



Genealogy of Muslim Feminist Thought: Global and Local Innovations in Redefining Power Relations Within the Family

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the contradiction in conventional Islamic family law, which grants husbands full authority (qiwamah and wilayah), despite the modern reality where millions of Muslim women are breadwinners and leaders. It aims to map the development of Muslim feminist thought globally and within Indonesia, highlighting the unique contributions of each tradition. Utilizing a qualitative research design with a genealogical approach, this study analyzes pivotal intellectual works by major Muslim feminist thinkers from the 1970s to the present. The findings indicate that this intellectual development is neither linear nor imitative of Western frameworks but mutually reinforcing. Global thinkers focus on deconstructing sacred texts using tawhīd-based egalitarian hermeneutics. Conversely, Indonesian thinkers hybridize global concepts with local customary laws (adat), colonial history, and mainstream Islamic organizations, producing original methodologies like Qir'ah Mubadalah. Both traditions conclude that qiwamah and wilayah are human juristic constructs rather than unchangeable divine mandates. This productive tension between global hermeneutics and local activism provides a robust conceptual foundation for contemporary Islamic family law reform.

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ABSTRACT

Penelitian ini mengkaji kontradiksi hukum keluarga Islam konvensional yang masih memberikan kekuasaan penuh pada suami (qiwamah dan wilayah), di tengah realitas jutaan perempuan Muslim modern yang kini menjadi pencari nafkah dan pemimpin. Studi ini bertujuan untuk memetakan perkembangan pemikiran feminisme Muslim di tingkat global dan Indonesia, serta mengidentifikasi keunikan kontribusi dari kedua tingkatan tersebut. Menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan genealogi, penelitian ini menganalisis karya-karya penting tokoh feminisme Muslim dari tahun 1970-an hingga sekarang. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perkembangan pemikiran ini tidak bersifat linear atau meniru Barat, melainkan saling melengkapi. Tokoh global berfokus pada kritik teks suci dan menawarkan alat tafsir berbasis keadilan tauhid. Sementara itu, tokoh Indonesia melakukan hibridisasi teori global dengan hukum adat, sejarah kolonial, serta gerakan organisasi-organisasi besar Islam. Indonesia bahkan melahirkan inovasi metodologi asli seperti Qir'ah Mubadalah. Kedua tradisi ini bersepakat bahwa qiwamah dan wilayah adalah konstruksi hukum buatan manusia yang bersifat fleksibel. Hubungan dinamis antara hermeneutika global dan aktivisme lokal di Indonesia ini menjadi fondasi kuat bagi reformasi hukum keluarga Islam yang berkeadilan gender.



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INTRODUCTION

The intersection of feminism and Islam has long served as a contested terrain where competing visions of justice, identity, and religious authority meet and collide (Badran, 2009; Mir-Hosseini et al., 2015; Mir-Hosseini, 2006), and that collision does not take place in an abstract space but in the lived realities of millions of actual people. What deserves careful attention is not simply the fact that this tension exists, but that it persists with such enduring force even as Muslim-majority societies are undergoing rapid social transformation (Kloos & Ismah, 2023; Moghadam, 2002). Across Indonesia, Morocco, Pakistan, and many other parts of the world, family law systems continue to grant husbands legally sanctioned authority over wives on the basis of classical jurisprudential interpretations (Mir-Hosseini, 1999; Sonbol, 2003), while at the same time millions of Muslim women are now university graduates, breadwinners, and public leaders. Muslim feminist thought, which gained considerable momentum in the final decades of the twentieth century, emerged precisely to name this contradiction and to challenge it from within the Islamic tradition itself (Badran, 2009; Wadud, 1999). Rather than abandoning religious frameworks or adopting secular feminism wholesale, Muslim feminist thinkers chose to contest the interpretive ownership of Islamic texts, arguing that patriarchal readings of the Qur'an and Hadith are human constructions rather than divine mandates (Barlas, 2002; Mir-Hosseini, 2006; Wadud, 1999). The genealogy of this intellectual project, particularly as it concerns the redefinition of power relations within the family, is therefore not simply a story about women's rights (Mir-Hosseini, 1999). It is, more fundamentally, a story about who holds the authority to speak in the name of Islam, and what becomes possible when that authority is redistributed (Kloos & Ismah, 2023; Mir-Hosseini, 2006; Wadud, 1999).

