

**HERMENEUTIK-FEMINIS FATIMAH MERNISSI DAN ANALISIS
WACANA AURAT DALAM KONTEKS INDONESIA**

ARTIKEL ILMIAH



Disusun Oleh :

SAHILAH RIZKIYAH

20221552007

**PROGRAM STUDI STUDI AGAMA-AGAMA
FAKULTAS STUDI ISLAM DAN PERADABAN
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SURABAYA
2026**

**HERMENEUTIK-FEMINIS FATIMAH MERNISSI DAN ANALISIS
WACANA AURAT DALAM KONTEKS INDONESIA**

ARTIKEL ILMIAH

**Diajukan untuk Melengkapi Persyaratan Program Sarjana (S1) Studi
Agama-Agama Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban**



Disusun Oleh :

SAHILAH RIZKIYAH

20221552007

**PROGRAM STUDI STUDI AGAMA-AGAMA
FAKULTAS STUDI ISLAM DAN PERADABAN
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SURABAYA
2026**

SURAT PERNYATAAN KEASLIAN

Saya yang bertanda tangan dibawah ini :

Nama : Sahilah Rizkiyah
NIM : 20221552007

Adalah Mahasiswa Program Studi Studi Agama-Agama Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Menyatakan dengan sebenar-benarnya bahwa jurnal saya dengan judul "HERMENEUTIK-FEMINIS MERNISSI DAN ANALISIS WACANA AURAT DALAM KONTEKS INDONESIA" adalah hasil karya sendiri.

Dan apabila di kemudian hari terdapat penyimpangan dan ketidakbenaran dalam pernyataan ini maka saya bersedia menerima sanksi akademik sesuai dengan peraturanyang berlaku.

Demikian pernyataan ini saya buat.

Surabaya, 14 September 2026.
Yang membuat pernyataan,



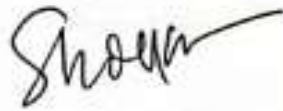
Sahilah Rizkiyah

LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN

Jurnal ini telah diperiksa dan disetujui isi dan susunannya, sehingga dapat diajukan dalam ujian jurnal pada Program Studi Studi Agama-Agama Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya

Surabaya, 14 September 2026

Pembimbing 1



Dr. Sholihul Huda, M.Fil.I.

Pembimbing 2



Khoirul Anam, S.Ag., M.Sos

Mengetahui
Ketua Program Studi
Studi Agama-Agama



Dr. Mahmud Muhsinin, M.P.I

LEMBAR PENGESAHAN

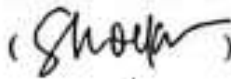
Jurnal ini telah dibahas dan dipertahankan dalam sidang Munaqosah Jurnal Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban pada :

Hari : Jum'at
Tanggal : 30 Januari 2026
Tempat : Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya

Dan sidang telah menerima sebagai pelengkap tugas dan salah satu syarat Ujian Akhir Program Sarjana Strata Satu (S1) Program Studi Studi Agama-Agama Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban.

Maka dengan ini kami sahkan hasil sidang tersebut.

Tim Penguji Skripsi :

1. Penguji 1 : Dr. Muhammad Wahid Nur Tualeka, M.Pd.I ()
2. Penguji 2 : Dr. Sholihul Huda, M.Fil.I. ()
3. Penguji 3 : Dr. Mahmud Muhsinin, M.P.I ()

Mengesahkan,
Dekan Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban
Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya



Dr. Tho'ir Shidwan, M.H.I. 

KATA PENGANTAR

Alhamdulillah Rabbil 'Alamiin, puji syukur ke hadirat Allah Swt. atas rahmat, taufik, dan hidayah-Nya sehingga penulis dapat menyelesaikan skripsi ini. Shalawat serta salam semoga senantiasa tercurah kepada Nabi Muhammad Saw., beserta keluarga, sahabat, dan seluruh umatnya hingga akhir zaman.

Skripsi ini disusun sebagai salah satu syarat untuk memperoleh gelar Sarjana Agama (S.Ag.) pada Program Studi Agama-Agama, Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya. Dalam penyusunannya, penulis memperoleh bimbingan, bantuan, dukungan, serta doa dari berbagai pihak. Oleh karena itu, penulis menyampaikan ucapan terima kasih kepada:

1. Dr. Mundakir, S.Kep., Ns., M.Kep., selaku Rektor Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya yang telah memberikan kesempatan kepada penulis untuk menempuh pendidikan di Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya.
2. Dr. Tho'at Stiawan, M.H.I., selaku Dekan Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya yang telah memberikan dukungan, arahan, serta fasilitas selama proses pendidikan.
3. Dr. Mahmud Muhsinin, M.P.I., selaku Ketua Program Studi Agama-Agama Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya yang telah memberikan arahan dan pelayanan akademik selama penulis menjalani studi.
4. Dr. Sholihul Huda, M.Fil.I., selaku Dosen Pembimbing I yang dengan penuh kesabaran telah meluangkan waktu, tenaga, dan pikiran untuk memberikan bimbingan, arahan, kritik, serta saran yang membangun sehingga skripsi ini dapat terselesaikan.
5. Khoirul Anam, S.Ag., M.Sos., selaku Dosen Pembimbing II yang senantiasa memberikan masukan, motivasi, serta bimbingan dengan penuh perhatian sehingga penulis mampu menyelesaikan skripsi ini dengan baik.
6. Maulana Mas'udi, Lc., M.Pd.I., selaku Dosen Wali yang telah memberikan bimbingan, motivasi, dan nasihat kepada penulis selama menempuh pendidikan di Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya.
7. Seluruh Tim Penguji Proposal Skripsi dan Skripsi, yang telah memberikan kritik, saran, dan masukan yang sangat berharga demi penyempurnaan skripsi ini.
8. Seluruh dosen dan tenaga kependidikan di Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya yang telah memberikan ilmu, pelayanan, serta pengalaman berharga selama masa perkuliahan.
9. Kedua orang tua tercinta, Ayah Abd. Chalid dan Ibu Watiningsih, yang tidak pernah lelah memberikan kasih sayang, doa, pengorbanan, motivasi, serta dukungan moral maupun material. Terima kasih atas setiap perjuangan yang telah diberikan sehingga penulis dapat menempuh pendidikan hingga

menyelesaikan skripsi ini. Semoga Allah Swt. senantiasa melimpahkan kesehatan, keberkahan, dan kebahagiaan kepada Ayah dan Ibu.

10. Seluruh keluarga besar yang senantiasa memberikan doa, perhatian, motivasi, serta dukungan kepada penulis selama proses penyelesaian studi.
11. Syafi'uddin yang telah menjadi sosok inspiratif bagi penulis dalam menjalani perjalanan akademik. Terima kasih atas ketidak sabaran dalam memberikan arahan, masukan, dan dukungan, serta telah menjadi tempat berbagi cerita dan bertukar pikiran dalam setiap proses yang penulis lalui.
12. Teman-teman Neophyte 22 yang telah menjadi bagian dari perjalanan akademik penulis. Terima kasih atas kebersamaan, persahabatan, kerja sama, dukungan, dan berbagai kenangan yang tidak ternilai selama menjalani masa perkuliahan.

Penulis menyadari bahwa skripsi ini masih memiliki berbagai keterbatasan dan jauh dari kesempurnaan. Oleh karena itu, penulis mengharapkan kritik dan saran yang bersifat membangun demi penyempurnaan karya ilmiah ini. Akhirnya, penulis berharap semoga skripsi ini dapat memberikan manfaat bagi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, khususnya dalam bidang studi agama-agama, serta menjadi referensi bagi peneliti selanjutnya. Semoga Allah Swt. senantiasa memberikan keberkahan atas segala usaha dan amal baik yang telah diberikan oleh semua pihak.

