



MAKING FATWA IN POPULAR ISLAMIC INSTAGRAM ACCOUNT IN INDONESIA: PLANNING, PRODUCTION, AND AUDIENCE FEEDBACK

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Abstract

Keywords:

*fatwa;
bincangsyariah.com;
Instagram;
islami.co;
rumasyho.com*

This study uses a production organization perspective on the process of creating content in the form of fatwas on Instagram accounts in Indonesia. During the rise of “online muftis” through various social media platforms, this study describes the process of producing and disseminating fatwa content published by “online muftis” on islami.co, bincangsyariah.com, and rumasyho.com. This research combines field research methods and content analysis as analytical methods. In the research, the writer acts as a follower to observe, reconstruct dialogue, describe, and document information and activities virtually. Then the results of the analysis are described descriptively.

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This study concludes that the creation of digital content in the form of online fatwas released by islami.co, rumaysho.com, and bincangsyariah.com on Instagram is motivated by several factors, namely the manager's background, methodology for taking fatwas, and questions asked by followers in the media social. The leaders and editors of the three media outlets issue fatwas by adapting, simplifying, and restating existing ulema's fatwas to be published on social media in the form of short videos or infographics.

Kata kunci:

fatwa;
bincangsyariah.com; [Instagram](https://www.instagram.com);
islami.co;
rumaysho.com

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menggunakan perspektif organisasi produksi terhadap proses pembuatan konten berbentuk fatwa di akun *Instagram* di Indonesia. Di tengah maraknya “*mufti online*” melalui berbagai *platform* media sosial, penelitian ini menggambarkan proses produksi dan diseminasi konten fatwa yang dipublikasikan oleh para “*mufti online*” di islami.co, bincangsyariah.com, dan rumaysho.com. Penelitian ini menggabungkan metode riset lapangan dan analisis konten sebagai metode analisis. Dalam penelitian, penulis berperan sebagai pengikut untuk mengamati, merekonstruksi dialog, mendeskripsikan, dan mendokumentasikan informasi dan kegiatan secara virtual. Kemudian hasil analisis dijelaskan secara deskriptif. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa pembuatan konten digital berbentuk fatwa *online* yang dirilis oleh islami.co, rumaysho.com, dan bincangsyariah.com di *Instagram* dilatari oleh beberapa faktor, yaitu latar belakang pengelola, metodologi pengambilan fatwa, dan pertanyaan yang diajukan oleh para pengikutnya di media sosial. Pimpinan dan redaksi ketiga media mengeluarkan fatwa dengan mengadaptasi, menyederhanakan, dan menyajikan kembali fatwa ulama yang ada untuk dipublikasikan di media sosial dalam bentuk video pendek atau infografis.

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INTRODUCTION

The fatwa is a dynamic Islamic legal institution (Caeiro, 2006). Fatwas have developed from time to time, both in content, methodology, and media for their dissemination. Fatwa's content evolves according to specific social, political, cultural, and economic conditions. In Indonesia, for example, during the colonial period, the archipelago of the ulama issued many laws similar to non-Muslims (Gade, 2015). One of them was the law to use cultural products of the colonial nation, such as leather trousers, jackets, and ties. Likewise, with the fatwa methodology, at the time of the school's founders, they immediately used the method of Islamic law to draw legal conclusions (Azra, 2013).

Meanwhile, after the codification of the school of thought, most scholars only referred to the fatwas or the opinion of the established madhab ulama (Agrama, 2010). The fatwa in the classic period was more personal and private from the subject's side. However, in some countries, the fatwa was more collective and institutionalized during the nation-state era. So that in Indonesia, MUI, or the Indonesian Ulama Council, was an independent institution that accommodated the Indonesian ulama and had the authority to issue fatwas. Various fatwa institutions from community organizations have also grown and issued fatwas, such as the Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council (*Majelis Tarjih Muhammadiyah*) and the Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama Institute. Each of these institutions has its methodology for answering the questions that ask fatwa (*al-mustafti mustafti*) poses (Wahid, 2014).

Besides, the media for distributing fatwas has also undergone significant changes. Initially, the fatwa was an oral tradition in which the media for spreading it was the oral *mufti* itself (Khairuldin, Ismail, Anas, Ibrahim, & Fauzi, 2017). When Muslims were familiar with written media, fatwas were disseminated through writing. In the digital era, offline fatwas in oral and written forms have developed into fatwas in virtual spaces (*online*). This development is supported by the growth of information and communication technology, which facilitates the broader dissemination of religious fatwas.

Bruinessen (2010) said that the democratization of opinions or fatwas has increased since Muslims use the internet. The Internet provides space for “online *muftis*” to answer *mustafti* (who ask *fatwa*) questions regarding Islamic law. Even the online fatwa also gives the *mustafti* an option to ask the *mufti* what they want to be answered (Bunt, 2003). This phenomenon makes the fatwa authority increasingly fragmented, where one institution can no longer monopolize fatwas (Fealy & White, 2018). The online *mufti* poses a challenge to the authority of the fatwa institutions that are already established. More questions are asked online than offline *mufti* (Chawki, 2010). Anyone can freely ask the online *mufti* without following the fatwa administration process (Hosen, 2008).

According to Bunt (2000), the internet increases the number of virtual societies seeking alternative Islamic interpretations outside of the growing religious understanding of the real world. The question and answers column in the online fatwa media is never empty of *mustaftis*. The progressive development of online fatwas makes *mustaftis* appear every day who ask online *mufti* about Islamic issues. Interestingly, online *mufti* adapts the fatwa product to the needs of the *mustafti* and the platform they use. Also, online fatwa products became more varied than offline fatwas from conventional institutions. Online fatwa products also come in videos, pictures, and short writings. The duration of the availability of

online fatwas for *mustafti* is also very fast. Apart from that, the online fatwa platform also provides options to keep *mustafti*'s identity a secret so that *mustafti* can consult freely, without any hindrance or embarrassment, as is the case face-to-face in an offline fatwa institute (McKenna & West, 2007). The emergence of online media that provides fatwa content is a part of the mediation of fatwas. Mediation refers to a situation where it becomes an important source. The social, political, and economic forces that exist in society adjust to the logic of the media to influence the audience (Triputra, 2017). So, the mediation of fatwas can be described as a phenomenon of fatwa publication through online media, which serves as a reference for the general public and can influence the religious way of society.

