The Uninterrupted Interconnectedness Between the Online Fatwa on Muslim Women's Piety and the Shaping of Islamic Fashion E-Commerce

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Abstract. Since the last two decade, we can easily find Islamic talk on women in the digital media. While the piety of women has been much presented by the virtual fatwas, we are witnessing the revival of the *syar'i* fashion industry which is marketed through online media. Therefore, we propose research question, is there really any correlation between the virtual Islamic fatwa concerning the piety of women with the Islamic women's fashion industry? Using qualitative analysis, and Islamic law perspective, we explore the construction of a woman's piety according to the virtual fatwas; we then illustrate how those fatwas have driven the fashion industry through the Muslim women in the digital world. We decide to choose konsultasisyariah.com, a shari'a consultative site, to depict virtual Islamic discourse's construction concerning the Muslim women's piety. The research finding has shown the piety of Muslim women is generated from the Islamic orthodoxy perspective on women in Islam. In addition, the piety of women is mostly determined by symbolic attributes, such as veil or *hijab* which then as produced by the Muslim women's fashion industry. Therefore, the virtual fatwas over Muslim women seems to be a theological advertisement for the shaping of Islamic fashion's e-commerce.

Keywords: Online Fatwa; Women's Piety; *Hijab;* Fashion E-Commerce

1 Introduction

In the latest Indonesian religious space, we can see so many online sites, portals and social media accounts (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram) that specialize in the audience segment for Muslim women (Muslim women). These portals and accounts come in very varied packages, from those offering religious consulting services, family education, to creative campaigns by displaying cartoon-illustrated "quotes" containing calls to become a true Muslimah (*shalihah*).

The Muslim woman's piety is in turn shaped into a discursive discourse construction for Muslim women in the contemporary Indonesian public sphere. At the same time, the materialism that has grown in Indonesian society and the commodification that continues to be echoed by the mass media have created a pop Islamic culture [, p. 139] that emphasizes the appearance of Islamism. So it is very significant to ask, how is the piety of Muslim women "represented" by several online media that have a Muslim audience segment? How can the identity of "*shalihah* or pious" women be identified? Is there any relationship between the

construction of Muslim women's piety within online media and the market place for commercial products dedicated for Muslim women?

2 Literature Review

There are several studies have relevance to this study, including a study entitled *"Diskursus Identitas Perempuan dalam Majalah Perempuan Muslim Indonesia"* by Nisa Kurnia Illahiati on three Muslim women's magazines, namely Alia, Ummidan Noor. The unit of analysis in research is pictures, words, phrases. This research shows that the identity of women (Muslim) Indonesia is not a single face. the interpretation is articulate women's identity along with the natures and realms that follow it becomes plural, discuss each other and even argue with each other, although dogmatically lifted from the same scripture.[2, pp. 89–97] This research focuses more on the identity of women represented by magazines, so it is different from the study of women's identity with this digital media locus. We are assuming on this study tend to be different with ours, it means that digital media seems to have built on single perspective of women's piety.

Another study on women's piety associated with the headscarf was conducted by Safitri Yulikhah. It entitled *"Jilbab Antara Kesalehan dan Fenomena Sosial"*, which concludes that the veil is not merely a representation of Muslim piety. But it is also a life style for some Muslim women to impress or present a religious atmosphere in their life.[3, pp. 96–117] We would like to evaluate the thesis for different locus contexts, the veil in discourse construction perspective presented by several online media. Is the headscarf constructed to show the identity of Muslim piety only or is it also encouraged to become a lifestyle? As in real life phenomena, so it has a connection with the hijab industry.

Meanwhile, Anna Piela, through her research entitled "Piety as A Concept Underpinning Muslim Women's Online Discussions of Marriage and Professional Career",[4] focuses on women's piety through the frequency of practicing non-obligatory religious teachings, such as the frequency of going to the mosque for prayer and the frequency of reading Al-Qur'an, or self-perception about religious orientation. This study identifies piety as a concept that shapes Muslim women in the context of gender roles, marriage and professional careers.

3 Theory and Method

It is necessary to understand what it means to be a pious person. At the intuitive level, piety in religion is most simply defined as the level of one's dedication to their religious teachings. But to understand piety in an analytical framework, we need to identify some practical indicators.