Surabaya, 14 September 2026

Sahilah Rizkiyah



FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS OF FATIMA MERNISSI AND A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AURAT IN THE INDONESIAN CONTEXT

* Sahilah Rizkiyah¹, Solihul Huda², Khoirul Anam³

¹²³Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Indonesia

Email: sahilahrizkiyah26@gmail.com

Abstract

This study examines the concept of women's aurah in Islam through the thought of Fatimah Mernissi by placing it within the framework of Michel Foucault's discourse analysis. This research aims to analyze how Mernissi reconstructs the understanding of aurat through a hermeneutical-feminist approach and examine the relevance of her thinking in the context of Indonesian Islam. The method used is a qualitative approach with library research, through systematic discourse analysis, including the identification of the formation of the discourse of the interpretation of the aurat, the analysis of the power-knowledge relationship, and the reading of Mernissi's thought as the object of discourse. The results of the study show that aurat can be understood as a discursive construct created through the legitimacy of religious interpretation and negotiated in the dynamics of the Islamic women's movement in Indonesia. Therefore, the concept of aurat not only serves as a theological standard, but also as a place where meaning is created and resolved in modern Islamic discussions.

Keywords: *'Awrah, Fatimah Mernissi, Power, Feminism*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji konsep aurat perempuan dalam Islam melalui pemikiran Fatimah Mernissi dengan menempatkannya dalam kerangka analisis wacana Michel Foucault. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis bagaimana Mernissi merekonstruksi pemahaman aurat melalui pendekatan hermeneutik-feminis serta mengkaji relevansi pemikirannya dalam konteks keislaman Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan studi kepustakaan (*library research*), melalui analisis wacana secara sistematis, meliputi identifikasi formasi wacana tafsir aurat, analisis relasi kuasa-pengetahuan, serta pembacaan pemikiran Mernissi sebagai objek diskursus. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa aurat dapat dipahami sebagai konstruksi diskursif yang diciptakan melalui legitimasi tafsir keagamaan dan dinegosiasikan dalam dinamika gerakan perempuan Islam di Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, konsep aurat tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai standar teologis, tetapi juga sebagai tempat di mana makna dibuat dan diselesaikan dalam diskusi keislaman modern.

Kata Kunci: *Aurat, Fatimah Mernissi, Kekuasaan, Feminis*

A. Introduction

The issue of 'awrah (intimate parts of the body that must be covered) in the Islamic tradition has become one of the important aspects within theological discourse, Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), and religious ethics. Historically, the concept of 'awrah in Islam has been understood as parts of the body that must be covered in order to preserve modesty and honor. However, this understanding has often been normative and tends to overlook the social and cultural contexts surrounding it. In social reality, the concept of 'awrah becomes a field of debate between patriarchal interpretations and Islamic feminist movements that call for a re-reading of religious texts (Aslam et al., 2025). 'Awrah is frequently positioned as a symbol of women's morality and a tool for controlling their bodies (Aslam et al., 2025). In classical perspectives, the concept of 'awrah is constructed based on Qur'anic texts and hadith, in which verses such as QS. An-Nur [24]:31 are interpreted literally as an absolute command for women to cover their entire bodies except for the face and hands. Classical scholars such as Imam al-Ghazali and al-Qurthubi associated 'awrah with the control of desire and moral purity, making it both a religious symbol and a social mechanism for regulating women's bodies and behavior (Mukaromah, 2024).

The meaning of 'awrah has evolved along with social and cultural developments. In the modern context, 'awrah is not only a religious symbol but also a social and political identity (Tantowi, 2023). It has been revealed that during the second period, 'awrah transformed into an issue of Islamic politics, where it was used as a symbol of Islamic political struggle. Revivalist movements emphasize the importance of a literal understanding of religious texts concerning 'awrah, while progressive thinkers such as Fatima Mernissi attempt to reconstruct the traditional notion of 'awrah through a critical approach (Mernissi, 1991). In her work *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991), Mernissi demonstrates how certain social structures contribute to the formation of norms that restrict women's mobility in public life. She argues that although Islam guarantees spiritual equality between men and women, the concept of 'awrah has often been used as a tool of social control over women.

In line with this view, (Iqbal, 2023) asserts that Islamic feminism opens new interpretive spaces that integrate the principles of equality and justice in understanding religious texts. This approach allows 'awrah to be understood not merely as a symbol of morality, but also as an expression of women's freedom and spiritual awareness. (Amboy & Basid, 2024) apply Michel Foucault's theory of power to develop the concept of cyberfeminism, explaining how Muslim women debate the meaning of 'awrah in digital spaces as a form of resistance against social control. (Ustiashvili, 2023) also employs Foucault's approach to analyze the politics of sexuality in post-revolution Iran and finds that religious power regulates women's bodies through discourses of purity and sin. The findings indicate that 'awrah is a discursive construction shaped by networks of power, rather than solely a transcendental command.

This study does not empirically examine clothing practices; instead, it analyzes the discursive construction of 'awrah and its relevance within the dynamics of Islam in Indonesia through a discourse analysis approach. Through this approach, attention is directed toward how scholarly authority, interpretive structures, and power relations shape the meaning of 'awrah in the Islamic tradition. Although many studies have discussed 'awrah from social and political perspectives, only a few have examined how interpretations of 'awrah are shaped by masculine viewpoints within the Islamic scholarly tradition. This research seeks to fill this gap by presenting a critical reading of the concept of 'awrah through the thought of Fatima Mernissi. By employing Foucault's discourse theory, this study aims to develop a perspective that is more just, contextual, and responsive to the realities of contemporary Muslim women. The novelty of this research lies in the integration of feminist critique and Islamic studies within the Indonesian context, which remains relatively rare in academic literature.

The focus of this study is formulated through two main research questions: how does the socio-political construction of the concept of 'awrah shape patriarchal practices within Muslim

societies, and how relevant is Fatima Mernissi's thought in reconstructing the concept of 'awrah within the context of Indonesian Islam? The objective is to analyze the social and political construction of the concept of 'awrah and to examine the relevance of Mernissi's ideas in shaping a more egalitarian Islamic discourse. Theoretically, this research contributes to enriching Islamic studies and gender studies through an interdisciplinary approach, particularly by utilizing Foucault's theory to deconstruct patriarchal perspectives in understanding 'awrah. Practically, the findings of this research are expected to provide input for educational institutions and policymakers to become more sensitive to issues of gender justice, as well as to serve as a reference for society in developing a critical understanding of 'awrah that respects freedom and equality.

Previous studies indicate that 'awrah is often used as a tool to control women. (Swastini et al., 2025) view 'awrah as an instrument of power that restricts women's mobility in public spaces through the legitimization of moral values. (Maudina, 2024) highlights how school uniform policies in Indonesia often impose the use of the hijab without considering the diversity of religious interpretations, resulting in discrimination from an early age. Meanwhile, (Putri & Poerwandari, 2024) show that 'awrah has also functioned as a social symbol for evaluating women's level of piety, which ultimately strengthens mechanisms of surveillance over their bodies. However, unlike previous studies, this research attempts to explore more deeply how interpretations of 'awrah themselves are shaped by masculine perspectives deeply embedded within the intellectual heritage of Islamic scholarship.

In this study, the analysis of interpretations of 'awrah is not limited to differences in content but focuses on the epistemology of how religious knowledge about 'awrah is produced, who holds the authority to interpret it, and which social values are recognized as truth. Foucault argues that knowledge always originates from a particular subject position and is always dependent on relations of power. Therefore, classical interpretations of 'awrah are examined as scholarly products shaped by social experiences, masculine horizons, and the importance of moral stability within patriarchal societies of their time.

As an initial step in understanding this issue, it is necessary to examine how Qur'anic exegetes interpret the concept of 'awrah within the context of Islamic law and ethics. In classical exegesis, Ibn Kathir and al-Qurtubi provide important foundations for understanding women's 'awrah in Islam. Through *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azim*, Ibn Kathir explains QS. An-Nur [24]:31 by referring to the social context at the time the verse was revealed, when women would go out without covering certain parts of their bodies. He interprets the command for women not to display their adornments except what is ordinarily visible as an obligation to cover the entire body except the face and hands (Artiyanto et al., 2024). This view is reinforced by the opinion of Ibn Mas'ud, who stated that what is meant by "what is apparent" refers to outer garments that cannot be concealed. According to Ibn Kathir, the command in this verse constitutes an important basis for the concept of women's 'awrah that must be protected comprehensively.

