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WOMEN IN ISLAMIC FEMINIST VIEW

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ABSTRAK

This research article aims to examine women in Islamic studies who have occupied a very top position. Dialogical studies on women have been widely discussed by gender activists, especially discussions on gender equality. Among the feminist figures who advocate for women's rights and gender equality are Qasim Amin, Amina Wadud Muhsin, Fatimah Mernissi, and Asghar Ali Engineer. They look at women through their own thinking glasses. This paper only presents some of the opinions of these feminist figures, however, apart from the two opinions above, it is rarely mentioned that the presence of the Qur'an text on the theme of polygamy is a social response to the situation in pre- Islamic society, which tends to marry women in order to dominate orphan properties. In addition, at that time polygamy was considered a symbol of prestige and social status, so it was not uncommon to find a tribal chief marrying many women and even tens or hundreds of them. Therefore, Islam actually comes with a message of social change to regulate unlimited polygamy, to restrictions and finally to monogamy; where women are no longer seen as property, but as equal partners to men. a more in-depth study there are still many thoughts of other Muslim feminist figures

Keywords: Women, Muslim Feminists, Gender.

1. INTRODUCTION

Islam is a religion that carries a great mission, namely rahmatan lil alamin (grace for the entire universe). To spread mercy for all of these, Islam also carries a main mission for the realization of benefit, justice, and freedom. All Islamic rules, especially those contained in the al-Al-Qur'an are proof of this. Even if then there are many interpretations that deviate from these missions, this is because of the interpretation of the Al-Al-Qur'an which is based on the socio-cultural context that surrounds the interpreters, or also because of a literal understanding of the texts of the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad [1]. In interpreting the verses of the al-Qur'an which generally carry a message of justice, the interpreters sometimes take different decisions only because there are verses that can be directed according to their interpretation and also because they are supported by a strong patrilineal culture among the Muslim community. The existence of the Prophet's hadiths which are misogynistic (demeaning women) further strengthens the interpreter's belief to hold his opinion is where the interpretation of interpretations emerges which positions women in an inferior position. [2]

For centuries, interpretations that demean women have dominated the opinions and beliefs of Muslims in this part of the world. The emergence of feminism in the West has provided valuable inspiration to a small number of Muslims (interpreters) on the importance of reinterpreting and reformulating women's fiqh (legal understanding). By basing on the verses of the Qur'an that carry the mission of justice, equality, and equality, they try to find the root cause of why there is an unfair interpretation in giving status to men and women (gender) [3]. They conduct a search on the traditions that are the "primary" of the injustice and interpret by looking at the context (asbabul wurud) of the hadith. They are known as Muslim feminists. This paper will reveal a few of the Muslim feminist figures who have made significant contributions to the development of Islamic thought, especially those related to a gender perspective. Most of them are Muslim women, and some are men. Before describing the Muslim feminist figures and their thoughts, we will first state the position of women in Islam.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Islam puts the position of women in proportion by recognizing the humanity of women and eradicating the darkness experienced by women throughout history and guaranteeing women's rights [4].

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To explain the position of women in Islamic law, the legal basis that must be adhered to is the two main sources of Islamic law, namely the Qur'an and Sunnah (hadith) [5]. From these two sources, certain principles are obtained to see the position of women in Islam. However, it must be understood that the principles that have been outlined by the al-Qur'an and Sunnah are sometimes practiced differently by Muslims in everyday life. In fact, it must also be realized that the verses of the al-Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet SAW. who actually voiced the issue of justice and equality were often understood as the opposite, so that among Islamic thinkers (ulama) there were differences of opinion on various Islamic issues, including Islamic law. In a position like this, the al-Qur'an provides a firm solution, that if there is a difference of opinion between us then we should return to refer to Allah and the Messenger of Allah to decide the case (Surah al-Nisa' [4]: 59). Therefore, when different opinions develop in Islamic society regarding the rights and obligations of women, for example, we must again refer to the provisions contained in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad.