Besides the concept of *online mufti*, another important concept that will be used in this research is organization production. As part of the media studies issue, that concept will portray the scrutinizingly of the whole process of creating media content. However, what is produced by an online *mufti* is inevitably part of media products. Then it can be stated that the use of organizational production is relevant while searching for the content creation method by the internet *mufti*. According to Branston & Stafford (2010), organization production portrays three steps of media production: pre-production, production process, and post-production. And within the very fast duration and never stop ending process both as characteristics of online media, that organization production became an inseparable concept to this object study.

The concept of *mediating religion* is a term that has long been recognized in media studies. This concept emerged in the study of religion and media pioneered by Stig Hjarvard in 2008. Since then, new media researchers in the West have prioritized studying religious relations with the media. This wave arises because the new media has become one of the main sources of *religious ideas* in Muslim and non-Muslim contexts (Hoover, 2012). This spirit has made religious followers more enthusiastic

about sharing their religious beliefs and values through social media. All questions and religious curiosity can be answered by simply typing a few words into a search engine or uploading pictures or videos of *muftis* online on the online platform (Abdullah, 2017).

Prior study has demonstrated the connection between religion and the internet. On *Instagram*, Nisa (2018) explored the *da'wah* of Muslim women. More broadly, Zulhazmi & Hastuti (2018) described the phenomenon of *da'wah* on social media. In addition, several scholars have also paid attention to religious behavior in cyberspace (Arifin, 2019; Weng, 2018; Khisbiyah & Thoyibi, 2018; Shariffadeen & Manaf, 2019; Wahyudi, 2021).

If we look back, Zaleski (1999) had critically highlighted spirituality in cyberspace. Zaleski called cyberspace a free arena with many features, which are not always positive. However, cyberspace must be accepted as technological advancement, but all bad things from the cyber world must be rejected.

More specifically, previous research has also explored the dynamics of Islamic media in Indonesia. Researchers have described the development of Islamic media from various perspectives (Muhtadi, 2007; Mundiri & Tohet, 2018; Mustofa, 2019; Rahmawan, Adiprasetyo, & Janitra, 2018; Rusmulyadi, 2013; Steele, 2018; Zulhazmi, 2015). Some of these studies seek to reveal the religious ideology adopted by Islamic media managers. At the same time, some others describe how these media package religious discourse in digital media.

This study intends to fill in the gaps in previous research on Islamic media. Three online Islamic media have become objects of study, namely *islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumaysbo.com*. There are several arguments why the three media were chosen. Firstly, these three online Islamic fatwas are considered the most famous Islamic media based on the ranking website by Alexa. Then it is published in chart graphic by Streetwise

Project of *islami.co*. Knowing that the chart is fluctuating daily, what it must be stated that the used chart graphic is the last quarter update of 2019. However, the chart of website ranking positions is dynamically changed. In 2021, published by Numedia Digital Indonesia, *islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumaysbo* are sequentially ranked among the top 10 Islamic websites in Indonesia. In fact, the Alexa rank feature has been off since May 2022 than we swift website rank's reference to *similarweb.com*. According to *similarweb* data that Google Analytics measures, *rumaysbo.com* is at the top of three websites, followed by *bincangsyariah.com* and *islami.co*.