Al-Qurtubi, through his monumental work *Al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'an*, interprets the same verse with a more rational and contextual approach. He compares various scholarly opinions, including those of Ibn Abbas and Qatadah, who allow the exposure of the face and hands, as well as Ibn Mas'ud, who interprets "adornment" as clothing. Al-Qurtubi asserts that the exposure of the face and hands may only be justified under certain conditions, such as during prayer or pilgrimage (Ma'arif, 2020). He interprets the word *juyub* as referring to the chest area that must be completely covered in accordance with the command of the verse (Herliani, 2024). Based on this, al-Qurtubi argues that the entire body of a woman is considered 'awrah, except the face and hands, unless there is concern that it may lead to temptation.

Meanwhile, Quraish Shihab, as a contemporary Qur'anic exegete, presents a more contextual interpretation through *Tafsir al-Misbah*. He interprets the term *zinah* as parts of a woman's body that may attract male attention, and the verse primarily emphasizes the command

to cover the chest rather than the head. According to him, the use of *khimar* during the Prophet's time only covered part of the body, so the command to cover the chest served as a moral correction to that practice. Quraish Shihab argues that hair is not explicitly mentioned as 'awrah in the Qur'an, and covering the head is more of an ethical recommendation than an absolute obligation (Shihab, 2002). He also emphasizes that the hijab is a product of Arab culture that does not necessarily have to be universally applied in modern Muslim societies.

Muhammad Syahrur, on the other hand, proposes a progressive and hermeneutical interpretation in understanding the concept of 'awrah. He uses the term *as-saw'ah*, which means something shameful or something that must be covered, and divides women's 'awrah into two categories: what is ordinarily visible and what must be concealed (Mahfud et al., 2024). According to Syahrur, the minimum limit of 'awrah refers to parts of the body that would cause a woman to feel embarrassed if exposed, while the maximum limit encompasses the entire body except the face and hands. He rejects the standardization of women's clothing and emphasizes the importance of individual freedom to adapt to different cultural contexts. For Syahrur, the essence of the teaching of 'awrah lies in preserving dignity and avoiding actions that provoke sexual desire (Parwanto, 2021).

It must be emphasized that the tradition of Qur'anic interpretation in Islam possesses methodological and historical diversity. The critical reading presented in this research is not intended to delegitimize the intellectual heritage of Islam, but rather to understand the dynamics of knowledge production surrounding it. Within this framework, the analysis of exegetical works is not directed toward judging them as right or wrong, but toward examining the methodological tendencies and historical contexts that shape their interpretive patterns. From these four interpretations, it becomes evident that there are fundamental differences between classical and contemporary perspectives in understanding the concept of 'awrah. Ibn Kathir and al-Qurtubi focus on normative and legal dimensions, emphasizing obedience to textual authority and tradition. Meanwhile, Quraish Shihab and Muhammad Syahrur view 'awrah as a dynamic social phenomenon that must be understood according to its historical context. Classical exegesis emphasizes the physical boundaries of 'awrah as a form of religious obedience, whereas contemporary interpretations highlight the moral dimension and spiritual awareness behind the command. Thus, 'awrah in Islam can be understood as a symbol of purity, honor, and women's freedom whose meaning continues to evolve alongside social change and developments in religious thought.

B. Method

This study employs a qualitative approach using a library research method. The analysis is conducted using Michel Foucault's discourse analysis framework, particularly the concepts of power/knowledge relations, normalization, and subject formation. The operationalization of the analysis is carried out through several stages: (1) Identification of discursive formations, namely tracing how the concept of *aurat* is defined in both classical and contemporary Qur'anic interpretations; (2) Analysis of power/knowledge relations, which examines the position of the interpreting subject and the mechanisms through which religious authority is legitimized; (3) Analysis of normalization and subjectivation processes, in order to see how interpretations of *aurat* construct the notion of the "ideal woman"; (4) Identification of counter-discourse, namely examining the thought of Fatimah Mernissi and the Indonesian Muslim women's movement as forms of the production of alternative discourses. Thus, Foucault functions as the analytical framework, while Mernissi's thought is positioned as a discursive subject that is critically analyzed.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Biography of Fatimah Mernissi

One of the most influential Muslim female thinkers of the 20th century was Fatimah Mernissi, whose full name was Fatimah Mernissi. She was a Moroccan sociologist, feminist, and writer born in Fez, Morocco, in 1940 into a religious middleclass family. Mernissi was born at a time when Morocco was controlled by nationalists who were striving to provide equal education for men and women and promised to abolish polygamy as well as elevate the status of women to be equal with men. Her childhood was spent in the environment of a traditional harem, a separated space designated for women in Moroccan culture at that time (Rahmatunnur et al., 2023). Her father was a devout civil servant, while her mother was a strong and broad-minded woman, although she did not receive formal education. Mernissi also learned from her grandmother, receiving informal education from Lalla Yasmina, her grandmother. In her grandmother's house, Fatimah Mernissi gained experiences related to equality among human beings, the meaning of confinement within the harem, and the cause-and-effect relationship between the political defeat experienced by Muslims and the decline experienced by women (Wijayanti et al., 2018).

Her grandmother provided many lessons about Islamic history and also taught Mernissi stories about the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the condition of women before and after the coming of Islam. Mernissi acknowledged that her grandmother described how beautiful Medina was and how equality was appreciated there by the Prophet. From this point, Fatimah Mernissi became fascinated with the Islam of Medina. She also explained that her grandmother was different from most Moroccan women at that time; her grandmother did not worry about the way men treated women. Her grandmother was the first person who made her aware of the unjust treatment toward women. Because of her grandmother's teachings, Mernissi later became interested in women's studies.

Mernissi began her education at a Qur'anic madrasa in Fez. During her childhood, she had an ambivalent relationship with the Qur'an. The traditional school established by the nationalists taught the Qur'an through a harsh learning system. This was very different from the education she received from Lalla Yasmina, who had opened the door to a more poetic understanding of religion. According to Mernissi, this dual attitude toward the sacred text remained with her for many years. Depending on how it was approached, the sacred verses could become either a gateway to liberation or an obstacle that could not be overcome. Mernissi later studied political science and sociology at Mohammed V University in Rabat, Morocco. She then taught at the same university from 1974 to 1980. After working in England and France, she arrived in the United States with a scholarship to pursue a doctoral degree (Rhouni, 2025). She also served as a visiting lecturer at Harvard University and the University of California, Berkeley. In addition, she worked as a consultant for international institutions and was active in the Pan Arab Women Solidarity Association, a social organization that advocates for women's rights in the Arab region (Roibin et al., 2023).

Based on her biography and brief intellectual career, it is clear that Mernissi was deeply interested in studying religious doctrines concerning the relationship between men and women. Her intellectual concerns began in her childhood, both within her family and at the Qur'anic school, and continued until she obtained her doctoral degree. Her works demonstrate her concern about patterns of relations between men and women and the dominance of men within patriarchal social systems.

2. Works and Thoughts of Fatima Mernissi

Regarding her works, Fatima Mernissi produced numerous books and articles that have been translated into various languages, including the following:



- a. Her doctoral dissertation, later published as *Beyond the Veil* (translated into Indonesian as *Seks dan Kekuasaan: Dinamika Pria-Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Muslim Modern*).
- b. *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (1991) (*Jilbab dan Elit Laki-laki: Interpretasi Feminis tentang Hak-Hak Perempuan dalam Islam*).
- c. *Women and Islam: A Historical and Theological Enquiry* (Perempuan dalam Islam).
- d. *The Forgotten Queens of Islam* (Ratu-Ratu yang Terlupakan).
- e. *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World* (Islam dan Demokrasi, Antologi Ketakutan).
- f. *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (1994) (*Teras Terlarang: Kisah Masa Kecil Seorang Feminis Muslim / Perempuan-Perempuan Harem*).
- g. *Scheherazade Goes West* (2001) (*Scheherazade Pergi ke Barat*).
- h. *Islam and Gender* (1987) (*Islam dan Gender*), and others.