The Qur'an was revealed for all mankind, for all time, and for all places. Therefore, the Al-Al-Qur'an is always relevant for anyone, anywhere, and anytime. The al-Qur'an clearly states that men and women are created from the same nafs (soul), and that Muslim men and women are each a protector and friend to the other. Both also have the same task and opportunity to obtain mercy from Allah (Surah al-Taubah [9]: 71). The reality is that today there are still many Muslim women who deny their human rights in the name of Islam. Husbands have abused this fact by denying the calls of the Qur'an which emphasizes that the relationship between husband and wife is a relationship full of grace and love (Surah al-Rum [30]: 21). Women deny their rights to get an education, get a job, and enter the public world also in the name of Islam. Some of the Muslims even reject diversity by showing racial and sexist attitudes. The Qur'an always emphasizes the logic that comes from God, when repeatedly mentions that men and women are created from the same nafs (Surah al-Nisa' [4]: 1, al-An'am [6]: 98, al-A'raf (7): 189, Luqmān (31): 28, and al-Zumar (39): 6). In the Qur'an there is not the slightest explanation as in other holy books that women were created from a material that is lower than the material for men, that the status of women is parasitic and inferior, or that Eve was created from one of Adam's left ribs.

In addition, in the Qur'an there is not a single view that underestimates women regarding their innate character and structure. The Al-Qur'an cleanses women of being accused of being a source of temptation and sin as described in other holy books [6]. However, there are still many among the jurists (fuqaha') who limit the equality between the positions of men and women only to the extent of spiritual equality and allow their society to create hierarchies and boundaries based on gender. Some Islamic countries have imposed restrictions on women for certain things. Afghanistan, for example, has imposed a ban on women from getting education in the name of Islam.⁴ In some Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia, women are still not given full political rights, and do not even have the right to make choices in the election of heads of state or heads of state government. The Qur'an verse that clearly sees the parallels between women and men is QS. al-Lail (92): 3-10 which mentions men and women in qasam (oath) which is proof (qarinah) that Allah sees the similarities between the two. These verses indicate that the difference between humans lies only in their actions, whether good or bad, regardless of their gender. [7]

This verse is also the first Qur'an declaration on the principle of taklif for both men and women in world and religious matters; it is also the principle of reward for the efforts of men and women based on their work activities; and is a declaration of equality between men and women in the tendency to carry out activities.⁶ Studies conducted by Nasaruddin Umar on the Al-Al-Qur'an show that there is gender equality. He found five variables that support his opinion, namely: 1) Men and women are equally as servants. This can be seen for example in QS. al-Hujurat (49): 13 and al-Nahl (16): 97; 2) Men and women as caliphs on earth. This can be seen in QS. al-Baqarah (2): 30 and al-An'am (6): 165; 3) Men and women receive a primordial agreement as seen in the QS. al-A'raf (7): 172; 4) Adam and Eve were actively involved in the cosmic drama. This clarity is seen in QS. al-Baqarah (2): 35 and 187, al-A'raf (7): 20, 22, and 23; and 5) Men and women have the potential to achieve achievements as seen in QS. Ali 'Imran (3): 195, al-Nisa' (4): 124, al-Nahl (16): 97, and al-Mu'min (40): 40.⁷ The same thing was also stated by Yusuf al-Qardhawi, Muhammad Qutub, and Mustafa al-Siba'i in his writings. Even if later there are opinions that are misogynistic towards women, or that show the subordination of women and men's superiority, it is due to a gender bias in the understanding or interpretation of the Qur'an texts. The same problem also occurs in understanding hadith texts [8]. However, in the field of hadith this is also influenced by the status or quality of the hadith which the hadith scholars judge differently. Indeed, the existence of hadith is not like the Qur'an, which since its revelation until now there is no doubt about its authenticity. Hadith is not like the

Qur'an, because the hadith that arrived to us was full of historical events that were socio-culturally charged, especially for the narrators or sanad who brought them to us. From here it is necessary to contextualize the understanding of hadith, namely efforts to adjust to and/from hadith to get a true, original, and adequate view for the development or reality faced. This means that contextualization is not carried out to match developments with hadith texts or vice versa, but contextualization is carried out through dialogue or complementary between the two.

