positively or negatively charged depending on the content they accessed.⁶

Ferris State University's publication entitled *The Five Stages of Knowing* explains the five stages of women's knowledge internalization. The first is Swichence. It is a woman who is dependent on outside influences while making decisions. The second is Received knowledge. It is women who accept pieces of knowledge but do not believe it to be true because it is contrary to the common opinion of the majority. The third is Subjective knowledge, the women who have been able to act and have standpoints but only for themselves. Fourth is procedural knowledge. It is women who know how to access knowledge independently and disseminate it. The last one has Constructed knowledge, the woman who understand knowledge contextually, make this value in daily life, and courage to make a social impact.⁷ From this category, it can be said that women who can actualize themselves in social media are women who are being in the Procedural Knowledge and Constructed Knowledge types.

However, the mass media possibly create violence against women. It would be easy to find there that women are set as news' complementary objects and exploited commodities for the sake of capital accumulation. Conservative narratives that frequently appear on social media are generally related to women's issues and associated with admirable and

disgraceful practices. At the same time, thematic discussions on social media are controlled by conservative narratives. In the gender topic, for example, conservative notions are widely used in constructing views about the subordination of women. This narrative ignores equality. The Narratives about women-only dwell on a limited scope of their roles as children, mothers, and wives. The dominance of conservative sketches on gender issues and the high proportion amid women could lead to the intergenerational transmission of conservatism.

Some research shows that women are the most dominant users of social media. It is due to the characteristics of social media, that is involvement, openness, conversation, community, and connectedness, providing opportunities for women to be able to distribute their aspirations, feelings, and ideas to their friends, colleagues, and relatives. On the other hand, women are considered as fascinating objects to their capital owners. Through this social media, women can play a more active role in business by developing their businesses. They also can conduct their aspirations on the political field that represent the interests of women. In the psychological aspect, social media and other communication technologies can use by women can minimize their stressful feelings.⁸

And through social media, women can do various things that have a serious impact on themselves and their environment. The first is economic influence. As stated by Hanifa Ambadar, CEO of Female Daily Network, in the 2014 Startup Asia Jakarta event, 74% of women are influenced by their friends on social media and forums, 64% of women are influenced by reviews on online media and blogs. From the same research, it is known that most women use social media to access social media (88%), browse the internet (68%), read the news (68%), watch videos (62%), and access email (57%). From this description, social media is influential to women for their habit to share things with others. Women can use social media for business like selling, product launching and offering. Social media is a place for marketing communication. But on the other hand, women are also very easily influenced by social media especially in shopping.⁹

The second is political influence. Women can use social networks to spread their opinions about the political situation in their homeland. It can also be seen in the revolution of the Arab countries or known as the Arab Spring. Many Arab women have taken more action recently and it has urge the Arab Spring in several Arab countries such as Tunisia and Egypt.¹⁰

The last one is psychological influence. Social media, which has the characteristics of participation, encourages contributions and feedback

from its users, has provided opportunities for women to be more active in using social media, where previously in mainstream media, women did not get a broad role. Through the characteristics of openness, social media has become the most preferred medium for women to be able to participate and provide feedback without many barriers to accessing information or providing comments.¹¹

Barendregt (2008) said that social media consumption, especially WhatsApp for *da'wah* is an example of how the global cellular phone practice has become 'domesticated, in Indonesia, and Islamized.¹² Here are some examples of the actualization of *da'wah* in the digital era including:

1. *Da'wah* via YouTube

Social media called YouTube can also be used as a medium for *da'wah* in the cyber era. Its use is also not difficult and very easy. a dai-Daiya can create an email account for this YouTube application and then register it. After being verified, each *dā'ī-dā'iyah* already has a YouTube account and can be used to spread *da'wah* messages. One of the YouTube accounts containing Islamic lectures is Medina Syifaa, Gita Savitri Devi, and many others.