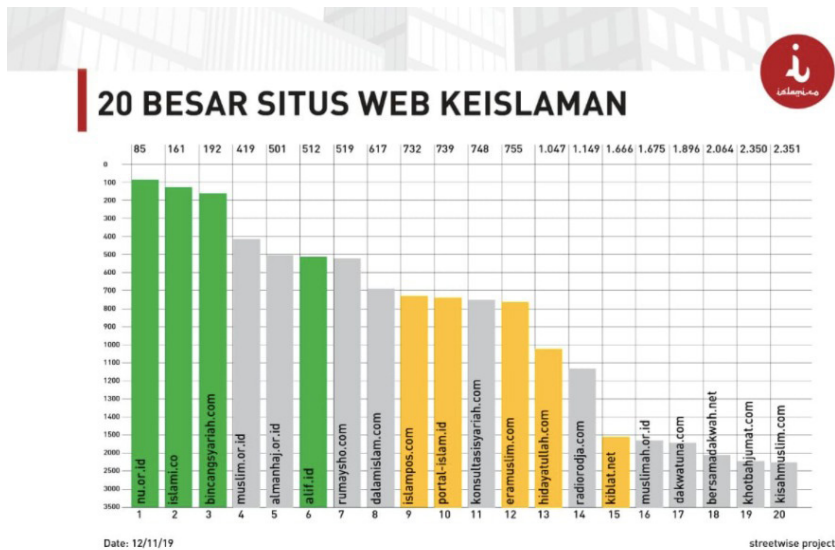


Figure 1. Islamic Website Ranking In Indonesia 2019

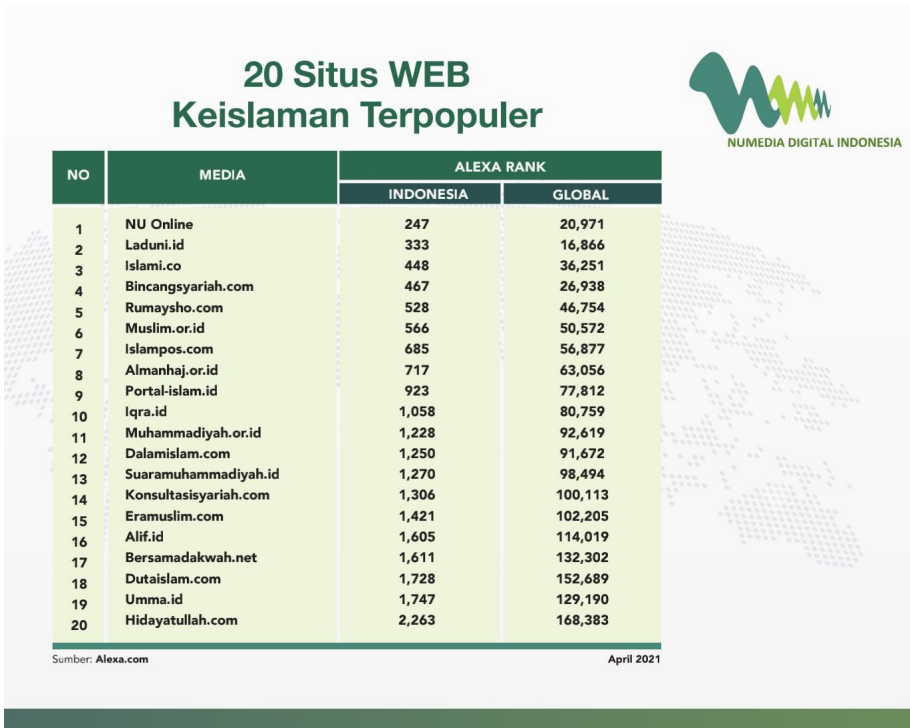


Figure 2. Islamic Website Ranking In Indonesia 2021

And based on the graph, we classify websites that are not linked with such religious organizations as *nu.or.id* (also known as NU Online), the official website for Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and websites that represent Muhammadiyah, such as *muhammadiyah.or.id* or *suaramuhammadiyah.id*. Even one of those websites is the most famous Islamic website based on that graph (both graphs from *islami.co* and Numedia). We also classify websites that routinely have published content on their *Instagram* account, including contents of the online fatwa. Through these three *Instagram* accounts, the author will discuss the production process of fatwa-related content in three of the most famous Islamic media outlets in Indonesia, beginning with the fatwa themes that will be covered, the methodology used in creating

content, and how the editorial boards of these media outlets evaluate the impact of their fatwa content on their followers and viewers.

METHODS

This research was conducted in 2020, combining field research and content analysis of produced contents of the fatwa. In practice, what we mean by field research is make several interviews with persons in charge of the editorial board in all these three media (*islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumasyho.com*). Caused of the pandemic situation, most of the interviews proceeded through online platforms like *Whatsapp* chat and others similar to it. After we have grabbed sources of data from editorial boards of media, we combine it with content analyses of produced content of fatwa in their *Instagram* accounts. We have limited produced content only from 2018-2019, and we limited analysis of impact only to the five most liked content in each *Instagram* account during that period.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Production Process In Popular Islamic Instagram Accounts

Case 1: *islami.co*. *islami.co* is an online orienting towards disseminating information and ideas which supports the growth of a society full of tolerance and peace, “*baladatun thayyibatun*,” who was blessed by God and dreamed by all humans. *islami.co* was founded by Muhammad Syafi’ Alielha (known as Savic Ali) on February 29, 2012. Savic Ali stated that *islami.co* came from his anxiety about the massive amount of provocative and hateful Islamic information easily on the internet. Savic said the problem is that Islamic content that can be easily found on the Internet is filled by those who actively spread provocative and hateful content (Ali & Purwandi, 2020).

Savic Ali is still active as a director of *islami.co*. Savic Ali founded *islami.co* when he was also the director of the NU Online website owned

by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Savic Ali admits that colleagues and people who know him often ask why his focus is insufficient to manage the NU Online website (*nu.or.id*). According to him, *islami.co* has a different target than NU Online. Generally, internet site users are still in big cities, including Jakarta in the capital.

Meanwhile, the majority of NU's congregation are not in big cities. Furthermore, in many contexts, such as in Jakarta, the desire to feel unaffiliated with any organization influences people's choice of accessing Islamic content, even though it may be the same as that of religious organizations, such as in practice Nahdlatul Ulama. As research by Alvares reports, 79 million people over the age of 17 claim to be close to NU. However, of this amount, only 20 million claim to be actively connected with NU, assuming that the total population of Indonesia is 250 million, with 40 million non-Muslims accounting for approximately 100 million persons who do not consider themselves to be members of any Islamic organization group (Ali & Purwandi, 2020).

Savic Ali noted that at that time, Islamic content appeared to delegitimize religious practices commonly practiced by Indonesians, such as the justification of gathering people to recite *surah* Yasin (also known as *Yasinan*) and tahlil-activities on Thursday nights as deviant sufistic practices. They were intolerant sites sharing hate content. According to Savic Ali, these sites reflect the terrorism movement because their content always leads to terror calls against Muslims in other regions. Management of *islami.co* is divided into several teams, including the editorial team, video editing, and IT. The editorial team consisted of Savic Ali, Hengki Ferdiansyah, Dedik Priyanto, M. Alvin Nur Choironi, Rifqi Fairuz, and Anwar Kurniawan. Although not all members of the *islami.co* editorial team has a bachelor's degree, and all members have received a pesantren education at the high school level.

islami.co targets urban and middle-class people as readers and their prominent followers. Therefore, social media of *islami.co* contains Islamic legal contents (fatwa) and verily considers its message to their segment of readers by mainstreaming messages of tolerance, inclusiveness, and peace in various other content on his *Instagram* official account. According to the editorial boards of *islami.co*, *islami.co* social media use *counter-narrative* approach to the contents of hatred by associated-Islamic people towards other groups, calls to harm other Muslim groups and is charged with terrorism movements to lead to a conservative Islamic view. *islami.co* always pays attention to the actuality and good references on every content on *Instagram* and *platforms* other social media. Therefore, *islami.co* applies the concept of *five foundations of morality* as the standard in making any content that aims to avoid the content of various post-published polemics. The five foundations were morality, among others, *care* (care); *fairness* (honesty); *loyalty* (sincerity); *authority* (respect against authority); and *sanctity* (obedience to value).

Some of the *Instagram islami.co* content is also sourced from articles published on the *islami.co* website. The content is then transformed into an infographic that presents the cores of the message conveyed in the article with more attention to the use of a total mix of colors. Therefore, published content tends to use diverse colors. For example, as explained by Choironi, in the infographic “Prophet’s Respect for the Body Jews,” they use a combination of dark and light blue. Physically *islami.co* always includes the logo *islami.co* with bright red color and font that looks made with Arabic script style in the contents, both in infographics and videographies (Interview with Choironi, 2020).