It doesn't stop there, in order to position women in their actual position – as confirmed by the Qur'an – it is necessary to review the misogynistic traditions, namely the traditions that demean women, thus showing the existence of gender inequality between men and women. Criticism of misogynistic hadiths is not only in terms of the chain of events, but also in terms of the point of view [9]. If we trace the misogynistic hadiths, it turns out that some of them are authentic traditions. For example, the hadith narrated by al-Bukhari which states that most women are residents of hell and the hadith that emphasizes the failure of a country led by women. With respect to authentic hadith like that, what must be done is to criticize it through the *matan* route, namely by reviewing the meaning behind the sound of the hadith text and adapting it to the context (*asbabul wurud*) that occurred at the time the text appeared. To complete the description of the position of women in Islamic law, the following will explain some of the thoughts of Islamic leaders who are classified into Muslim feminist groups related to the relationship between men and women (gender relations) in various fields of their lives. This Islamic legal thought from Muslim feminists can also be referred to as Islamic legal thought with a gender perspective. This means that this thinking does not indicate the dominance of one gender (such as men) over the other gender (namely women), so that it will lead to gender inequality in the relationship between men and women.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

Library research techniques or the process of exploratory literature by reviewing books that have to do with the theme of the study, either directly or indirectly with the problems to be studied. The research method that I use in this research is the critical analysis research method, which is an analytical study of the ideas or products of religious and scientific thought. According to Jujun Suriasumantri, there are two elements in this research method: first, descriptive method, which is a method that describes the idea of a character without a critical analysis. Second, the critical analytical method.

As the second step in the critical analytical method, interpretation is carried out by discussing primary data into the author's "original ideas". This indicates that I need to understand the idea of a character and explain my opinion as a writer about the character. Next I will seek to understand the notion of the position of religion and science before moving on to the next step of research.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Muslim feminist thinkers who try to deconstruct the ulama's understanding of women who place women in an inferior position and men in a superior position. Therefore, the author will try to present the thoughts of several Muslim feminist figures who try to deconstruct an understanding of the status of women in Islam [10]. The author will only present five Muslim feminist figures whose thoughts the author considers to represent other Muslim feminist figures and become a reference for Muslim feminists in conducting Islamic studies with a gender perspective. The characters that the writer refers to are Qasim Amin from Egypt, Amina Wadud Muhsin from Malaysia (now in the United States), Fatima Mernissi from Morocco, and Asghar Ali Engineer from India. Below, the author will describe in sequence these four figures and their thoughts on the position of women in Islam.

1. Qasim Amin

Qasim Amin was the first Muslim feminist figure who was born in Tarah, Alexandria (Egypt), December 1865. Qasim was able to complete his higher education in a relatively short time. Among the teachers he admired at Al-Azhar was Muhammad Abduh. He got a lot of critical thinking patterns from his favorite teacher. Because of his intelligence, Qasim Amin then had the opportunity to continue his studies at the Faculty of Law at the University of Montpellier in Paris, France. Upon his return to Egypt, Qasim Amin worked in the House of Representatives and in a legal institution. She lived in Cairo until her death on April 22, 1908. Among her works that inspired many women to rise up were *Tahrir al-Mar'ah* (1900) and *al-Mar'ah al-Jadidah* (1911). These two works have inspired many Muslim feminists to fight for freedom for women since then until now. Qasim Amin is one of the Muslim feminist figures who first brought up the idea of the emancipation of Muslim women through his works. Qasim Amin came up with his ideas based on

the backwardness of Muslims, which according to him was caused by one of the reasons for the wrong perception and treatment of women.

Qasim Amin's idea of emancipation sparked a discourse controversy among Egyptian clerics at that time. Although Qasim Amin's idea received a lot of attention from Al-Azhar clerics, he never gave up on voicing it. The idea of emancipation aims to liberate women so that they have the freedom to think, will, and act to the extent permitted by Islamic teachings and are able to maintain the moral standards of society. Freedom can lead humans to move forward and move towards happiness. No one can surrender his will to others, except in a state of mental illness and still a child. That's why he suggested a change, because according to him it was impossible to achieve progress without change. According to Qasim Amin, shari'ah places women on an equal footing with men in terms of their responsibilities on earth and in the next life. If a woman commits a crime, however, the law does not simply release her or recommend a reduced sentence.