Judging from her works, Mernissi's feminism is clearly reflected in her thought. This is largely influenced by her personal experiences, her concerns about the conditions of her time, as well as political and social factors (Wijayanti et al., 2018). Several of her works have even been translated into Indonesian, indicating that many modern Islamic thinkers have paid attention to her ideas. Mernissi employed a distinctive approach in each of her writings. She is understood as a thinker who utilized critical discourse analysis to examine the structures of power hidden behind social systems and religious knowledge (Rofifah et al., 2025). In her first work, *Beyond the Veil* (1975), Mernissi explains how social norms construct gendered spaces. In her view, the concepts of aurat (modesty) and spatial segregation are not merely moral regulations, but practices that reproduce patriarchal power structures and restrict women's mobility and participation in public life. This statement aligns with sociological analyses that place the phenomenon of the "veil/aurat" within broader social and political structures (Shahin, 2024).

In developing her arguments, Mernissi later turned to historical-critical analysis of hadith sources and Qur'anic interpretations. In *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991), she employed feminist hermeneutics to re-examine the historical background of hadiths that have often been used to justify limitations on women's roles. By analyzing the chains of transmission (sanad) and the political context surrounding these hadiths, she challenged the authority of classical male scholars. One of her most well-known analyses concerns the hadith stating that "*a people who entrust their affairs to a woman will never prosper*." According to Mernissi, historical research shows that this hadith emerged within a political context of power during the rule of Caliph Muawiyah (Bouras, 2024). Therefore, it cannot be used as a theological basis to prohibit women from participating in public activities or leadership, nor can it be considered a core teaching of religion (Fikriana & Mulyani, 2023). Patriarchal interpretations place women as objects of surveillance and control, whereas feminist hermeneutics allows women to become subjects of knowledge who interpret religious texts for the purpose of equality and social empowerment (Ruslan, 2025).

Viewed from her body of work, Mernissi demonstrates a consistent integration of spirituality, scholarship, and social activism in her way of thinking. She sought to present a liberating face of Islam through hermeneutical and historical approaches (Syah, 1970). From this perspective, sacred texts are used as sources of justice and equality rather than as instruments for the oppression of women. Mernissi attempted to build critical awareness so that Muslim women would have the courage to reread and reinterpret their own traditions. For Mernissi, being Muslim and being a feminist are not contradictory; rather, they are two complementary paths toward the

realization of humanity and social justice. She argues that true Islam is an Islam that upholds the principles of 'adl (justice) and ihsan (humanity and benevolence), principles that cannot be separated from the struggle for gender equality.

3. The Concept of *Aurat* in the Perspective of Fatimah Mernissi

The thought of Fatima Mernissi, a Muslim sociologist and feminist from Morocco, begins with her critique of classical interpretations of the Qur'an that place women under control. In her work *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991), Mernissi emphasizes that interpretations of Qur'anic verses concerning women often originate from patriarchal social structures in the post-prophetic era that attempted to control women's bodies and their social space (Mernissi, 1994). She argues that the Qur'an itself is open and contextual, yet its interpretation was restricted by scholars who projected the social values of the medieval period onto the text (Rhouni, 2010). As a result, women came to be regulated not only in terms of morality and sexuality, but also constructed as symbols of *fitnah* that must be controlled through seclusion and bodily covering (Bouras, 2024).

Verses such as, "*And let them draw their head coverings over their chests...*" (Qur'an 24:31) and "*O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks over themselves...*" (Qur'an 33:59) were historically interpreted within classical scholarship as normative constructions regarding the boundaries of women's bodies, associated with maintaining the moral stability of society. However, according to Mernissi, such interpretations have moved away from the historical context of these verses. During the Prophet's time, these verses functioned primarily to protect women from violence and harassment rather than to restrict their participation in public space (Fidhayanti et al., 2024). In classical interpretations, gender bias often appears due to the neglect of historical context, which reduces the meaning of the Qur'an to issues of sexual morality. This has significantly influenced Islamic social structures, where women were ultimately marginalized from public life because they were perceived as lacking moral and rational capacities equal to those of men (Agbetola, 1989).

On the other hand, within the tribal culture (*'ashabiyyah*) of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab societies, women's bodies were often regarded as symbols of family honor, while a man's dignity was measured by the purity and seclusion of the women within his environment (Köse, 2024). In certain historical developments, the concept of *aurat* can therefore be understood as a normative category that functions to regulate gender relations in Muslim societies (Meliasari, 2024). The meaning of *aurat* in Islam has frequently shifted depending on specific social and political contexts. Consequently, the command to cover the *aurat* may sometimes be interpreted as a symbol of moral and social control rather than purely as a religious command (Nikmatullah, 2023).

In this regard, Mernissi rejects the claim that women must be secluded in order to "preserve honor." She argues that "the logic of seclusion actually reveals men's fear of themselves: that they are unable to control their feelings and emotions when confronted with the female body" (Mernissi, 1994). To uncover the ideological layers behind interpretations that appear neutral, Mernissi employs a hermeneutics of suspicion to expose hidden power interests within these interpretations (Rhomari & Edderaouy, 2025). Through this approach, Mernissi demonstrates that interpretations requiring women to "wear the veil" or "hide behind a curtain" do not necessarily reflect Islamic piety (Sahar, 2025). Instead, she argues, "If what men fear is that women might surrender to masculine attraction, why do they not impose the veil upon themselves? Preventing women from appearing unveiled reveals men's fear of losing control over their own minds" (Mernissi, 1991).

Mernissi's work emphasizes the need to revisit these texts in order to reveal their original egalitarian ethics, which she believes have been obscured by male-centered interpretations (Shahin, 2024). Her approach is not only academic but also practical, aiming to empower Muslim

women by giving them a renewed sense of agency and challenging exclusionary discourses. Mernissi's feminist hermeneutics advocates the reinterpretation of verses traditionally used to limit women's rights while promoting a vision of gender equality consistent with Islamic principles (Zain et al., 2023). Through her critical scholarship, Mernissi has made a significant contribution to the discourse of Islamic feminism by advocating a transformative approach that aligns religious teachings with contemporary ideas of gender justice (Karoui, 2023).

This study suggests that the real fear within Islamic discourse is not women's sexual attraction, but rather the fear within patriarchal societies of losing symbolic power over women (Fidhayanti et al., 2024). Mernissi frames the discourse of *fitnah* not as a moral phenomenon but as a social mechanism used to justify gender inequality (Meliasari, 2024). By reinterpreting this concept, Mernissi seeks to demonstrate that alternative readings of religious texts can enable the articulation of values of justice and equality that differ from dominant interpretations.

4. Research Analysis

Within the framework of this study, the thought of Fatima Mernissi is not positioned as a normative theory intended to replace classical Islamic exegesis. Rather, it is approached as a representation of internal critical discourse within the Islamic tradition. Mernissi is read as a discursive subject who negotiates with classical scholarly authority. Accordingly, this analysis does not aim to replace one authority with another, but instead seeks to trace the dynamics of meaning production within the tradition itself.

The concern underlying this research begins with a recurring reality: women are often positioned as objects of interpretation within religious discourse. Their bodies are discussed, regulated, and even controlled through texts and norms that claim to represent religious teachings (Shaikh, 2004). One of the most powerful concepts binding this phenomenon is *aurat*, a term that, on the surface, appears theological but in fact contains deeper layers of social and political meaning (Mustafa, 2024). Through an examination of Mernissi's thought alongside the theory of power knowledge developed by Michel Foucault, this research explores *aurat* not merely as a moral doctrine but as a sociopolitical construction that shapes the identity and position of women in Muslim societies, including Indonesia (Foucault, 1978).