Case 2: *bincangsyariah.com*. *bincangsyariah.com* is a product of the el-Bukhari Institute’s publication and social media division, founded by the late Ali Mustafa Yaqub. *bincangsyariah.com* was founded by Abdul Karim Munthe, Hengki Ferdiansyah, and M. Khoirul Huda in 2013 as one of the

Hadith Studies Foundations, which has aims introducing and popularizing hadith studies in Indonesia among scholars of Islamic Higher Education, Islamic Boarding Schools, and the general public. The three founders of *bincangsyariah.com* are alumni of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Islamic Boarding School Darus-Sunnah. According to Munthe, the direction and purpose of all *bincangsyariah.com* content, whether uploaded to the website or social media, cannot be divorced from el-Bukhari Institute's grand vision, which is to establish the prophetic tradition for humanity and civilization by assisting in the resolution of humanitarian issues and the advancement of civilization through hadith knowledge. Even so, *bincangsyariah.com* remains open to new approaches to understanding Islam, a contextual approach. This orientation is what distinguishes *bincangsyariah.com* from other websites. Ibn Kharish also emphasized that the issues discussed at *bincangsyariah.com* are always based on scientific principles and Islamic science. So when explaining a problem, *bincangsyariah.com* always refers to Al-Qur'an, hadith, and the opinions of authoritative scholars that are not textually understood (Interview with Kharis, 2020).

bincangsyariah.com currently has three permanent editors, Ibnu Kharish, who also serves as editor in chief, M. Masrur Irsyadi as managing editor, and Ayu Alfiah Jonas. *bincangsyariah.com* also has hundreds of regular contributors from various circles. Hundreds of these contributors make the *bincangsyariah.com* website capable of uploading up to 15 posts per day. The number of website readers can reach hundreds of thousands daily or the equivalent of millions of readers each month. Ibnu Kharish said that one of the strengths of the *bincangsyariah* website is the keywords in popular search engines.

“If the website is the strength of *Google*, the target is people who search for Islamic keywords on *Google*, and the hope is that if they are looking for Islamic information, starting from prayers and hajj, which is clicked on *bincangsyariah.com*. But if

the goal of social media is to target people who are actively using social media, they might not be initially interested in the propagation of Islam, but who knows if there *bincangsyariah* content *appear* on their timeline, we see content.” (Interview with Kharis, 2020).

Besides the website, *bincangsyariah.com* has also developed several social media platforms in 2018, such as *Twitter*, *Facebook*, *Instagram*, and *YouTube*. This social media platform was designed to target the millennial generation who are more familiar with social media, especially *Instagram* and *Youtube*. Based on this progressive achievement, the *IB Times* research results place *bincangsyariah* in second place as the most significant Islamic site in Indonesia (RedaksiIB, 2020). Compared to other competitors, the age of *bincangsyariah.com* social media is still very young. However, *bincangsyariah.com*'s social media followers have grown a lot. *bincangsyariah.com* already has 30,100 *followers* on *Twitter*, with tweets reaching 33,900. On *Instagram*, *bincangsyariah.com* has around 13,800 followers with 568 posts; on *Facebook*, *bincangsyariah.com* has 12,858 followers. Then the number of *bincangsyariah.com*'s subscribers in *YouTube* has reached 51,900, with 3,731,373 *views*.

Generally, the *Instagram* contents of *bincangsyariah.com* is not created independently because most of the contents are modified or deserve main ideas from writings on the *bincangsyariah.com* website. The social media team also produces *Instagram* content. The social media team consists of three individuals with different responsibilities, including determining post themes, creating content in the form of videos and images, publishing on all social media according to the timeline, *Instagram*, *Twitter*, *Facebook*, and *YouTube*, and responding to netizens' comments about the content. Ibnu Hayyan, head of social media at *bincangsyariah.com*, stated that most *Instagram* content is derived from website writings.

However, some content is specially produced for *Instagram* and not previously published; the amount is not much. The *bincangsyariah.com* website consists of several sections: Kalam, Khazanah, Ubudiyah (writings on worship), *dhiker* and prayer, woman, and interviews. Each article in those columns is converted into images and videos; the language is changed to casual language to make it easier to be understood and disseminated on *Instagram*. The process of turning articles into pictures or videos is not easy.

Moreover, pictures and videos have limited space; this differs from articles on websites with no restrictions. This transfer is carried out by taking into account the tendency of *Instagram* users to prefer concise, dense video content with a duration of no more than one minute. It shows the challenges for Islamic content fillers on social media so that the content presented is not misunderstood; the message is complete, concise, concise, and easy to understand. According to Ibnu Hayyan, images and videos in *bincangsyariah.com Instagram* content must convey the central message of a theme to followers. Then the supporting explanation regarding the themes will be explained again in the *caption*.

“The main message to be displayed in pictures and videos needs to be strengthened with attractive illustrations and designs so that it is more enjoyable to watch. The language is changed to everyday language so that the message is easy to understand for *followers*, and in principle, the theme of the *bincangsyariah.com Instagram* content is also adjusted to the interests of the *followers* because every account that follows us must have its reasons for becoming a *follower*, including to find out practical worship guidance and various opinions of scholars in understanding Islamic law.” (Interview with Hayyan, 2020)

bincangsyariah.com Instagram content in the form of published videos has several forms: video graphics, question-and-answer videos, and

videos of clerical recitation clips. Meanwhile, image content is posted in infographics and *quotes from the scholar*. The theme raised by Bincangsyariah.com is not entirely related to *fiqh* or Islamic law. Bincangsyariah.com also publishes *Instagram* content about prominent figures profiles, daily prayers, motivation, moral education, etc. issues discussed, and others. For example, when Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan decided to turn the Hagia Sophia museum into a mosque, this decision became controversial, sparking debate and conversation on social media; some agreed, and many disagreed. The *bincangsyariah.com* social media team took this momentum by broadcasting posts related to the history of Hagia Sophia. This momentum is essential to increase netizen response by adding new followers, shares, likes, or comments.

The content of worship and Islamic law contained in the *bincangsyariah.com* account can be classified into several themes: 1) the theme of criticism of the propaganda of extremist groups on behalf of Islam; 2) the theme of nationality; this discussion is intended as a criticism of people who claim nationalism is against Islam, respect for the idolatrous flag, and others; 3) the theme of religious relations, Indonesian society consists of various ethnicities and religions. Inter-religious relations are often a problem in Indonesia, such as how the law congratulates Christmas, prays for non-Muslims, distributes breastmilk to non-Muslims, etc.; 4) The theme of the family, this post about family is more focused on husband-wife interactions; 5) The worship theme, as previously stated, is the primary concern of *bincangsyariah.com*, so it is not surprising that this discussion has more content than other discussions. Religious content uploaded on *Instagram* varies from purification issues, such as compulsory bathing, fasting, prayer, etc.; 6) The theme of women, this discussion addresses explicitly problems experienced by many women, such as menstruation problems and other worship issues related to women; 7) General themes, the discussion that falls into this category varies; there are problems with

clothing, such as the veil and pants, entertainment issues, such as the law of playing music, playing chess, and so on.