The most holistic analytic understanding of piety comes through Thomas Pepinsky, who constructs a piety index by measuring relative piety among individuals through a mixture of indicators representing adherence to religious rituals, perceptions of religious orientation, and the practice of non-obligatory religious behavior. However, other scholars still rely on a single indicator (intermediate rituals, orientation, and behavior) to define piety; usually such as "involvement with activities in the mosque", or "attendance at religious activities", or "support for Shari'ah law".[5]

Meanwhile, in the context of Islamic women's piety, empowerment, liberation and gender justice driven by Muslim women through the concept of taqwa, by Saba Mahmood, is often

translated as "piety" of Muslim women[6], [7]. However, our analysis uses the distinct indicators to define piety. We investigate and observe digitally the representations of ideal or pious women (*shalihah*) constructed by narratives and images in a site that reviews women through articles entitled fatwas and teachings, as well as in the form of pictures and quotes on a site.

Therefore, it is a qualitative descriptive study.[8] The object is the articles contained in a website, which is most frequently referred to by netizens with the aim of exploring interactive knowledge about Islam through a question and answer consultation which also provides a special rubric on women, namely konsultasisyariah.com, especially those which contain material specifically about women.

The analytical method used in this research is discourse analysis. Cook explained that discourse analysis is closely related to three things; namely text, context, and discourse. Text is all forms of language, context is a situation and things from outside that influence, and discourse is the interaction between text and context. Discourse analysis method that will be used in this research is discourse analysis model Sara Mills. Sara Mills looks more at how actor positions are displayed in the text (subject-object position). In the sense of who is the subject of storytelling and who is the object of telling. Thus it will be obtained how the text structure and how the meaning is treated in the text as a whole. In addition, Sara Mills also uses the writer-reader position method. In relation to this writer-reader position, the analysis carried out is related to how the writer presents himself which in time will determine how the reader responds or receives.[9, p. 9]

This study also uses Faucoult's analysis framework of discursive formations by focusing on texts that articulate the identity offered by the site to its audience.[10, p. 106] This study connects the inherent meaning of the text with the socio-cultural conditions related to Islamic discourse in Indonesia in a digital space that highlights the piety of Muslim women. The data used is in the form of text in the form of writing and images. The unit of analysis used in this study includes pictures, words, phrases, basically every sign that identifies a woman (Muslim) through a marker. The technique of collecting data is by selecting discourses about women's (Muslim) identities that each portal and account tries to articulate. This means that any text that contains messages about the formation of the identity of Muslim women is included in the data selection process. The data analysis technique begins after the data selection process, in the form of interpretation using a discursive analysis framework, primarily a discursive formation that shows the discourse constellations operating in the middle of the marking system. Furthermore, this discursive formation will be contextualized with the actual socio-cultural conditions of Indonesia through its relations with other markers.

4 Discussion

We can see the narrative of women's piety at https://konsultasisyariah.com, a site with a high rating visited and featuring an interactive model. This site provides Islamic consultation and dialogue. This model of deliberation may be referred to as *istifta'* and *fatwa*. One of the rubrics provided in the consultative features menu is "women". We only sort and select consultative fatwas that build the piety identity of Muslim women.

This site is developed and managed by Yufid Networks Foundation, which is located at Jalan Kaliurang, KM 6,5 Gg. Timor-Timur, No. D-09, Yogyakarta. This site is one of the many Yufid sites, which is the most visited by netizens among its other sites. Its visitor demographics show that it has more than 3,739,234 visitors every month, more than 6,861,326

Pageviews, and more than 5,204,262 visiting sessions every month. The high visit rating has prompted the administrators of this site to open the ad column.

4.1 Representing Muslim Women Piety in Online Narratives

Regarding the relationship between the producer and the audience of discourse, what will be analyzed is who is positioned as the producer of the discourse, who is positioned as the object being told (discourse object), and which actors and social groups have the opportunity to present themselves and their ideas. .

Our observations found that the shari'ah consultation service in https://konsultasisyariah.com was presented to answer readers' questions sent directly, through the "Send The Question Form." The audience of discourse in the fatwa contained in the women section are women, as well as they are objects to be discussed. However, the producers of the discourse are all men who are predicated as *ustadz*. Meanwhile, the sex of the questioners are male and female. There are 10 *asatidz* who act as consultants in answering questions. They are Ustadz Dr. Muhammad Arifin Baderi, M.A, Ustadz Dr. Ali Musri, MA, Ustadz Abdullah Taslim, MA, Ustadz Abdullah Zaen, MA, Ustadz Abu Isma'il Muslim Atsari (all four are alumni of the Islamic University of Madinah), Ustadz Abu Isma'il Muslim Atsari (Director of the Ibnu Abbas Islamic Boarding School, Masaran, Sragen), Ustadz Aris Munandar, MA (Department of Jurisprudence, Postgraduate Program, Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta), Ustadz Nur Cholis, Lc. (Alumni of the Sharia Faculty, LIPIA Jakarta), Ustadz Ammi Nur Baits, ST (Alumni of the Department of Nuclear Engineering, Gadjah Mada University), Ustadz Muhammad Nur Ichwan Muslim, S.T. (Alumni of the Department of Industrial Engineering, Gadjah Mada University), and Ustadz Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal, S.T. (Bachelor of Chemical Engineering, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta).