In this context, Mernissi's thought finds its analytical relevance through Foucault's framework. If Foucault explains how power operates through the production of discourse and the normalization of bodies, Mernissi reveals the ideological content embedded within such discourse in the Islamic tradition. Thus, this study combines an analysis of power structures (Foucault) with Mernissi's internal critique of the exegetical tradition, without positioning Mernissi as a theory itself, but rather as a discursive field to be analyzed. Through this approach, Mernissi argues that the boundaries imposed on women's bodies did not emerge directly from revelation but from interpretive processes developed by male scholars after the prophetic period (Aryal, 2025). She maintains that early Islam actually presented women as active agents in both public and spiritual spheres (Shahin, 2024). However, after the prophetic era, religious interpretation gradually shifted toward reinforcing a social order that positioned men as guardians of the public sphere, while women were directed toward maintaining family morality (Roibin et al., 2023). According to Mernissi, it is at this point that *aurat* changed its function from merely defining bodily boundaries to becoming an ideological instrument that restricts women's mobility and normalizes their subordination within masculine social structures (Handini Listyani et al., 2018).

Mernissi's perspective resonates with what Foucault describes as disciplinary power. For Foucault, power does not primarily operate through repression but through mechanisms of knowledge production and social normalization that appear natural. Religious interpretation, in this sense, becomes a form of power because it determines what is considered true, legitimate, and moral. When verses or hadith concerning *aurat* are interpreted through patriarchal

perspectives, an “ideal female subject” is produced: obedient, covered, and compliant with male-dominated social structures. In this context, interpretations of aurat function as a force that regulates the body through social surveillance, the internalization of shame or guilt, and the formation of compliant female subjects (Aryal, 2025). As Mernissi notes, within certain historical configurations, prevailing interpretations tend to place women within a rigid framework of public morality (Mernissi, 1994).

Through this perspective, the second dimension of this research becomes clearer: the relationship between Mernissi’s thought and Islamic women’s movements in Indonesia. Within movements such as Salafi communities, women demonstrate a complex dynamic of power through the discipline of aurat, which fosters solidarity and spiritual authority (Agustina, 2024). From a Foucauldian perspective, this disciplined body generates new forms of power, where the symbol of aurat becomes a means of constructing moral authority in digital spaces and local communities (Dwi Nugroho et al., 2024). This analysis demonstrates that Foucault’s theory of power–knowledge provides a valuable lens for understanding the transformation of Mernissi’s ideas and their relevance to Indonesia. While Foucault offers analytical tools to examine how discourses of aurat are produced, internalized, and transformed into instruments of empowerment, Mernissi’s work reveals the ideological content embedded within these discourses.

In the Indonesian context, aurat does not function as a static or singular norm. Instead, it becomes a discursive arena where various religious authorities, women’s organizations, and religious communities produce and negotiate its meanings. Differences in interpretation do not merely indicate theological disagreement but reflect distinct social, ideological, and historical configurations. Ideas similar to those advanced by Mernissi can be observed in Islamic women’s movements in Indonesia, such as Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU, which interpret aurat as an ethic of public piety that encourages women’s active participation in society (Jati et al., 2024). Within Aisyiyah, the symbol of aurat is understood as a spiritual expression that builds social integrity rather than restricting women’s mobility (Rinaldo, 2014). Through education, preaching, and social services, Aisyiyah has successfully transformed Islamic discourse on women from the domestic sphere into the public arena. This aligns with Mernissi’s argument that early Islam was egalitarian and encouraged women’s participation in socio-political activities. Consequently, Aisyiyah interprets the hijab as a symbol of social agency and as a form of resistance against systems of power that attempt to marginalize women in the name of piety (Qibtiyah, 2012).

Similarly, within Muslimat NU, aurat is interpreted through the framework of social fiqh and the principle of *maslahah*, rejecting literalist readings that restrict women’s participation in public life. Muslimat NU understands aurat as part of a moral responsibility that does not negate women’s rights to participate in public roles and leadership (Dewi, 2017). According to Rinaldo (2014) many female activists within NU use symbolic piety as a strategy to gain social legitimacy while continuing to advocate for gender equality. This dynamic resonates with Foucault’s theory that power not only represses but also enables new forms of resistance through religious symbols that may be strategically reinterpreted (Muhammad Rizwan et al., 2025). A similar dynamic can be observed among Salafi women who, despite adhering to stricter interpretations of aurat, utilize social and digital spaces to build moral authority and new forms of agency. In this sense, aurat becomes a site of negotiation between religiosity and social power across movements such as Aisyiyah, Muslimat NU, and Salafi communities (Rinaldo, 2014). Mernissi interprets such transformations as a form of epistemic resistance: women do not reject religious symbols but reinterpret them in ways that align with justice and spiritual freedom (Roibin et al., 2023).

The movement Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) provides perhaps the most significant evidence of the relevance of Mernissi’s thought in Indonesia (Kloos & Ismah, 2023). Through the interpretive approach of *tafsir al-tajribah al-nisa’iyyah*, which centers women’s experiences, KUPI legitimizes religious interpretation grounded in women’s lived realities. This approach resonates strongly with Mernissi’s critique of the monopoly of interpretation by male

scholarly elites and her insistence that women possess epistemological authority in interpreting Islam. In this framework, the choice to wear hijab becomes an ethical decision and a form of spiritual consciousness that should not be used to judge women's morality or social capacity. KUPI also develops what can be understood as a Foucauldian counter-discourse to challenge dominant patriarchal narratives (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022). KUPI's interpretive approach positions women as subjects of knowledge, in contrast to conventional interpretations that often treat women merely as objects of legal regulation (Junaidi, 2023). Indonesian Muslim women, in their own ways, have redirected the course of discourse: they do not merely interpret texts but also create new spaces of knowledge that challenge existing structures of power (Nuroniya & Maula, 2025). The differences among these movements do not represent a simple opposition between liberation and control; rather, they reflect diverse strategies for producing the meaning of aurat in accordance with each movement's social and ideological configuration.

D. Conclusion

This study addresses both research questions comprehensively. First, Fatimah Mernissi argues that the concept of *aurat* in Islam is the result of a social construction that reflects patriarchal dominance rather than a fixed theological principle. Second, these ideas are connected to the struggles of Muslim women in Indonesia who seek to negotiate piety and social participation through more egalitarian interpretations of *aurat*.

By employing Foucault's discourse theory, this research emphasizes that *aurat* functions not only as a representation of morality but also as a site of power relations in which Indonesian Muslim women are positioned as subjects of knowledge and agents of social change. The practice of reinterpreting *aurat* by Islamic women's movements such as KUPI, Aisyiyah, Muslimat NU, and Salafi women's communities demonstrates the relevance of Mernissi's thought. This indicates that religious discourse is dynamic and open to reinterpretation in response to social change.