Case 3: *rumaysbo.com*. The *rumaysbo.com* site consists of several columns, starting from Learning Islam; Islamic Law; Benefits of Science; *Khutbah* Manuscripts; E-Book and Video, and a *page* called “About Me” informs profile of M. Abduh Tuasikal. There are several sub-columns for the Islamic study column: morality, practice, *aqidah*, the path of truth, and family. Then the column of Islamic law consists of the sub-column of *thabarab*, prayer, fasting, *muamalah*, and *haji* and *umrah*. The *Khutbah* Manuscript column comprises several sub-columns: Friday sermons, holiday sermons, and public sermons. The content is then converted into several uploaded infographics and video graphics on the *Instagram* account *rumaysbo.com*. Person in charge and manager of all social media channels *rumaysbo.com*, starting from *Instagram*, *Facebook*, *Youtube*, *Twitter*, and podcasts, is Ricky Effendy. According to Ricky, *rumaysbo*’s followers on *Instagram* are generally millennials aged 25-34. Therefore, *rumaysbo.com* has consistently used a concise narration, pastel colors, and light fonts, deep creating *Instagram* content.

Rumaysbo divides the team into three groups in producing *Instagram* content: the pre-production team, the production team, and the editorial team. The pre-production teams process and get what content to convert into an infographic. The charge team comes in charge comes in as an *audio script* (Interview with Effendy, 2020). Furthermore, the production team was further divided into video graphics and infographics. Once the infographic or video graphics are created, the editor team is tasked with examining and correcting all aspects of the content to be uploaded, ranging from the typo visually to the elements that allow the team *rumaysbo.com* calls disinformation. *rumaysbo.com* avoids uploading contradicted content with the basic principles of making Islamic content; one content can raise debate. The last job is *editing*, after which the content is uploaded according to schedule. The *rumaysbo.com Instagram* account can publish at

least one piece of content every 7 pm daily. This whole series runs under the supervision of the central figure, M. Abduh Tuasikal.

For infographic content on *Instagram*, *rumaysbo.com* has some characteristics, including bright or pastel colors, to create a strong impression. It aims to create an iconic image in the eyes of the followers. According to Effendy (Interview with Effendy, 2020), other accounts have uploaded reset (repost) infographics infographics-mentioned. The followers or people familiar with *rumaysbo.com*'s *Instagram* content easily recognize that *rumaysbo.com* first publishes the content. The social media team *rumaysbo.com* has a strong awareness of the brand in a product. Usually, *rumaysbo.com* uses a cartoonist image illustration without a face in some *Instagram* content. *rumaysbo.com* also focuses on the comfort of followers on each social media account development by developing creativity makes content differentiation. In a *post* titled "Dating Tips Islami," content that criticizes the term "Islamic courtship" is followed by the names of several accounts associated with the *Instagram* account *rumaysbo.com*. Start from an account of M. Abduh Tuasikal himself (@mabduhtuasikal); an account which is functioned specifically for M. Abduh Tuasikal (@rumayshotv); an account selling proud products sold by the group of *rumaysbo.com* (@ruwaificom); until the so-called account is positioned as "advice for today's youth" (@muslimmyway).

To summarize, we can conclude the production process of contents from those three Islamic *Instagram* accounts in the following table:

Table 1.
Production Process Of Contents In Three Islamic *Instagram* Accounts

| Processes of Production | <i>islami.co</i> | <i>bincangsyariah.com</i> | <i>rumaysbo.com</i> |
|--|---|--|---|
| Planning Content | Managed by Editorial Teams, including <i>Instagram</i> Posts | Managed by editorial teams. Social media teams will follow Editorials for picking content decided to be posted | <i>Ustadz</i> M. Abduh Tuasikal is the only one who posts an article on the website. All member teams are managed centrally by him. |
| Number of Produced Contents | Fifteen posted articles per day. Daily posts on <i>Instagram</i> are undetermined | Fifteen published articles per day. At least one <i>Instagram</i> post each day. | At least one content per day in <i>Instagram</i> posts |
| System of Curating Contents | Under the supervision of the editorial team | PIC of social media under general supervision from Editor in Chief. | Director of the website, M. Abduh Tuasikal curates whole processes of in-charged teams |
| Transforming into <i>Instagram</i> Posts | Many posts are referred to as posted articles on the website | Most are summarized from posted articles | Summarized from posted articles |
| Type of Posts | Infographics (which concern diverse but mixed solid colors) and video graphics | Infographics, short video/one-minute video. | Mostly infographics (with pastel coloring) and video graphics |

Fatwa Contents And Its Methodology In Popular Islamic Instagram

Case 1: *islami.co*. Alvin said that most of the content published in *islami.co* is the result of proses questions and answers between the followers of the *Islami.co* about Islamic law. Therefore, *islami.co* assisted several accurate and competent contributors who write less than 15 pieces of content daily. This activity can be called a process asked for a fatwa, with the uniqueness of products fatwa is displayed on the website and *Instagram islami.co* (Bunt, 2003).