We conducted digital observations of the women's section on this site in 2018. Our findings show that there are 19 pages, and each page contains approximately 16 questions and answers. There are several writings that explain the construction of female piety from these 19 pages. Apart from that, there are also articles which contain a lot of women's fiqh in the category of worship, such as menstruation, childbirth, breastfeeding, and several other interpretations. The construction of women's piety in the fatwa issued by konsultasisyariah.com can be categorized based on the content of the discourse into two groups; *firstly*, about female genitals, headscarves and headscarves, and *secondly*, the existence and behavior of women in the domestic and public sphere.

A woman's genitals, headscarves and veils are constructed through the articles *"Wanita Sudah Menapause Boleh Buka Aurat?", "Membuka Jilbab di Depan Ayah yang Kafir?", "Rambut Rontok Wanita Termasuk Aurat?", "Puasa Wanita yang Tidak Berjilbab, Tidak Diterima?", "Benarkah Wanita Yang Sempurna Hanya Empat?", "Orang Tua Melarang Anaknya Berhijab Bukti Kejahatan Liberal", "Jilbab Haruskah Bersertifikasi Halal", "Kaki Wanita Termasuk Aurat", "Aurat Tersingkap Ketika Sholat", "Shalat Wanita Batal Karena Kelihatan Rambutnya", "Jilbab Warna Putih", "Istri Tidak Bercadar", "Apakah Jilbab Besar Dan Cadar Adalah Teroris", "Apakah Batasan Jilbab Syar'i?", "Pilih Akhwat Bercadar atau Tidak Bercadar?", "Ketika Dibolehkan Bercadar Hanya Ketika Telah Menikah", Hukum Mengenakan Jilbab Lebar untuk Putri yang Berusia Empat Tahun", "Suami Melarang Istri Memakai Jilbab yang Syar'i",* and *"Ketika Suami Memaksa Istri Lepas Jilbab".*

The discourse of the first and second categories are both built on normative arguments, such as quoting verses from the Al-Qur'an and Hadith and the views of the scholars. *Aurat* is the main and central theme of discourse in this matter, even in the case of women's hair that is separated from themselves.

"Before leaving the owner's head, hair is included into the *aurat*. Likewise after being separated from the owner. Therefore, if it falls or is cut, it must be kept away from the view of people who are not *mahram*. Like when it hasn't been cut. This must be watched."[11, N. at 9.25 am]

In addition, in the case of women's feet, a fatwa has been issued to include it as part of the female genitalia *(aurat)* that must be covered.

"For women, the feet which are not obliged to be opened during ihram are ordered by the Prophet to be covered. This means that the legs are included in the *aurat* for women."[12]

Based on the passages, we see that woman's body is a very important object in determining the identity of a *shalihah* woman according the online *fatwa* within the site. A woman's *aurat* have a meaning about sexuality as a determinant of piety. A Muslim woman who obeys the aurat code of ethics will immediately wear the attribute of piety. As a derivative consequence, she must also know and carry out the teachings on how to cover her *aurat* with the veil *(hijab)*. Headscarves and veils receive special attention in the "women" section of this site. This is proven by the big number of discussions of it. Hijab and veil seems to be the most important condition in constructing the identity of *shalihah* women. A woman even has to put forward this godly identity over other doctrines and traditions. Other doctrines, for example from the family,

"Covering one's face is mandatory for women when traveling or meeting a man who is not a *mahram*, according to a strong opinion based on the Qur'an and authentic hadith. As for obeying anyone who invites her to sin, the law is *haram*, based on a valid hadith. Likewise, orders from parents who are wrong, should not be obeyed. Please read the letter Luqman: 15 and al-Ankabut: 8."[13]

While other traditions are such as a bun which is characteristic of Javanese women is identified to be *haram*,
"Of course, the bun worn by some Indonesian mothers when commemorating Kartini's Day, wedding parties, or other traditional parties, includes the forbidden hair tie. Because the shape is exactly the same as hair."[14]
In explaining the hadith, "A woman is married for four reasons: (1) because of her wealth, (2) because of her position, (3) because of her beauty, (4) because of her religion. So look for a woman who is strong in religion, I hope you are happy. " (Narrated by Bukhari, 4700), religion here is more emphasized by the characteristic of the hijab (headscarf and veil).