REFERENCE

- . M., Hariyanto, D., & Rifqi, A. (2024). An Analysis of the Concept of Aurat in the Qur'an: Implications for Contemporary Muslim Life. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Growth Evaluation*, 5(4), 1237–1241. <https://doi.org/10.54660/IJMRGE.2024.5.4.1237-1241>
- Agbetola, A. S. (1989). THE EQUALITY OF MAN AND WOMAN IN ISLAM: *Islamic Studies*, 28(02), 131–137. <https://doi.org/10.52541/isiri.v28i02.5380>
- Agnia Maudina. (2024). *REPRODUKSI KEKUASAAN MELALUI KEBIJAKAN HIJAB DI SEKOLAH NEGERI Z KOTA TANGERANG SELATAN: PENDEKATAN KEKERASAN SIMBOLIK*. Program Studi Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/85129>
- Agustina, D. A. (2024). Embracing Piety: Unraveling the Experiences of Urban Salafi Women in Pursuit of Devotion. *At-Ta'fikir*, 16(2), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.32505/at.v16i1.9140>



- Alameddine, L. (1970). The Forgotten Queens of Islam. *Al-Raida Journal*, 61–62. <https://doi.org/10.32380/alrj.v0i0.718>
- Amboy, A. G. P., & Basid, A. (2024). Arab Women's Revolution Against Patriarchy In The Cyber Feminist World. *Lensa: Kajian Kebahasaan, Kesusastraan, Dan Budaya*, 14(2), 312. <https://doi.org/10.26714/lensa.14.2.2024.312-332>
- Artiyanto, A., Mukmin, A., & Husni, H. (2024). MENINJAU KEMBALI BATAS AURAT DALAM FIQH (Pendekatan Lughawī dan Maqāṣidi dalam Memahami Qs. An-Nūr 30-31). *Al-Idaroh: Media Pemikiran Manajemen Dakwah*, 4(1), 12–25. <https://doi.org/10.53888/alidaroh.v4i1.692>
- Aryal, V. (2025). Foucault's Disciplinary Society and Gender Dynamics: A Critical Appraisal. *Journal of Political Science*, 25, 87–101. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jps.v25i1.75775>
- Aslam, S., Yousaf, M., Raza, S. H., Hussain, B., & Ahmad, W. (2025). Reconfiguring Patriarchal Paradigms: The Women March and Its Role in Reshaping Gender Norms and Feminist Activism. *Asian Women*, 41(2), 227. <https://doi.org/10.14431/aw.2025.6.41.2.227>
- Bouras, N. (2024). Fatima Mernissi, Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society, 1975. *History of Humanities*, 9(2), 329–337. <https://doi.org/10.1086/731860>
- Dewi, K. H. (2017). Piety and Sexuality in a Public Sphere: Experiences of Javanese Muslim Women's Political Leadership. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 23(3), 340–362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2017.1352250>
- Dwi Nugroho, Angga Febrian, & Dharma Setyawan. (2024). AGENCY IN PIETY: YOUNG SALAFI WOMEN IN DIGITAL BUSINESS. *Penamas*, 37(1), 46–59. <https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v37i1.749>
- Fidhayanti, D., Muhammad, M., Aunur Rofiq, M., Fuadi, M. R., Hakim, A., & Bil Makkiy, N. C. (2024). Rethinking Islamic Feminist Thought on Reinterpreting the Qur'an: An Analysis of the Thoughts of Aminah Wadud, Fatima Mernissi, Asma Barlas, and Riffat Hassan. *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman*, 35(1), 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v35i1.4956>
- Fikriana, A., & Mulyani, S. (2023). Kepemimpinan Perempuan Sebagai Kepala Negara Menurut Pandangan Islam: Studi Pemikiran Fatima Mernissi. *Dalihan Na Tolu: Jurnal Hukum, Politik Dan Komunikasi Indonesia*, 2(02), 24–31. <https://doi.org/10.58471/dalihannatolu.v2i02.278>
- Handini Listyani, R., Sri Sadewo, F., & Legowo, M. (2018). The Social Body of Muslim Women, An Analysis of Hijab and Beauty. *Proceedings of the 2nd Social Sciences, Humanities and Education Conference: Establishing Identities through Language, Culture, and Education (SOSHEC 2018)*. <https://doi.org/10.2991/soshec-18.2018.66>
- Harlow, B., Mernissi, F., Lakeland, M. J., Sharabi, H., Mohanty, C. T., Russo, A., & Torres, L. (1993). The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of



- Women's Rights in Islam. *Middle East Report*, 183, 43.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3012579>
- Herliani. (2024). Criticism of Interpretations of Women's Obligation to Cover The Aurat. *Jurnal STIU Darul Hikmah*, 10(1), 52–66. <https://doi.org/10.61086/jstiudh.v10i1.58>
- Iqbal, R. (2023). Nurturing Gender Justice: Qur'anic Interpretation and Muslim Feminist Thought. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 39(2), 59–61. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jfs.2023.a908296>
- Jati, W. R., Syamsurijal, S., Halimatusa'diah, H., Yilmaz, I., & Rahmiati, D. (2024). Revisiting Women's Piety Movements in the Indonesian Context. *Studia Islamika*, 31(2), 251–279. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i2.38754>
- Junaidi, A. A. (2023). Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI) and Mubādalāh Approach in Interpreting the Gender Biased-Qur'anic Verses. *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 18(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v18i1.17269>
- Karoui, K. (2023). Theorizing Justice in Contemporary Arabo-Islamic Philosophy. In *Theorizing Justice in Contemporary Arabo-Islamic Philosophy: A Transcultural Approach with Fatima Mernissi and Mohammed Arkoun*. transcript Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839465516>
- Kesalehan, H. D. A. N. (2024). PEMIKIRAN FATIMA MERNISSI MENGENAI. Kholila Mukaromah. (2024). HADITH OF AURAT AND WOMEN'S SLANDER: VARIOUS UNDERSTANDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S ACCESS AND CONTROL. *Studi Gender Dan Anak*, 6(02), 35–37.
- Kloos, D., & Ismah, N. (2023). Siting Islamic feminism: The Indonesian Congress of Women Islamic Scholars and the challenge of challenging patriarchal authority. *History and Anthropology*, 34(5), 818–843. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2023.2249495>
- Köse, F. B. (2024). Women in Pre-Islamic Arab Society. *Akademik Siyer Dergisi, Cahiliye Özel Sayısı*, 76–91. <https://doi.org/10.47169/samer.1459683>
- M. Quraish Shihab. (2002). Tafsir Al Mishbah Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an Surah Ali Imran, dan An - Nisa'. *Tafsir Al-Misbah Vol.3*, 3, 1–674.
- Ma'arif Cholid. (2020). Aspek_Ushul_Fiqih_Dalam_Tafsir_Al_Qurthu. *Ta'wiluna: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an, Tafsir Dan Pemikiran Islam*, 1(1), 60–80.
- Morales, H. (2008). The history of sexuality. In *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (pp. 39–55). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521865906.003>
- Muhammad Rizwan, Priha Ali, & Hafsa Adnan. (2025). THE POLITICS OF FAITH AND THE STRATEGIC USE OF RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE IN MODERN POWER RELATIONS. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and TESOL (JALT)*, 8(3), 2276–2287. <https://doi.org/10.63878/jalt1250>



Nikmatullah, N. (2023). Awrah and Women's Clothing: Reinterpretation of Islamic Texts in Indonesian Contexts. *AT-TURAS: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 10(2), 282–298. <https://doi.org/10.33650/at-turas.v10i2.6785>

Nuroniya, W., & Maula, B. S. (2025). Female ulama in Indonesia: Challenging patriarchal religious interpretations. In *Towards Resilient Societies: The Synergy of Religion, Education, Health, Science, and Technology* (pp. 372–378). CRC Press. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781003654940-58>

Parwanto, W. (2023). Pemikiran M. Syahrur Tentang Pakaian Perempuan (Dari Konfigurasi Aurat Hingga Konstruk-Hirarki Pakaian Perempuan Dalam Islam). *Al FAWATIH: Jurnal Kajian Al Quran Dan Hadis*, 2(2), 79–91. <https://doi.org/10.24952/alfawatih.v2i2.5070>

Putri, F. D., & Poerwandari, E. K. (2024). Konstruksi Kesalehan, Posisi dan Agensi Perempuan dalam Wacana Keagamaan. *Musāwa Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam*, 22(2), 193–209. <https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2023.222.193-209>

Qibtiyah, A. (2012). *FEMINIST IDENTITY AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF GENDER ISSUES IN ISLAM : MUSLIM GENDER STUDIES ELITES IN YOGYAKARTA , INDONESIA*. Alimatul Qibtiyah Centre for the Study of Contemporary Muslim Societies. March.