Qasim believes that it is unreasonable to think that women have perfect rationality, are free, and deserve punishment if they commit murder, while at the same time there is no response whatsoever to women when their freedom is deprived. The general freedom that women's freedom will jeopardize their chastity, according to Qasim Amin, is not based on solid facts. Experience indicates that women's freedom can increase their understanding of their responsibilities and dignity, and encourage people to respect them. To strengthen his analysis, Qasim Amin presents statistical data that women in the West (Germany, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands) often deceive their husbands. Besides advocating freedom for women, Qasim Amin also criticized the tradition of seclusion against women at that time.

In order for women not to experience seclusion, then, according to Qasim Amin, they must get an adequate education like men. He does not agree if women are given a special education that is different from the education given to men. Qasim Amin emphasized that half of the world's population are women. Therefore, leaving them in ignorance means leaving the potential of half the nation without benefit. Qasim Amin was very fascinated by Western (European) society, which at that time was very advanced and did not discriminate between women and men in getting the opportunity to get a good education. That was Qasim Amin's thought about women's freedom which was quite controversial at that time, especially among Al-Azhar (Egypt) clerics. He received a barrage of attacks from the scholars for his ideas. However, he remained strong and continued to voice his ideas which according to him did not conflict with sharia. Instead, keeping women at home and restricting their movement is contrary to sharia which equates the two sexes in acting and being responsible.

2. Amina Wadud Muhsin

Amina Wadud Muhsin is a Malaysian feminist thinker. He completed his studies from basic education to university in Malaysia. He completed his bachelor's degree from the University of the Nations, his master's from the University of Michigan, United States in 1989, and his doctorate from Harvard University in 1991-1993. He now lives in the United States and serves as a professor in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Commonwealth University in Virginia. One of her writings which the author later used as a study material for her feminist thought was *Qur'an and Woman* (1992). Amina once caused a stir among world scholars, including Sheikh Yusuf al-Qardawi, when he became a preacher and imam of Friday prayers in New York City on March 2005. Recently, Amina's book entitled *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam* (2006). In her book "Qur'an and Woman", Amina begins her discussion by criticizing the existing interpretations of women in Islam. He divides the interpretation into three categories, namely traditional, reactive, and holistic. Traditional interpretation, according to Amina, provides certain interpretations according to the interests and abilities of the commentator, which can be legal, mystical, grammatical, rhetorical, or historical. The methodology used is atomistic, that is, interpretation is carried out by peeling verse by verse in sequence. There is no attempt to place and group similar verses into written topics.

What Amina emphasized is that the traditional interpretations were written by men exclusively. That is why only men and men's experiences are recommended in that commentary. Meanwhile, women - along with their experiences, visions, perspectives, desires, or needs - are subject to men's views. The second category is the commentary, which is primarily concerned with the reactions of modern thinkers to the large number of obstacles faced by women which are ascribed to the Al-Al-Qur'an. The issues discussed and the methods used often come from the

ideas of feminists and rationalists, but without a comprehensive analysis of the Al-Al-Qur'an. Thus, even though the spirit brought is liberation, it does not appear to be related to the source of Islamic ideology and theology, namely the Qur'an. The third category is an interpretation that uses all methods of interpretation and relates to various social, moral, economic, and political issues, including the issue of women in this modern era. According to Amina, the interpretation of this model is the best method. It is in this category that Amina places her work.

The method of interpretation used by Amina is the method once offered by Fazlur Rahman, namely the neomodernist method. Rahman argues that the verses of the Qur'an that were revealed at certain times in history - with the general and special circumstances that accompany them - use expressions that are relative to the situation in question. Therefore, the message of the Qur'an cannot be limited by the historical situation at the time it was revealed. A friend who reads the Qur'an must understand the implications of the statements of the Qur'an at the time it was revealed to determine the meaning they contain. On the other hand, the next generation of Islam, whose situation and conditions are different from the time of the Prophet, must continue to make practical applications of the statements of the Qur'an while taking into account the main meanings they contain.

With this argument, Amina believes that in an effort to maintain its relevance to human life, the Qur'an must be constantly reinterpreted. Amina's discussion of the position of women in the book is quite concise and seems simple. However, in the book he emphasizes the spirit of egalitarianism. He does not consider matriarchism as an alternative to patriarchy which has been accused of being the cause of women's cornering. He wants justice and cooperation between the two sexes not only at the macro level (country, society), but also at the micro level (family).