"If a woman wearing a good religious veil and a broken home because of poverty, is often insulted by people, but is a worship expert; then choose her over priority. If she wants to wear a *hijab*, then marrying her is more important, because she is from a good

family of religion and the woman is obedient. *Shalihah* women are those who want to be regulated by Islamic law. "[15]

Islamic Sharia in the context of *shalihah* women on this site is described by associating it identically with the veil and headscarf. Furthermore, in the *jilbab* fatwa, there is a description that differentiates the hijab into a *syar'i* and *non-syar'i hijab*. The view on this site is that the scholars differ in interpreting the veil, some say it is the same as *khimar*, some say it is bigger, and what they think is the clothes after *khimar*, bigger than *khimar*, cover the entire body of a woman.

The basis of their fatwa includes the views of Sheikh Al-Albany:

فالحق الذي يقتضيه العمل بما في آيتي النّور والأحزاب ؛ أنّ المرأة يجب عليها إذا خرجت من دارها أنْ تختمر وتلبس الجلباب على الخمار؛ لأنّه كما قلنا : أَسْتر لها وأَبعد عن أنْ يصف حجم رأسها وأكتافها , وهذا أمر يطلبه الشّارع ... واعلم أنّ هذا الجمع بين الخمار والجلباب من المرأة إذا خرجت قد أخلّ به جماهير النّساء المسلمات ؛ فإنّ الواقع منهنّ إمّا الجلباب وحده على رؤوسهن أو الخمار , وقد يكون غير سابغ في بعضهن... أفما آن للنّساء الصّالحات حيثما كنّ أنْ يَنْتبهن من غفلتهن ويتّقين الله في أنفسهن ويضعن الجلابيب على خُمرهن

"So what is true, as the practice of the two verses, An-Nur and Al-Ahzab, is that when a woman leaves her house, she is obliged to wear a *khimar* and veil over the *khimar*, because that is more closed and the shape of the head and shoulders is less visible, and this is what the *shari'ah* maker wants, and know that combining *khimar* with the veil for women when leaving the house has been neglected by the majority of Muslim women, because what happens is they only wear the veil or *khimar*, that alone sometimes does not cover it entirely. Is it time for *shalihah* women wherever they are to be aware of their negligence and devote themselves to Allah, and wear a veil over their *khimar*? " (Jilbab Al-Mar'ah Al-Muslimah page: 85-86)"[16]

Meanwhile, the existence and behavior of women in the domestic and public sphere is constructed with discourses in articles:*"Haram Wanita Memakai Sepatu Jinjit?", "Wanita Melihat Laki-laki Termasuk Dayuts?", "Cara Syari Wanita Melamar Pria", "9 Hal yang Diharamkan Terkait Perempuan", "Bolehkah Wanita Bekerja?", "Bolehkah Menyemir Rambut untuk Anak Perempuan?", "Mencabut Rambut Diantara 2 Alis", "Apakah Wanita Tidak Wajib Mengurusi Rumah dan Menyusui Anak?", "Bolehkah Wanita Bersiul?", "Hukum Merias Tangan Dan Kaki Bagi Wanita", "Hukum Merias Wajah Dengan Mewarnainya", "Hukum Memakai Sepatu Atau Sandal Hak Tinggi Bagi Wanita", "Hukum Smoothing Rebonding Bagi Wanita", "Hari Perempuan Internasional", "Bekerja Di Tempat Yang Melarang Jilbab", "Hukum Memakai Gelang Kaki", "Hukum Memakai Konde Di Hari Kartini", "Hukum Melepas Jilbab Demi Karier", "Hukum Memakai Celana Panjang Bagi Wanita", "Tata Rias Wajah", "Bagaimana Menerapkan Sunah Rasul Bagi Wanita", "Apa Itu Tabarruj", "Apakah Istri Wajib Kerja", "Hukum Wanita Naik Motor Laki",* and *"Bolehkah Wanita Ikut Berorganisasi".*

In addition to being identified by the headscarf and veil, *shalihah* women in the narrative of konsultasisyariah.com are also identified by their obligation to appear as they are. This includes wearing clothes. According to their fatwa, for example, wearing tiptoe shoes is considered not in accordance with Islamic teachings and resembling the Israelites based on a hadith from the history of Jabir bin Abdillah.