Rahman, M. A. (2024). Feminism: A Discursive Analysis of The Western And Islamic Perspectives. *The Annual International Conference of the Association of Lecturers in Adab Sciences (ADIA)*, 663–676.

Rahmatunnur, S., Aramina, A., & Ch, M. (2023). PANDANGAN FATIMA MERNISSI TENTANG KEPEMIMPINAN PEREMPUAN DI WILAYAH PUBLIK

PERSPEKTIF TEORI FEMINISME EKSISTENSIALIS. *Egalita Jurnal Kesetaraan Dan Keadilan Gender*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.18860/egalita.v18i1.21758>

Rhomari, D., & Edderaouy, B. (2025). Western Hermeneutics in the Feminist Writings of Fatima Mernissi. *International Journal of Research and Scientific Innovation*, XII(VII), 36–49. <https://doi.org/10.51244/IJRSI.2025.120700005>

Rhouni, R. (2010). Secular and Islamic Feminist Critiques in the Work of Fatima Mernissi. In M. Badran & V. Moghadam (Eds.), *Women and Gender: The Middle East and the Islamic World* (Vol. 9). BRILL. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004176164.i-296>

Rhouni, R. (2025). Fatima Mernissi. In *Islamic Studies*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780195390155-0320>

Rinaldo, R. (2014). Pious and Critical. *Gender & Society*, 28(6), 824–846. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214549352>

Rofifah, R., Shodiqin, A., & Risdayah, E. (2025). Strategi Pemberdayaan Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Islam: Studi Wacana Kritis Pemikiran Fatima Mernissi dalam Buku Beyond The Veil.



Bayt Al Hikmah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam, 1(1), 54–65.
<https://doi.org/10.54065/BaytAl-Hikmah.371>

Rohmaniyah, I., Kotele, S., & Widiastuti, R. S. K. (2022). Reclaiming an Authority: Women's Ulama Congress Network (KUPI) and a New Trend of Religious Discourse in Indonesia. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 11(3), 60. <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2022-0068>

Roibin, R., As-Suvi, A. Q., Abdullah, Y. Y., & Ashari, Z. S. (2023). THE DOMESTICATION OF WOMEN'S ROLES AS A REFLECTION OF ANCIENT PATRIARCHAL TRADITIONS: A REFLECTION ON THE THOUGHTS OF

FRIEDRICH ENGELS AND FATIMAH MERNISSI. *Marwah: Jurnal Perempuan, Agama Dan Jender*, 22(1), 53. <https://doi.org/10.24014/marwah.v22i1.22415>

Ruslan, M. (2025). Renegotiating Women's Agency in Islam: A Critical Examination of the Politics and Concept of the Hijab in the Thought of Fatimah Mernissi. *ALKHASS: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law*, 1(1), 43–52.

Sahar, D. N. (2025). Feminist Exegesis and Muslim Women's Agency: A Critical Analysis of Fatima Mernissi and Saba Mahmood's Perspectives for Contemporary Times. *Middle East Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture*, 5(02), 172–184. <https://doi.org/10.36348/mejisc.2025.v05i02.007>

Shahin, F. (2024). Islamic Feminist Thought: The Contributions of Fatima Mernissi 19402015. *El Tarikh : Journal of History, Culture and Islamic Civilization*, 5(1), 51.
<https://doi.org/10.24042/00202452260300>

Shaikh, S. (2004). Knowledge, women and gender in the adīth: a feminist interpretation. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 15(1), 99–108.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410310001631849>

Swastini, N. L. M. E., Erviantono, T., & Noak, P. A. (2025). Politik Tubuh Perempuan Antara Kontrol Sosial dan Resistensi. *Socio-Political Communication and Policy Review*, 2(3). <https://doi.org/10.61292/shkr.247>

Syah, I. P. (1970). Perspektif Hermeneutika Fatima Mernissi Dalam Memahami Hadis Misoginis. *El-Sunnah: Jurnal Kajian Hadis Dan Integrasi Ilmu*, 4(2), 91–104. <https://doi.org/10.19109/elsunnah.v4i2.18837>

Tantowi, A. (2023). VEILING AND POLITIC IN INDONESIA: PROPAGATING JILBAB IN THE NEW ORDER ERA. *PERADA*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.35961/perada.v6i1.813>

Ustiashvili, S. (2023). *Gender, Body, and Sexuality in Iran: Between Nationalism and Islamism*. 269–282. <https://doi.org/10.22492/issn.2435-9475.2023.23>

Wijayanti, R., Adinugraha, H. H., Sartika, M., & Anas, A. (2018). PEMIKIRAN GENDER FATIMA MERNISSI. *Muwazah*, 10(1), 58–68. <https://doi.org/10.28918/muwazah.v10i1.1131>

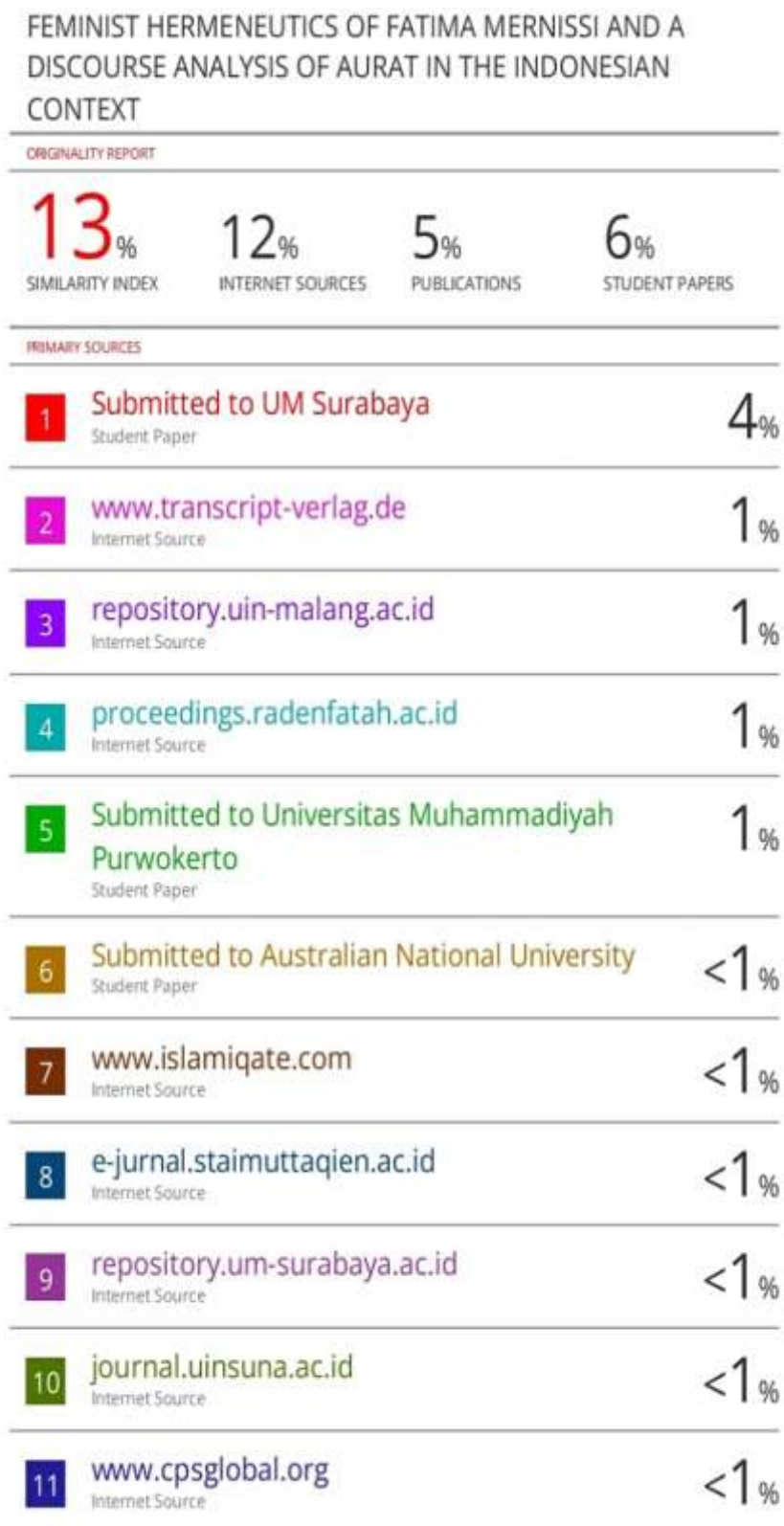
Zain, M., Aaisyah, S., Alimuddin, A., Abdillah, A. M., & Fauzi, M. F. B. (2023). Hijab