Existing scholarship on Muslim feminism reveals at least four recognizable tendencies, and each of them carries its own blind spots (Badran, 2009; Kloos & Ismah, 2023; Moghadam, 2002). The first tendency is textual-hermeneutical, represented by foundational works such as Margot Badran's documentation of Islamic feminism as a global intellectual movement (Badran, 2009). That work concentrates heavily on close reading of sacred texts but frequently underweights the role of colonial history in shaping local legal systems (Ahmed, 1992; Badran, 2009). The second tendency is the locally grounded sociological approach, exemplified by Rachel Rinaldo's study of Muslim women's piety and agency in Indonesia (Rinaldo, 2013). While these studies provide valuable insights into women's agency, they offer limited discussion of the intellectual genealogy of family-law reform (Rinaldo, 2013). The third tendency is institutional-activist documentation, visible in work associated with the Musawah network (Z. Anwar, 2009; Mir-Hosseini et al., 2013). Those works successfully bridge scholarship and advocacy but less attention has been paid to the genealogical development of the ideas that later informed legal reform. The fourth tendency is the digital-era diffusion study, such as Nurmila's analysis of how Muslim feminist ideas spread in Indonesia before and after the internet age (Nurmila, 2011, 2021). That study tracks the reach of ideas with considerable care, but research into how media transformation alters



the substance of those ideas, rather than merely their circulation, remains substantially underdeveloped (E. Anwar, 2018; Nurmila, 2021). None of these tendencies, taken alone, offers a comparative genealogical account that maps the originality of global versus local contributions side by side and explains the productive relationship between them (E. Anwar, 2018; Kloos & Ismah, 2023).

This article addresses that gap directly. The central problem it investigates is how the genealogy of Muslim feminist thought has developed across global and Indonesian contexts in redefining power relations within the family institution, and where the originality of each tradition lies. Three specific research questions guide the inquiry: first, what is the historical trajectory of global Muslim feminist thought in reinterpreting *qiwamah* and *wilayah*? Second, how have Indonesian Muslim feminist thinkers adapted and innovated upon that global inheritance within their specific context of adat law and colonial legacies? Third, what are the implications of this genealogy for contemporary Islamic family law reform, particularly in Indonesia? The scholarly benefit of pursuing these questions operates on two levels. Theoretically, it enriches the discourse on Islamic hermeneutics by adding a comparative cross-cultural dimension that has so far been absent. Practically, it provides a conceptual foundation for advocacy and policy reform efforts that seek more gender-just family structures within Muslim societies.

The central argument of this article is that Muslim feminist thought, both globally and in Indonesia, forms a genealogy that is neither linear nor derivative, but layered and mutually informing. Global hermeneutical innovations provide the epistemological scaffolding, while local Indonesian adaptations produce a distinctive hybrid of theology, indigenous custom, and anti-colonial resistance. Three sub-arguments support this claim. First, the reinterpretation of *tawhīd* and *ijtihād* by global thinkers creates an epistemological platform that transcends specific cultural boundaries and allows gender justice to be articulated in an authentically Islamic language. Second, in Indonesia, the legacy of Dutch colonialism, the diversity of matrilineal adat systems such as that of the Minangkabau, and the organizational dynamics of major Islamic institutions such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have generated a form of Muslim feminism that is more contextual, pragmatic, and institutionally embedded than its global counterpart. Third, the gap between the universal-hermeneutical approach at the global level and the contextual-activist approach at the local level is not a weakness but a productive tension that has driven concrete family law reform in ways that neither tradition could have achieved on its own. Without understanding this layered genealogy, reform efforts will remain trapped in a false binary between universal Islam and local culture, and that is precisely the binary that conservative opponents of gender equality exploit most effectively.