2. *Da'wah* via Facebook

Facebook is a social networking site that evolved after Friendster was introduced in 2002 by Jonathan Abrams. Mark Zuckerberg is the person who created Facebook in 2004. Global daily active users of Facebook as of June 2013 and then reached 699 million people. The five countries with the most users are the United States, Brazil, India, Indonesia, and Mexico. In Indonesia, most internet users like to open this Facebook site. The number exceeds the total number of internet users in 2012.¹³

According to Facebook, which was reported by Kompas Tekno (20/09/12), the number of Facebook users from Indonesia per day is around 33 million people. 55 million active users are using Facebook mobile every day. Meanwhile, monthly active users of Facebook via the web in Indonesia reach 65 million people. According to a survey by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) last year, the number of cyber users in Indonesia is approximately 63 million people. Facebook is a social network in great demand by the public because it is easy, free, and applicable. One of the Facebook applications is a fan page and group. A group is a combination of individuals or groups that have the same goal. While Facebook fan page is an application from Facebook for fans of a profile, product, or blog where fans of the fan page can join by clicking the like button on the Facebook fan page. This application also

allows Facebook users to connect to a certain group.¹⁴

3. *Da'wah* via Whatsapp

Whatsapp has become a required application for smartphone owners now. Whatsapp which has 900 million active users in September 2015, has many features that make it more than just a chat application. There are many ways to use Whatsapp, and it all depends on the user. There are several ways to use WhatsApp for *da'wah*. The first is to create a discussion group. In many occurrences there was a viral incident (spreads like a virus), then the news can reach several groups in a relatively short time. The second is by creating a broadcast list. The difference is with broadcast lists, all members cannot interact with each other with unlimited members.

4. *Da'wah* via Instagram

According to Statista (2018), Instagram is the most popular social media among Indonesian people. Preachers generally spread Islamic messages through videos using Instagram. They resemble creative *da'wah* concepts through videos on Instagram to educate, motivate, or change the behavior of *da'wah* targets (Instagram users) to become more religious. Before the era of globalization, religious studies were delivered directly by *Ustaz*. Usually, religious messages delivered by *Ustaz* can be easily accessed by Moslem in various mosques and Islamic studies centers. The internet provides opportunities for preachers to spread Islamic teaching creatively and effectively.

5. *Da'wah* via Twitter

Most Twitter users in Indonesia use Twitter as a medium for campaigning, venting, trading, and even preaching. How do *da'wah* accounts convey so many messages with only 140 characters? On Twitter, there is the term "Kultwit". Kultwit allows *da'wah* accounts to spread religious messages to his congregation by posting Islamic teaching. Kultwit is also usually followed by hashtags about issues that are currently being discussed.¹⁶

Hashtag symbolized by a hash sign (#) serves to find similar words that have been posted by other users and serve as a unifying idea between Twitter users. The hashtags that are most often posted lead to it as a trending topic. One of the hashtags from *da'wah* accounts in Indonesia that had become a trending topic was the hashtag #TolakMissWorld which many *da'wah* accounts against the world beauty event held in Bali.¹⁷

Social media produced actors in the social media space. Interestingly, they often don't have religious education backgrounds. According to the

character of social media, a person can be acknowledge as a "religious leader" if he has many followers, subscribers, or viewers. They become a reference on religious issues. Religious authorities in these online *da'wah* activities belong to their followers. There are many examples of Muslim scholars who use social media, for example, Adi Hidayat, Abdul Somad, Hanan Attaki, Yusuf Mansur, Felix Siaw, and others.

Woman Ulama's Authority in Social Media

Before the rapid development of social media, as it is today, women have been in contact with mainstream media (mass media) such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines, and others. Mass media has become a powerful instrument of social control and social construction, and women come to be the audience that Baudrillard called the silent majority.¹⁸

This new media becomes a canal for cultural and structural female ulama figures to exhibit their identity and compete as religious leaders, *dā'iyah*, motivators, and so on, both the famous preacher (*dā'iyah*) and the local ones. They have unique characters and different styles of communication.¹⁹ The presence of women on dawah online is considered as a reaction to some trends in cyberspace like cybersex, terrorist propaganda, and hate agitation. This women's *da'wah* movement is certainly more active in positioning itself as a moral guardian who struggles to introduce Islamic morals against moral hazard.²⁰

Now, it is no longer assumed that a woman's voice is aurat so it becomes taboo for the Muslim community. There is no longer any difference between men and women. Many professions that are done by men, can also be done by women. For example, many female teachers or *Ustazah* use their voices to spread Islamic teaching. For example, in conservative *da'wah* sites, women are rarely given a place to talk about themselves. Women are often treated as the object of many activities. Can girls dress up? Can a woman leave the house without her husband's permission? Can women work in public spaces? Can women be leaders? Most of these questions were answered by male clerics with answers that were often more restrictive than accommodative one.