Abrahamic Religions: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama
Volume 6, Number 1, March 2026, pp: 146-162
E-ISSN: 2797-6440 P-ISSN: 2797-7722
DOI: [10.22373/arj.v6i1.34135](https://doi.org/10.22373/arj.v6i1.34135)

Discourse in Indonesia: The Battle of Meaning Between Sharia and Culture in Public Space.
Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam, 7(3), 1661.
<https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.19383>

Lampiran 1. Hasil Plagiasi



12	rsisinternational.org Internet Source	<1 %
13	Ali Tantowi. "VEILING AND POLITIC IN INDONESIA: PROPAGATING JILBAB IN THE NEW ORDER ERA", PERADA, 2023 Publication	<1 %
14	Submitted to Gulf University for Science & Technology Student Paper	<1 %
15	dokumen.pub Internet Source	<1 %
16	jurnal.stiq.assyifa.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
17	tpmap.org Internet Source	<1 %
18	www.polity.co.uk:443 Internet Source	<1 %
19	jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
20	repository.ptiq.ac.id Internet Source	<1 %
21	Bona Bargot Riezky Nagabe Siregar, Insan Akbar. "Marrying a Righteous Woman as the Preferred Choice: An Analysis of Hadith Sanad and Matan", AJIS: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies, 2025 Publication	<1 %
22	Hendra Hendra, Siti Hajar N. Aepu, Intan Kumbayoni, Hilda Anjarsari. "Jilbab: The Interplay of Ideology, Dress Code, and	<1 %

HAEDAR NASHIR", Al-Ulum Jurnal Pemikiran
dan Penelitian ke Islaman, 2025

Publication

32	Fatimaezzahra Abid. "Agent Eve(s) in Moroccan Postcolonial Literature", Routledge, 2026	<1 %
	Publication	
33	Tira Mutiara, Muhajirin Muhajirin. "Istihsan's Contribution to Online Buying and Selling Practices and Its Influence on Economic Growth in Indonesia", AL IQTISHADIAH JURNAL EKONOMI SYARIAH DAN HUKUM EKONOMI SYARIAH, 2025	<1 %
	Publication	
34	cdn.juris.id	<1 %
	Internet Source	
35	ejournal.iaifa.ac.id	<1 %
	Internet Source	
36	ejournal.uinsatu.ac.id	<1 %
	Internet Source	
37	hdl.handle.net	<1 %
	Internet Source	
38	ijlter.org	<1 %
	Internet Source	
39	journals2.ums.ac.id	<1 %
	Internet Source	
40	kspublisher.com	<1 %
	Internet Source	
41	ntnuopen.ntnu.no	<1 %
	Internet Source	

42	Bettina Lynda Bastian, Haya Al-Dajani. "Women, Entrepreneurship, and Development in the Middle East", Routledge, 2021 Publication	<1 %
43	core.ac.uk Internet Source	<1 %
44	Anne-Sofie Roald. "Women in Islam - The Western Experience", Routledge, 2019 Publication	<1 %

Exclude quotes Off
Exclude bibliography On

Exclude matches Off



Letter of Acceptance (LoA)

Abrahamic Religions: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama

Accredited by: /SINTA 3

Website: <https://journal.ar-raniry.ac.id/abrahamic>

LoA Number : 21/LoA-ARJ/v.6i1/II/2026

Date : Feb 06, 2026

Dear Author (s),

We are pleased to inform you that, based on a thorough evaluation by the Editorial Board of *Abrahamic Religions: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* and in consideration of the recommendations provided by our peer reviewers, the following manuscript has been **officially accepted** for publication:

Manuscript Title : Implikasi Hermeneutik-Feminis Fatimah Mernissi dan Analisis Wacana Foucault terhadap Praktik Berpakaian Perempuan Muslim di Indonesia
Authors : Sahilah Rizkiyah, Solihul Huda, Khoirul Anam
Affiliation : Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Indonesia
Corresponding Author's Email: sahilahrizkiyah26@gmail.com

This article has successfully passed the double-blind peer review process and is scheduled to be published in: **Volume 6, Issue 1 (Maret 2026)**

This Letter of Acceptance is issued truthfully for official and academic purposes. Please note that if any form of academic misconduct or ethical violation is found post-acceptance, appropriate actions will be taken in accordance with our publication ethics and editorial policies.



Sincerely,
Editor in Chief,

Dr. Mawardi, S.Th.I., M.A.

Lampiran 3. Surat Keterangan Bukti Bebas Plagiasi



**Biro
Perpustakaan**

<https://library.um-surabaya.ac.id>
081336590188
perpustakaan@um-surabaya.ac.id

SURAT KETERANGAN BUKTI BEBAS PLAGIASI

Naskah tugas akhir / skripsi / karya tulis / tesis*) yang diserahkan atas :

Nama : Sahilah Rizkiyah
N I M : 20221552007
Fakultas/Prodi : Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban/(SI) Studi Agama-Agama
Alamat : Kupang Krajan V/31
Judul : HERMENEUTIK-FEMINIS FATIMAH MERNISSI DAN ANALISIS
WACANA AURAT DALAM KONTEKS INDONESIA

telah **diserahkan dan memenuhi kriteria** batas maksimal yang sudah ditentukan.

Petugas perpustakaan

Ardi Surya H. K.

Surabaya, 28 Juli 2026

Mahasiswa

Sahilah Rizkiyah



Mengetahui,
Kepala Perpustakaan

Dr. Rano Abidin, S.Pd., M.Pd.

Lampiran 4. Surat Keterangan Bebas Pinjam



UMSURA
Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya

**Biro
Perpustakaan**

<https://library.um-surabaya.ac.id>
081336590188
perpustakaan@um-surabaya.ac.id

SURAT KETERANGAN BEBAS PINJAM

Dengan ini menyatakan bahwa :

Nama : Sahilah Rizkiyah

NIM : 20221552007

Program Studi/Fakultas : (S1) Studi Agama-Agama/Fakultas Studi Islam dan Peradaban

Alamat : Kupang Krajan V/31

No.Telp/HP : 085604950727

Tidak memiliki pinjaman bahan pustaka di Perpustakaan Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya.
Surat keterangan ini digunakan untuk: **Mengambil Ijazah**

Surabaya, 28 Juli 2026



Mengetahui,
Kepala Perpustakaan
Dr. Rano Abidin, S.Pd., M.Pd.

Petugas Perpustakaan

Hamito Bayu S.

Lampiran 6. Endorsement Letter



umsurabaya
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH SURABAYA

**Pusat
Bahasa**

ENDORSEMENT LETTER

160/PB-UMS/EL/II/2026

This letter is to certify that the abstract of the thesis below

Title : Implications of Fatimah Mernissi's Feminist Hermeneutics and Foucault's Discourse Analysis on Muslim Women's Dressing Practices in Indonesia

Name : Sahilah Rizkiyah

Student ID Number : 20221552007

Department : Religious Studies, Undergraduate Program, Faculty of Islamic Studies and Civilization, Muhammadiyah University of Surabaya, Indonesia

has been endorsed by Language Center of Muhammadiyah University of Surabaya for further approval by the examining committee of the faculty.

Surabaya, 11 February 2026

Chairperson,



Jepri Ali Saiful, Ph.D.