METHOD

This research adopts a qualitative design grounded in a Foucauldian genealogical approach, adapted for the study of Islamic intellectual history as demonstrated by Anwar (2018) and informed by Foucault's original elaboration in *Discipline and Punish* (1977). The genealogical method is chosen because it refuses to read intellectual history as a smooth, progressive unfolding toward a predetermined destination (E. Anwar, 2018; Foucault, 1977). Instead, it treats the development of ideas as contingent, discontinuous, and always entangled with relations of power. Applied to Muslim feminist thought, this means asking not only what thinkers said about *qiwamah* and *wilayah*, but also under what conditions certain arguments became speakable and others were silenced, which institutional configurations made some innovations possible while suppressing others, and how the same concept could be deployed in radically different ways depending on the social location of the interpreter (Scott, 1986). This design allows the research to capture the genuine complexity of a tradition that has



developed across multiple continents, languages, and political contexts simultaneously, without flattening that complexity into a single narrative (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018).

The unit of analysis consists of the intellectual works produced by key figures in global and Indonesian Muslim feminism from the 1970s to the present, with particular attention to texts that engage directly with the concepts of *qiwamah* and *wilayah* as they operate in family law and domestic power relations. At the global level, the units include primary works by Fatima Mernissi, Amina Wadud, Leila Ahmed, Asma Barlas, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Riffat Hassan, and Asghar Ali Engineer. At the Indonesian level, they include works by Etin Anwar, Siti Musdah Mulia, Lies Marcoes-Natsir, Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, Nasaruddin Umar, and Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir. These thinkers were selected on three criteria: the significance of their contributions to the debate about gender and family in Islamic thought, their representativeness of the diversity of approaches within Muslim feminism, and the verifiability of their works through reputable academic publishers and indexed journals. The parallel structure of global versus local units is designed to enable systematic comparative analysis rather than descriptive juxtaposition.

Data sources fall into two categories. Primary sources consist of the monographs, edited volumes, and major essays produced directly by the figures identified as units of analysis, ranging from Mernissi's *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991) and Wadud's *Qur'an and Woman* (1999) to Mir-Hosseini's contributions to the *Musawah* framework documents and Kodir's *Qirā'ah Mubādalāh* (2019). Secondary sources consist of peer-reviewed journal articles that evaluate, apply, or extend the arguments of these primary texts, as well as institutional reports from organizations such as KUPI (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia) that document the organizational practice of Muslim feminist ideas in Indonesia. Priority in source selection is given to materials published by academically reputable presses, including Yale University Press, Oxford University Press, University of Texas Press, Routledge, and Oneworld Publications, as well as journals indexed in Scopus and reputable regional indices. Sources that cannot be verified through these channels are excluded to maintain the integrity of the analysis.

Data collection proceeded through systematic literature review using thematic keyword searches across accessible academic databases and library collections. Keywords included "Muslim feminism," "Islamic feminism," "qiwamah," "wilayah," "Islamic family law," "gender equality Islam," and their Indonesian equivalents. Inclusion criteria required that sources engage directly with the intersection of gender and Islamic family structures, be available in English, Indonesian, or credible translations, and demonstrate verifiable academic credentials through author affiliation, publisher reputation, or journal indexing. Sources meeting these criteria were compiled and subjected to close reading, with particular attention to how each text positions itself in relation to the concepts of *qiwamah* and *wilayah*, what methodological tools it deploys, and what kind of authority it claims for its interpretive moves. This close reading produced the raw material for the subsequent thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009).

Analysis was conducted through a three-stage thematic coding process. The first stage, open coding, involved reading each source inductively to identify recurrent motifs, including reinterpretations of *qiwamah*, critiques of hadith transmission, innovations in hermeneutical method, integrations of indigenous adat, and appeals to anti-colonial resistance. The second stage, axial coding, mapped the relationships among these motifs to build a coherent conceptual picture of how each thinker's contributions fit within the broader genealogy. The third stage, selective coding, produced the comparative synthesis between global and local traditions, making it possible to answer the research questions about originality and genealogical relationship (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Validity was maintained through source triangulation, cross-checking interpretations of primary texts against evaluations in the



secondary literature to guard against idiosyncratic readings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). The primary limitation of this study is its textual character. Because the analysis is based on written works rather than ethnographic observation, it necessarily captures the genealogy of ideas more fully than the genealogy of lived experience. Future research is encouraged to address this limitation by integrating field-based methods.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pioneer Reinterpretations and Hermeneutical Innovations