3. Fatima Mernissi

Fatima Mernissi is a Muslim woman of Moroccan nationality. Now he is a professor at the university institute for scientific research, Muhammad V Rabat University (Morocco). He has produced many writings, both in the form of books and articles written in French. Some of his works have been published in English and Indonesian. Among her works is *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, (1975). This book is her dissertation which was defended at Brandeis University, USA in 1973. Her other book is *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women and Islam* (1991). Another book which is actually a translation of the same book is *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Inquiry* (1991).

Through her book "The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam", Mernissi tries to explore the causes of women's cornering after the death of the Prophet Muhammad [5]. Through this book, Mernissi also invites Muslims to review the traditions of the Prophet which are considered to corner women in a low and contemptible position. He did a lot of criticism of the Prophet's hadith which he judged to have experienced many deviations and manipulations. According to Mernissi, women's cornering is caused by the many false (invalid) hadiths that contradict the spirit of egalitarianism brought by the Prophet Muhammad. The issue of hadith only arose after the Prophet died, because when he was still alive all problems experienced by Muslims could be directly consulted with him. Mernissi traces the matter far back, namely when the Prophet died. Disputes began to arise among Muslims over the issue of leadership (khilafah). This became the main trigger of the protracted tension between the authorities among the Muslims [11]. In his analysis of the events that occurred at that time, especially those related to the election of the caliph, Mernissi concluded that the voices of the elite, both from the Ansar and the Muhajirin, were more dominant, so that the negotiations that took place focused more on things that were essential according to the people. the elite. It is understandable that every existing interest group needs justification from the holy texts. It is this spirit of seeking justification that gives rise to two antagonistic tendencies in the deciphering of hadith.

On the one hand there is a tendency for male politicians to manipulate the sanctity of hadith, while on the other hand there are scholars who insist on opposing these politicians through the elaboration of fiqh, with its concepts, rules and testing methods. Mernissi describes misogynistic traditions that continue to be ignored. One of the narrators who received sharp attention in this regard was Abu Hurairah, a well-known narrator from among the companions. Mernissi describes at length the background of Abu Hurairah's life which caused him to have antipathy towards women. However, what Mernissi really regrets is why al-Bukhari includes many misogynistic hadiths narrated by Abu Hurairah. Mernissi also explained Aisyah's criticism

of Abu Hurairah which she judged in narrating the hadith that she did not listen to the Prophet's words in full. This hadith, according to Aisyah, is actually a saying of the Prophet who was describing the Jews about three causes of disaster, namely houses, women, and horses [12].

With the premise as above, Mernissi invites her readers to re-examine issues related to women, which have been considered to have been resolved, including the hijab issue. By looking at the *asbāb al-nuzūl* verse of the hijab, Mernissi concludes that in fact the hijab is a barrier between two men, namely the Prophet and Anas Ibn Malik. From here Mernissi then discusses the concept of space applied by the Prophet. Mernissi also explains 'Umar Ibn al-Khatthab's harsh attitude towards women in addition to 'Umar's own admirable qualities. Mernissi further highlighted the life of the Prophet with his wives and other women. According to him, the Prophet was open and egalitarian towards women. What is surprising is why this attitude of the Prophet is now foreign, even strange, to most Muslims after his death. Ending his discussion in the book, Mernissi presents Sukaynah, the daughter of Husein Ibn Ali or the grandson of the Prophet, as the ideal figure of a Muslim woman.

Through this writing, Mernissi emphasizes that what Muslims have understood so far about the status of women in the Prophet's hadith greatly affects the image of women, which is actually very high. This image that has taken root in the Muslim community must be immediately changed by taking a socio-historical approach. He conducted a review of the source of the misunderstanding of the perception. It turns out that the main source of this problem is the spread of "false" (invalid) hadiths which are then used as a means to legitimize the roles of men in order to establish their superiority [11]. He invites Muslims to be even more critical in understanding and reviewing the Prophet's traditions regarding women so that women can put themselves in the proper position, both in their family life and in other roles in society. Regarding the issue of whether or not women are allowed to serve as heads of state, Mernissi wrote an article entitled *Can We Women Head a Muslim State?* In this article, Mernissi presents the debates of the scholars regarding whether or not women are allowed to become heads of government. One side of them said that women can be heads of state, because Islam has given equal rights to women and men. Women have full political rights and can lead a country [4]. On the other hand, women cannot hold the position of head of state, because there is a hadith that forbids women from holding such positions. After examining the reasons from the two opposing parties above, Mernissi sees that the reasons for allowing women to occupy the post of head of state are more acceptable, especially the reasons put forward by Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghazali, a cleric from Azhar University in Cairo (Egypt), as outlined in his book *al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyat bain Ahl al-Fiqh wa Ahl al-Hadith*