"The hadith shows a reproach for women who wear tiptoe shoes. Because the Prophet told the above in the context of reproach. So that when a Muslim woman does it, in essence she imitates the women of the Children of Israel. "[17]

Interestingly, in giving fatwas on hair polish for women as well as rebonding, applying makeup for their hands, feet and face, they allow it. In contrast to the fatwa against the use of jewelry such as anklets which are permitted with notes,

"It is permissible for women to wear anklets on the calves for beauty. But not to be moved in front of a man who is not a *mahram*, to reveal that voice in front of them"[18]

Meanwhile, imperative was imposed on the whistling of the woman,

"Whistling is a hated act. Ibn Muflih said, in Al-Adab Asy-Syar'iyah, that Shaykh Abdul Qadir said, "whistling and clapping hands are two actions that are hated."[19]

As for the domestic role of women such as taking care of the house and breastfeeding children, it is said to be mandatory, while roles outside the home such as work are punished as something that is allowed under various conditions, including the condition that they are not allowed to work in a workplace that is mixed with men and women. She also must wear a hijab, and with the husband's permission.[20] This provision also applies to women who want to organize.[21]

"Women have obligations that are adapted to familiar habits and so do men. As long as certain customs and habits of a woman in serving her husband are still valid, it is obligatory for the wife to serve her husband according to him."[22]

These conditions, in our understanding, seem to close the possibility for *shalihah* women to gain access to work in the context of modern Indonesia.

4.2 Onlining Islamic Ortodoxy on Women and Commercing the Piety

Women's piety that is narrated through various sharia consultation fatwas at https://konsultasisyariah.com, as we have described in the previous section, when viewed from Michel Foucault's discursive analysis approach, these narratives are actually a form of discourse contestation. and affirmation of women's piety identity from the perspective of Islamic orthodoxy[23] through digital space.

We cannot deny that a very exciting struggle for ideas has been taking place in the Islamic world for more than two decades now. This battle involves two opposing parties, between those with orthodox views and those with heterodox views, between those with conservative and progressive ideas, between those with textual and contextualist views, and so on. The piety of women described at https://konsultasisyariah.com site seems to position itself in the orthodox Islam which seeks to conserve the teachings around ideal Muslim women which are considered as a single truth, including in the issue of *hijab*, which is fought with narratives around the piety of Muslim women which was built by progressive Muslim groups like Saba Mahmood's depiction of the piety of women from modernist Muslims. They make the *hijab* discourse which builds their group identity as well as the main issue in the contextualized discourse.[24]

Meanwhile, if the discursive formation of Muslim women's piety at https://konsultasisyariah.com is contextualized to the real socio-cultural conditions of Indonesia through its relationship with other markers (intertextuality), then the discourse on the adversity of Muslim women presented through online fatwas seems to have a close relationship to other websites which are networked with https://konsultasisyariah.com. These sites are very large in number and are managed under one management of the Yufid Network Foundation. In our observations through the search engine that they have developed, https://yufid.com/index.html (Islamic knowledge search engine), formative piety of Muslim women on various sites they develop, is represented by images of women wearing certain clothes and *hijab*. It is designed in wide and large size with covered and unshown face (See picture 1). The signficant interconnectedness between narratives and images is the representing image of pious women can be found in merchandise of fashion sold by their e-commerce sites, for example: see picture 2. In addition, it is fact that the image of Muslim women is only displayed with one fashion model in e-commerce, as both pictures. This phenomenon in other term is possibly to be identified as the transformation of religious forms from ideologies to commercialization of spirituality symbolized by lifestyle.[25]

Fig 1. Hijab [26][27]

5   Concluding Remarks

Online Fatwas on the piety of Muslim women issued by konsultasisyariah.com are built on the Islamic orthodoxy's perspective. Women's piety is constructed through fatwa-based discourses on genitals, women's bodies, clothes, and the interdependent relationship of a wife and her husband in the private and public sphere. Therefore, the profiles of *salihah* women on this site are mostly determined by attributive piety narratives with an orthodox Islamic law perspective, such as the necessity of the veil as a covering of *aurat* with strict specific criteria. The hijab is constructed to show the identity of Muslim piety which is apparently linked to the fact of the e-commerce of Muslim women's fashion on the networked site.

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