“It depends on the problems that we will answer. In principle, we always use the *salaf* scientific approach but try to make it less confusing. We make some adaptations for our readers too. When it is called a methodology, we usually answer using sources from the Quranic Exegesis (tafsīr), hadith books, or *aqwāl* (Islamic Scholar opinions) of the scholars. If necessary, use the knowledge of al-Qur’an, the science of hadith, or the science of *Ushul al-Fiqh*. But we do create these sciences as technical science for content. So, we only write in simple terms so that readers understand. So, what we script will answer points related to actual or frequent problems.” (Interview with Choironi, 2020)

Web *islami.co* develops a question and answer process between the wider community and *islami.co* through several processes: 1) they accommodate various Islamic questions from comments on each content published on *Instagram*; 2) then answer those Islamic questions by referring sequentially from Al-Qur’an, hadith, or the opinion of the ulama based on the two sources of authority; 3) Furthermore, to get a deeper understanding, the editor of *islami.co* will use various disciplinary approaches commonly used in understanding the sources of Islamic law, ranging from interpretation and knowledge, hadith and hadith science, to a tool for understanding the sources of Islamic law called the science of *ushul al-fiqh*. However, through that process, *islami.co* does not present deep content that discuss theories of Islam law in detail. They argue that the most crucial goal to be achieved in making the Islamic content is to convey to the readers or digital natives how the explanation of such law is, not how the reader can understand which scientific tools are used to conclude the explanation. The Islamic content in the form of a fatwa is then converted into the content on *Instagram* at @islamidotco. In creating content on *Instagram*, @islamidotco, the editorial team does not recruit employees who work permanently; *islami.co* always recruits as *freelancer team* to work on infographics resulting from “fatwas” regularly. Furthermore,

in writing the Islamic content in the form of a “fatwa”, according to Alvin, only the methodology was being practiced at this time. Regarding the classical Islamic repertoire, which states that a person who can be categorized as a *mujtahid* in giving a fatwa is a person who must memorize several verses, hadiths, or authoritative books, Alvin commented:

“I think now, with the availability of application tools, such as *maktabah syamilah* and so on, then this skill can be replaced by this technology, as long as the person giving the fatwa can be an expert in understanding the fields he writes, one’s ability to memorize the arguments of the Al-Qur’an, hadith, or scholars, for practical purposes when This, it is natural to replace it with this technology as long as the people who use it have the ability (expertise) in understanding the Islamic material.” (Interview with Choironi, 2020).

Case 2: *bincangsyariah.com*. Islamic online media Bincangsyariah.com is motivated by the search for Islamic content in *search engines*, especially *Google* and social media. According to Ibn Kharish, Bincangsyariah’s content is written based on three requests. First, the content was written based on search engines’ internet user demand (demand). They use a tool *Search Engine Optimization* (SEO), such as Keyword Everywhere or Semrush. Second, *Bincangsyariah’s* content is based on Islamic issues viral on social media. As in general media, *Bincangsyariah* also always responds to viral issues in opinions or just news. Third, *Bincangsyariah’s* content is written based on questions submitted to the editorial team or social media team via email or *direct messages* on *bincangsyariah’s* social media.

“By using this tool and generating specific Islamic keywords, we can find out how many of these keywords are searched for by internet users each month,” said Ibn Kharish. The *Bincangsyariah* team can prioritize writing sought after by internet users from these keywords. The relevant content must be published immediately so the issue is not outdated or stale to answer the Islamic viral issue on social media. The day was

viral, so that day had to be published. The faster it is, the more potential internet users have the potential to read. However, if the request is based on *keywords and* certain questions via social media and email, answers can be written within 2 or 3 days.” (Interview with Kharis, 2020).

The online fatwa content produced by *bincangsyariah.com* is the result of a study conducted by the board of editors of *bincangsyariah* and executed by their writers of *bincangsyariah.com* with several alternatives: 1) directly analyzing and tracing the arguments that are answers to some of the cases questioned in the Qur’an and *sahih* Hadiths; 2) can add detailed analyses by referring to answers to various public questions about a case or law in Islam through the opinions of scholars by utilizing technology media, utilizing Islamic literature books through *Maktabah Syamilah*; 3) *Bincangsyariah* contributors can also create fatwa content by searching for fatwas on several cases from popular fatwa institutions in other countries, such as *Dār al-Iftā’ al-Mishriyyah* and *Islamweb*, then publishing them on *bincangsyariah.com*.

Based on the search column on the *bincangsyariah.com* site, some of his posts do quote several fatwas from the Egyptian Fatwa Institute (*Dār al-Iftā’ al-Mishriyyah*), such as the fatwa on turning the Hagia Sophia into a mosque, fatwa playing TikTok (Masrur, 2020), fatwas on the ability to build churches in Muslim-majority countries, fatwas about celebrating Valentine’s Day. Meanwhile, the answers quoting the fatwa of *al-Lajnah al-Daimah* in Saudi Arabia are seen in the fatwa on the virtue of building a mosque, praying other than using Arabic, the fatwa not having to use shampoo when taking a big bath, the prohibition of marrying sister-in-law, and the ability to give infant formula milk.

Case 3: *rumaysbo.com*. *rumaysbo.com* produces fatwas published through their contents by gathering various questions from the community. The whole religious view to answer these questions on the *rumaysbo.com* site

depends on M. Abduh Tuasikal. In providing Tuasikal's answer using the following *nash*, namely Al-Quran and Hadith. Because according to Tuasikal, as long as the question is related to arguments, it is obligatory to answer them with Al-Quran and Hadith-based arguments which are only the reliable ones and it is cannot be refuted by other arguments, for example, in determining the impossibility of a full-face image in a human illustration. Tuasikal believes that his valid argument is haram, so as a standard image in every *Instagram* post, *rumaysbo.com* does not include faces in human illustrations. Then if there are *Ta'aruf* or differences in certain propositions among the scholars, Tuasikal answered by choosing a stronger opinion (Arabic: *Al-Rājib*) and agreed upon by many scholars in science. Almost all of the *Instagram rumaysbo.com* fatwa content is made in the form of questions from Followers and the public with short answers. Based on the search results of several infographics, the *rumaysbo.com* fatwa model is published in the following series: 1) translation of Al-Quran verses or hadiths, quotations from the opinions of the *Ulama* in several books, and can be in the form of Tuasikal "personal opinions" without any additional references to other sources; 2) On *caption*, it's added a more extensive explanation of the answers in the infographic; 3) The hadith quoted must be accompanied by the number of the hadith and the expert who narrated it or added with the statement "validated by al-Albani". However, in practice, some of these infographics are not always fatwaing from questions being asked directly to *rumaysbo.com* through *Instagram* or other media channels. Some of the fatwas are *rumaysbo.com*'s responses to the problems that are currently *happening* in the community. If there is a question whose answer has been made by the infographic, then the following is asked again by the followers; the editor will only answer the *direct message* to the observer personally (Interview with Effendy, 2020).