According to Bintan Humeira in his dissertation, the construction of Muslim women's religious authority is essentially inseparable from their social practices in the offline area. On the other hand, what happens on offline is also influenced by social practices in online spaces. She also explained that his object research is ordinary women who used social media (Facebook) and now have hundreds of thousands of followers. Later, she was recognized by his followers as a woman who have religious authority.²¹

The presence of women ulama who interact actively through online platforms provides opportunities for Muslim women to choose different information about Islamic teaching in a proportional and personal. Without having to worry about getting the public spotlight. Although the problems discussed are private problems that many women find in their daily lives. It is easier for them to help each other through dialogue with *Nyai* or fellow worshipers. When they are here to seek, the activities of clerics in the public sphere also intensify and strengthen their position and identity as religious leaders in front of their followers.

On the other hand, Islamic boarding schools as producers of prospective ulama must adapt and transform in line with the time. Otherwise, the continuance of *pesantren* can be imperiled, and its alumni will become the outsiders in their time. The rise of social media has become a forum for sharing ideas and information, expanding networks, and changing the way of thinking of *pesantren* so that they are more flexible toward the times.²²

The increasing number of female *santri* and the daughters of *Kiai* who have access to formal higher education has opened up opportunities for them to get involved in many sectors outside the *pesantren* such as entrepreneurship or content creator in social media. Even their presence in the digital area has given a new color so-called “*santrinizing* digital world”. According to Ramage (1995) and Hefner (2000), this tendency began from the process of *santrinization* in the 1970s and until the late 1990s.²³

Various rooms for discussion, consultation, advocacy, and the spread of unstoppable *da'wah* messages have started to load the online pages of Indonesian women ulama. Among the women's *da'wah* groups is the community of Islamic Gender Study (KGI), which was founded by Nur Rofi'ah, has a critical and analytical movement on various media platforms, such as Zoom, Skype, Google Meet, Instagram, and Youtube. At the same time, individual *da'wah* movements on social media were arisen by so many young Muslim women. There are Durratun Nafisah Zaim²⁴ (*Pesantren Kauman Lasem*), Ienas Tsuroiyya²⁵ (*Pesantren Raudlatut Thalib. Leteh Rembang*) on Channel YouTube Pondok Kauman Lasem, with the theme of recitation of the book of Tafsir Al Ibriz comb.ed with Tafsir Iklil and Tafsir Ibnu Katsir.²⁶ In addition, Halimah Alaydrus²⁷ from the Alawiyin group, Aisyah Dahlan,²⁸ an expert on neuparenting, Kalis Mardiasih²⁹ and Esty Dyah Imaniar³⁰ from Sebelas Maret University (UNS) Solo, Youtube Ukhti Mega Official,³¹ as well as from homeland celebrities such as Mamah Dedeh,³² Lulu Susanti,³³ Ukhti Khodijah Peggy Melati Sukma,³⁴ Umi Pipik Dian Irawati,³⁵ Oky Setiana Dewi,³⁶ *Ustazah* Mumpuni Handayayekti,³⁷ Neno Warisman,³⁸ Wirda Mansur,³⁹ *Ustazah*

Aini Aryani,⁴⁰ and others. There was a Pre-Halaqah for Women Ulama activity initiated by the Center for Islamic Studies (PSP) which managed to gather 20 female ulama representing 20 Islamic boarding schools from various regions through the Zoom application untitled "The Way of *Da'wah* in Social Media and Strengthening Islamic Literacy."⁴¹

The increasing popularity of ulama women in social media is always followed by their efforts to maintain and expand their influence offline or online. Some of them increase the activities of majelis taklim or Hajj Guidance Groups (KBIH). Therefore, the challenge of the existence of *Nyai* and *Ustazah* in the public sphere is also getting harder, especially in struggling over the stigmatization of their existence which is considered as religious commodification and capitalization.