4. Asghar Ali Engineer

Asghar Ali Engineer was born in Rajasthan (near Udaipur, India) in 1939. He earned his doctorate in civil engineering from Vikram University (Ujjain, India). His religious knowledge was obtained from his Shia father. He is an activist of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) who have great attention to the themes of liberation in the Al-Al-Qur'an. He once wrote an article entitled "Toward a Liberation Theology in Islam" which was later translated into Indonesian "Islam and liberation". Her book which deals with women's issues is *The Rights of Women in Islam* which has been translated into Indonesian under the title *Women's Rights in Islam* (1994). There are many other works that speak of justice and liberation.

At the beginning of his writing Asghar said, in order to maintain power over women, society often curbs the fair and egalitarian norms contained in the Qur'an.³¹ Asghar also said that the Qur'an is the first holy book that gives dignity to women as human beings at this time. They were abused by great civilizations such as the Byzantines and the Sassanids. According to him, this holy book gives many rights to women in matters of marriage, divorce, wealth, and inheritance. Regarding women, Asghar considers that although the Al-Al-Qur'an honors women as equals to men, this spirit is subdued by patriarchy which is ingrained in the lives of various societies, including Muslims. Although normatively it can be seen that the Qur'an favors the equality of status between the two sexes, contextually the al-Qur'an recognizes the superiority of men in certain fields over women. However, ignoring the context, the *fuqaha'* (plural of *faqih*) tries to give men a superior status. [13]

In the process of establishing sharia, verses related to women's problems are often interpreted in accordance with the prejudices shared by pre-Islamic Arabs and non-Arabs namely Hellenism and Sassanid civilizations regarding women. depending on the point of view and a

priori position taken by the interpreter. Regarding the Qur'an verse "al-rijalu qawwamuna 'ala al-nisa'" (Surah al-Nisa' (4): 34) Asghar said, the word qawwam in that verse means the provider of breadwinners and family management, and the al-Qur'an does not say that men should become qawwam [14]. According to him, if Allah intended the verse as a normative statement, then surely it would bind all women in all ages under all circumstances [15]. However, Allah did not want this.³⁵ To strengthen it Asghar cites the opinions of several experts such as Parvez, a leading commentator of the Al-Al-Qur'an from Pakistan, Maulana Azad, a pioneer of women's rights, and Maulana Umar Ahmad Usmani who in principle said that Allah does not exalting men over women. From the explanation above, it seems that Asghar wants to say that in the treasury of interpretation, especially with regard to women's issues, there are actually opinions that are empathetic or pro-women. Although it must be admitted, this opinion is less popular than other misogynistic opinions. On the basis of this empathy, Asghar tries to show alternative interpretations of several Qur'an verses that have been used to perpetuate the subordination of women, namely those related to divorce, marriage, inheritance rights, testimony, and economic rights.

5. CONCLUSION

Those are some Muslim feminist figures who have voiced the idea of gender equality between men and women. Of course, there are many other Muslim feminist figures with similar ideas although they are full of variations. It was the ideas and writings of these figures that later gave color to the thoughts of thinkers and activists of the women's movement in the Islamic world (Muslim feminists) until now, including in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, feminist figures have begun to emerge who continue to promote gender equality and justice who have received support from the government through the ministry of women's empowerment. Through campus, there are centers for women or gender studies that continue to conduct research, the results of which are disseminated to the community through dissemination or publication through the media, both electronic and print. The efforts of the Indonesian feminists did not run smoothly, but also faced various challenges, especially from the Salaf and traditional scholars as well as fundamentalists who had a very strong patriarchal image.

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