Audience Feedback on Popular Islamic Account Fatwa Products

Case 1: *islami.co*. Following is a report on mapping the responses of *islami.co* followers to online fatwa content published by the @islamidotco Instagram account. This section will display the five contents with the most response likes. The collection of five content to get a response like most as follows:

Table 2.
 Top Five @Islamidotco 2018-2019 Content

| No | Content | Theme | Like |
|----|--|------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | <i>Tiga Ibadah Wasiat Rasulullah (The Three Testaments Of The Prophet)</i> | <i>Ibadah (Workshop)</i> | 2.691 |
| 2 | <i>Panduan Shalat Tarawih Di Rumah (Guide To Tarawih Prayers At Home)</i> | <i>Ibadah (Workshop)</i> | 1.786 |
| 3 | <i>Penjelasan Hadis Serupa Dengan Kaum (Tasyabbuh) – K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub (Explanation Of Hadith Similar To (Tasyabbuh) People - K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub)</i> | <i>Umum (General)</i> | 1.652 |
| 4 | <i>Jadi Kafir Karena Menyerupai Kaum Lain (Becoming An Infidel For Imitating The Disbelievers)</i> | <i>Toleransi (Tolerance)</i> | 971 |
| 5 | <i>Etika Berhubungan Dengan Non-Muslim (Ethics For Dealing With Non-Muslims)</i> | <i>Toleransi (Tolerance)</i> | 888 |

From the five contents above, content about worship gets the most response compared to other content. Other content that received the third most-liked response was the explanation of hadiths similar to that of other people, in the form of a video lecture from the late K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub, a scholar who is also known as a hadith expert in Indonesia and was once the Grand Imam of the Istiqlal Mosque. It is also interesting to note that two editors at *islami.co*, Hengki Ferdiansyah, and Alvin Nur Choironi have studied at the Ma'had Darus-Sunnah Student Islamic Boarding School in South Tangerang. This pesantren was raised by the late K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub. This fact can undoubtedly influence

Islam's religious preferences in determining the authoritative references they choose to determine their religious views in various media platforms, including *Instagram*. The content raised, for example, is the viewpoint of K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub that the hadith about *tasyabbuh* is only limited in matters of sharia, not on cultural issues where there are no standard rules in religion. In fact, in the two-minute video clip, K.H. Ali Mustafa Yaqub reversed the view of the ban on *tasyabbuh* with another clear hadith. (While the authenticity or validity of hadith of *tasyabbuh* is debated), that the Prophet Muhammad SAW, even used to follow the culture of the Jews and Christians, for things that are not prohibited in religion, including following the style of combing his hair. *Islami.co* is certainly consistent with the spirit and has a strong belief from the start that Islam in principle does not contradict the ideas of cultural tolerance and multiculturalism. They explained it showed the highest content, which is contained under tolerance at numbers 4 and 5. Namely, the content entitled “Becoming An Infidel For Imitating The Disbelievers” (“*Jadi Kafir Karena Menyerupai Kaum Lain*”) and “Ethics For Dealing With Non-Muslims”. (“*Etika Berhubungan dengan Non-Muslim*”)

Case 2: *bincangsyariah.com*. The general public's response to *bincangsyariah.com*'s *Instagram* content shows how many people like the post. The method used in this study to see how many followers like Bincangsyariah's posts is by paying attention to how many people like each post. During 2018-2019, here are the six posts by *bincangsyariah.com* with the highest response.

Table 3.
Five Highest Islamic Content In @Bincangsyariah

| No. | Theme | Like |
|-----|---|-------|
| 1 | <i>Batasan Haid</i> (Menstruation Limits) | 3.320 |
| 2 | <i>Hukum Main Catur</i> (Play Chess According To Islamic Law) | 2.355 |
| 3 | <i>Hewan Darat Yang Diharamkan</i> (Land Animals That Are Forbidden) | 2.517 |
| 4 | <i>Hukum Body Shaming</i> (Body Shaming In Islamic Law) | 1.010 |
| 5 | <i>Hukum Mengadakan Tahun Baru</i> (Celebrating The New Year In Islamic Law) | 1119 |
| 6 | <i>Perempuan Haid Baca Al-Qur'an Di Android</i> (Menstruating Woman Recite The Qur'an On Android) | 1.086 |

The content with the highest response was related to daily worship and actual events. Follower *bincangsyariah.com* is very interested in menstrual limitation content, and it is proven that the total likes are very high. Many do not know about menstruation, especially those who have never received religious education. Moreover, all women must experience this process, so content related to menstruation is urgently needed. Apart from daily worship content, actual events relevant to Muslims' lives are also highly responsive, such as legal issues celebrating the new year. On every New Year's Eve, according to Ibn Kharish, this content is the most sought after because, at the end of every year, many celebrate the new year. May or may not.

Case 3: *rumaysbo.com*. For content on the @rumayshocom *Instagram* account, the number of likes from *followers* or those who view the uploaded content is indeed far more than other accounts, such as @islamidotco or @bincangsyariah. The highest range in 2018 was occupied by family-themed content with the content title "Important Questions To Ask While Doing *Taaruf*". ("*Pertanyaan Penting yang Ditanyakan Saat Ta'aruf*"), with *likes* reaching 73082. While the content in 2019, which received the

highest response, was “Listening to Music, Follow Whose Teachings?” (“*Mendengarkan Musik, Ikut Ajaran Siapa?*”), with a much higher like, which is 97515 likes. From the point of view of the discourse raised, both *taaruf* and the content of “Listening To Music, Follow Whose Teachings?” is a theme that the site has intensively promoted *rumaysbo.com* and several other Salafi sites, which indeed refuse to use the term dating at all by declaring it as is absolutely haram. However, the term *taaruf* is a term that they think does not violate Islamic teachings. Also, the issue of music, which for Salafi groups is not allowed at all. The prohibition of music is presented in a monologue, with illustrations depicting that music is forbidden by the four schools of jurisprudence in Islam, starting from Hanafiyah, Syafi’iyah, Malikiyah, and Hanabilah. The reference used is the book *Talbis Syaithan* by Ibn Jauzi.