The meaning of woman ulama requires qualifications, namely religious capacity, education experiences, and morals. Religious capacity includes knowledge background from *pesantren*, mastery of Islamic books, have a broad insight, and being a reference in making decisions. The aspects of practice include social functions such as unifying the umma, honesty, and trustworthiness. In the local community, the area of authority of the ulama is usually limited to Islamic institutions such as mosques and madrasas. That well-known *ustazah*, *dā'iyah*, and influencers cannot be fully relied on in legal and scholarly Islamic scholarship or ulama. It is because someone can only give a fatwa because of his or her capacity as an Islamic scholar. In addition, scholars must also understand and be sensitive in analyzing the social circumstances that tend to change.

Women ulama become role models for the people in their daily behavior, worship, and in social relationships. Women ulama are considered to take a significant role in formulating policies, especially those related to religious life in the country. Those female clerics become daily references because cultural media is a good way to develop the complexity of humanity. It is because its existence reaches the deepest area of human cognition.

Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that on social media women ulama have the same authority as men. *Da'wah* is not only the responsibility of male religious leaders, but also women ulama. Every believer is expected to perform this holy duty to his ability. One of the easiest ways of *da'wah* is to spread Islamic teaching through short messages. The need for the millennials to appear to spread Islam with their characteristics. They can provide Islamic content as simple and interactive so that it can be followed by millennials. Therefore, maximizing the

role of millennial Muslim women in the 4.0 era. is a necessity. *Dā'iyah* or *ustazah* who appear on social media does not break Islamic traditions. The appearance of women preaching in public spaces (social media) is a necessity and the government must be present to provide facilities so that those female ulama can increase their capacity so that they can make improvements to their followers.[]

Endnotes

1. M. Khodafi, “*Nyai Panggung: Dari Podium Menuju Ruang Digital (Fenomena Eksistensi Penceramah Perempuan Dalam Komunitas Nahdlatul Ulama)*” (Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Airlangga, 2021). <http://repository.unair.ac.id/104480/>
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3. E. E. Lubis, “Potret media sosial dan perempuan,” *Jurnal Paralela* Vol. 1, No. 2 (2014): 97-106. <https://paralela.ejournal.unri.ac.id/index.php/JPRL/article/view/2864/2805>
4. David Bell, *An Introduction to Cybercultures* (London: Routledge, 2001).
5. Gregg Fealy & Sally White, *Expressing Islam* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008).
6. S. B. Helpiastuti, “Media Sosial dan Perempuan (Analisis Wacana terhadap Facebook Sebagai Media Komunikasi Terkini Bagi Perempuan)” and E. E. Lubis, “Potret Media Sosial dan Perempuan,” 97-106.
7. <https://www.dw.com/id/ulama-perempuan-untuk-keadilan-gender-dan-dunia-anti-kekerasan/a-4200087> accessed in 22 Oktober 2021 at 16:00
8. E. E. Lubis, “Potret media sosial dan perempuan,” 97-106.
9. E. E. Lubis, “Potret media sosial dan perempuan,” 97-106.
10. E. E. Lubis, “Potret media sosial dan perempuan,” 97-106.
11. E. E. Lubis, “Potret media sosial dan perempuan,” 97-106.
12. Ellys Lestari Pambayun, “Identitas *Dakwah* Perempuan dengan Techno-Religion,” *El Madani: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2020): 123-140.
13. <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2013/09/20/1629066/tiap.hari.33.juta.orang.indonesia.buka.facebook>. accessed on 22 Oktober 2021 at 15:31.
14. <http://tekno.kompas.com/read/2013/09/20/1629066/tiap.hari.33.juta.orang.indonesia.buka.facebook>.
15. Febri Nurrahmi & Puteri Farabuana, “Efektivitas *Dakwah* Melalui Instagram.” *Nyimak: Journal of Communication* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2020): 1-16.
16. <https://www.kompasiana.com/iqlimawinata/54f4210a745513a32b6c86de/manfaat-twitter-sebagai-media-dakwah> accessed on 22 Oktober 2021 at 15: 02.
17. <https://www.kompasiana.com/iqlimawinata/54f4210a745513a32b6c86de/manfaat-twitter-sebagai-media-dakwah>
18. Lubis, “Potret Media Sosial dan Perempuan,” 97-106.
19. Perempuan and Perempuan Ulama
20. KUPI 2017 produces the terms female ulama and ulama female. female ulama contain biological references as all women who have authoritative scientific capacities in certain fields. Meanwhile, ulama females are all women and men who have scientific authority and can view issues with the perspective of essential justice in gender relations.
21. Ellys Lestari Pambayun “Identitas *Dakwah* Perempuan dengan Techno-Religion,” 123-140.
22. <https://jurnalistikuinjkt.com/disertasi-dosen-media-sosial-dan-otoritas-keagamaan/>

- accessed on 21 Oktober 2021 at 19:00.
23. <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik> accessed in 22 Oktober 2021 at 19:00.
 24. M. Khodafi, "Nyai Panggung"
 25. She taught the Kitab Al-Ibriz intensively in the month of Ramadan through the Lens *Santri* youtube channel
 26. Inas Tsuroiya is also active on Twitter and Instagram with 13.9k Instagram followers (on 23 October 2021)
 27. Ellys Lestari Pambayun "Identitas *Dakwah* Perempuan dengan Techno-Religion," 123-140.
 28. *Ustazah* Halimah Alaydrus has various social media with 421k Instagram followers, Youtube with 14k subscribers, and twitter (on October 23, 2021)
 29. *Ustazah* Aisyah Dahlan is a neurologist who actively preaches on Islamic parenting. She has various Instagram social media with 208k Instagram followers, and her lecture videos are spread on various youtube accounts and facebook fanspages (on October 23, 2021)
 30. An activist and author of books and columns with a gender perspective who is active on Twitter and Instagram with 114k followers (on October 23, 2021).
 31. An author of hijrah books and columns and active on twitter.
 32. Youtube channel belonging to young people who migrated with the jargon of young marriage with 51.2k subscribers and 3.9k facebook (data October 23, 2021)
 33. A *dā'iyah* who is famous for her jargon, curhat dong mah. Active on Indosiar (national private TV channel), on Instagram with 13.5k followers, several Facebook fanspages with tens of thousands of members (data October 23, 2021)
 34. A *dā'iyah* who uses a doll named Ina as her *da'wah* partner. Active on several national private TVs and has several social media accounts such as Instagram with a total of 42.4k followers (data October 23, 2021)
 35. A former soap opera star who performed hijrah and actively preaches by motivating women. Active on various social media such as Instagram with 38.3k followers (data October 23, 2021)
 36. Former cover girl of various magazines and wife of the late Ustadz Jefri Al-Bukhari actively preaches with 1.6 million Instagram followers (data October 23, 2021)
 37. An actress, writer, and preacher. And active on various tv channels. Has 124k Instagram followers (data 23 October 2021)
 38. *Ustazah* who won the 2014 Indosiar dai aksi and 2017 asia aksi. He is known for his sharp accent. Has 184k Instagram followers (data 23 October 2021)
 39. Former singer, film actor, and has also tried to be a politician. Active on social media and has 15.5k followers on Instagram (data October 23, 2021)
 40. A preacher, entrepreneur, writer, selebgram, influencer, and daughter of Ustadz Yusuf Mansur. Active on various social media and become an influencer for millennial children. Has 2.8 million followers on Instagram (data October 23, 2021)
 41. An *Ustazah* who is active in the Rumah Fiqih and as a preacher on Trans TV. Has 18.2k followers on Instagram (data October 23, 2021)
 42. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/04/21/21590011/bnpt.dan.fatayat.lantik.500.juru.dakwah.perempuan.anti-> accessed on October, 22 2021.

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