Table 4.
Five Top Content In @Rumayshocom 2018

| No | Content | Theme | Like |
|----|---|--------------------------|--------|
| 1 | <i>Pertanyaan Penting Yang Diajukan Ketika Taaruf</i> (Important Questions To Ask While Doing Taaruf) | <i>Keluarga</i> (Family) | 73.082 |
| 2 | <i>Menghadiri Pernikahan Mantan</i> (Attending Ex's Wedding) | <i>Umum</i> (General) | 43.980 |
| 3 | <i>Artis Dan Muallaf Jadi Ustadz</i> (Artists And Converts To Become Ustadz) | <i>Umum</i> (General) | 41.876 |
| 4 | <i>Hukum Baju Merah</i> (Redshirt In The View Of Islamic Law) | <i>Umum</i> (General) | 38.477 |
| 5 | <i>Terompet Itu Budaya Yahudi</i> (Trumpet Is Jewish Culture) | <i>Umum</i> (General) | 37.445 |

Table 5.
Top Five Content @Rumayshocom In 2019

| No | Content | Theme | Like |
|----|--|------------------|--------|
| 1 | <i>Dengar Musik Ikut Siapa?</i> (Listening To Music, Follow Whose Teachings?) | Umum (General) | 97.515 |
| 2 | <i>Mandi Junub, Sudah Tabu Apa Belum?</i> (“Junub Bath Ritual”, Do You Know This Already?) | Ibadah (Worship) | 78.059 |
| 3 | <i>Ada Ustadz Yang Membolehkan Nonton Bioskop?</i> (Any Ustadz Allows Watching In The Cinema?) | Umum (General) | 77.729 |
| 4 | <i>Kapan Wanita Solat Zuhur Di Hari Jumat?</i> (When Do Women Pray Dzuhur On Friday?) | Ibadah (Worship) | 65.651 |
| 5 | <i>Tata Cara Wudu Sesuai Petunjuk Nabi</i> (Procedure For Wudhu According To The Prophet’s Instructions) | Ibadah (Worship) | 59.496 |

Throughout 2018-2019, these preferred themes from worship themes to contemporary or general issues. In fact, from these general themes, there are very actual themes, namely the themes “Artists And Converts To Become Ustadz” (“*Artis dan Muallaf Jadi Ustadz*”) to “Trumpets Is Jewish Culture” (“*Terompet Itu Budaya Yahudi*”) and “Any Ustadz Allows Watching In The Cinema?” (“*Ada Ustadz yang Membolehkan Nonton Bioskop?*”). For the second theme, we can ensure that content like this usually appears before the New Year and is always an issue repeatedly discussed. As for the first theme, *Instagram @rumayshocom* presents it in the form of a short video interviewing someone with M. Abduh Tuasikal. In essence, M. Abduh Tuasikal strongly criticized the emergence of artists and converts who later declared themselves religious leaders or *ustadz*. He even linked it with a hadith which states that Allah will forgive the scholars at the end of time, and there will be ignorant people (in religion) to believe but mislead others.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

Based on the study, we conclude that the production process of online fatwas published by *islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumaysbo.com* is influenced by several factors. The team's background is very influential in the production process. Because *rumaysbo.com* have a general formal education background but has received education to learn Arabic and Islam systematically with Salafi preachers and scholars, they had rigid rules in creating content. In *rumaysbo.com*, although they have a proportional team in production (ranging from social media managers, videographers, and graphic designers) authority of creating content is centered on M. Abduh Tuasikal with no assistance from others, and all fatwa materials must be confirmed first to him before publication.

Meanwhile, *islami.co* and *bincangsyariah.com* are managed by editors who have a history of Islamic boarding school education and study at an Islamic College. They also have proportional numbers of the team who understand Islamic Studies materials. Then, both teams regulated editorial meetings or discussions before creating content. All accepted content is published on their website and then modified into *Instagram* content containing fatwa.

The methodology used by each of these Islamic websites to answer questions posed to them or see the problems being discussed by audiences on the internet does not come out of the fatwa rules emphasized by scholars in Islamic scientific treasures, which must refer to the Al-Qur'an. A hadith and views of *fiqh* scholars can be accessed through the online application of *Maktabah Syamilah*. The references used by *islami.co*, *rumaysbo.com*, and *bincangsyariah.com* as sources of the fatwa-taking process do not only come from books but also from fatwa institutions in other countries, such as the *Darul Ifta Fatwa* in Egypt, *Lajnah al-Daimah Lil Buhuts*

wal Ifta in Saudi Arabia. In other words, the managers and editors of *islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumaysbo.com*, essentially reproducing fatwa of Ulama that had issued it hundred years ago. They issue fatwas by adapting, simplifying, and restating the fatwas of Ulama that have been published in print and often have been published. Those Islamic *Instagram* accounts publish fatwas in various forms such as short writings, videos, pictures, or infographics. Each of these media has its reference in issuing fatwas. *rumaysbo.com* generally uses a more textual approach to understanding the problem and only refers to the views of the Ulama that are by the Salafi ideology. Meanwhile, *bincangsyariah.com* and *islami.co* are more open to the views or opinions of moderate scholars in understanding contextual arguments.

The theme of the most discussed fatwa in popular Islamic *Instagram* accounts is the issue of daily worship. This content is found mostly on *Instagram islami.co*, *rumasybo.com*, *bincangsyariah.com* accounts. Specifically, the themes most discussed on the *islami.co* account besides worship is family issues, women, radicalism, tolerance, and general themes. Meanwhile, at *rumaysbo.com*, the most discussed besides worship are *muamalah*, *qurban* (sacrifice), and *akikah* (aqeeqah), food, and general themes. *bincangsyariah.com*, in addition to worship, also broadcasts posts about extremism, nationality, religious relations, family, women, and the general public.

Audience feedback on the fatwa content of *islami.co*, *bincangsyariah.com*, and *rumaysbo.com* are very diverse. Content gets the most response, does not get too much, and is mid-level. Content related to daily worship and actual events associated with Muslims received the highest response on each *Instagram* account, proven by the number of likes.

Suggestion

Islamic media research is wide open to investigation. Numerous Islamic media with religious perspectives, traits, and ideologies exist in

Indonesia. Subsequent analysis can cover various aspects that have not been studied by earlier scholars, such as how Islamic media respond to rapidly changing social media trends (e.g. Tiktok in Indonesia was shunned but is now widely used). Additionally, research can be conducted on the approach of Islamic media to attract readers from Generation Z with distinctive personalities. In addition, a media economics method can be used to investigate how Islamic media survives in the face of business competition in the digital media industry.

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