The global lineage of Muslim feminist thought took shape through a double movement that is easy to miss if one looks only at the conclusions rather than the intellectual labor behind them. Muslim feminist thinkers were not simply applying Western feminist categories to Islamic materials. They were building new interpretive tools from within the tradition itself, tools that would allow them to dismantle patriarchal structures using the very epistemological standards that the tradition claims to respect. Fatima Mernissi was the first to make this move with full scholarly rigor. Her analysis in *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991) did not reject hadith as a category of religious authority but instead applied the classical science of hadith criticism to demonstrate that specific misogynist traditions have problematic chains of transmission or were extracted from contexts that do not support the uses to which they had been put. Her observation that the barriers to women's rights in Muslim societies arise not from the Qur'an or the Prophet but from the interests of a male elite captures the strategic logic of this approach. By locating the problem in human interpretation rather than divine revelation, she opened space for reform without requiring believers to abandon their faith commitments (Mernissi, 1991).

Amina Wadud built on this foundation but took the argument in a direction that proved even more generative. Her reading of QS. An-Nisa: 34 in *Qur'an and Woman* (1999) argued that the Arabic term *qawwāmūn* refers to a functional responsibility tied to economic provision rather than an inherent masculine prerogative, and that this responsibility is conditioned on fulfillment rather than granted unconditionally. More fundamentally, Wadud introduced *tawhīd*, the unity of God, as the governing ethical principle for Muslim gender relations. She articulated what she described as "the ethics of tawhid over the ethics of *qiwamah*" as a way of insisting that no human authority can claim the absoluteness that belongs to God alone (Wadud, in Mir-Hosseini et al., 2015). Leila Ahmed contributed a different but equally crucial dimension through her historical reconstruction in *Women and Gender in Islam* (1992). She demonstrated that practices such as veiling and female seclusion entered Muslim life not from prophetic teaching but from the absorption of Byzantine and Persian social customs following the early conquests. The implication of this finding is significant: what is often presented as essential to Islam is in fact historically contingent and therefore open to revision (Ahmed, 1992).

Asma Barlas sharpened the theological argument to its most pointed formulation by claiming that the Qur'an is not merely compatible with gender equality but that it actively refuses patriarchal logic at the level of its deepest theological commitments. Her central contention in *Believing Women in Islam* (2002) is that any reading which subordinates women to men is simultaneously a form of *shirk*, the attribution of God's absolute authority to a human figure, and is therefore theologically incoherent on its own terms. Ziba Mir-Hosseini provided the jurisprudential corollary to this argument by demonstrating through comparative legal analysis and the *Musawah* framework that *qiwamah* and *wilāyah* "are not Qur'anic concepts; they are juristic constructs," which means they are the product of fallible human reasoning in a particular historical context and not binding commands of divine origin (Mir-Hosseini et al., 2015). Riffat Hassan added a critique of creation anthropology while Asghar



Ali Engineer pressed for social reform grounded in the progressive values he saw running through the Qur'an (Engineer, 1992; Hassan, 1995; Nurmila, 2021). Taken together, the originality of the global tradition lies in its development of a set of hermeneutical and theological tools capable of articulating gender justice in a language that does not require abandoning Islamic faith, a contribution whose significance for Muslim communities worldwide can hardly be overstated.

Contextual Innovations and the Integration of Adat in Indonesia

Indonesian Muslim feminism did not arrive as a ready-made import from global intellectual centers. It grew from soil already made fertile by centuries of indigenous practice, including matrilineal adat systems in Minangkabau, a history of colonial legal intervention that paradoxically both restricted and reframed women's rights, and the organizational culture of mass Islamic movements that created networks through which feminist ideas could travel and take root. Etin Anwar's genealogical mapping in *A Genealogy of Islamic Feminism* (2018) showed that women active in Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU were contesting patriarchal readings of Islamic texts long before those contestations were labeled feminist. They did so not through academic publications but through organizational decisions about education, family counseling, and community leadership. This institutional character of Indonesian Muslim feminism is one of its most distinctive features: ideas about gender equality did not merely circulate as arguments but were embedded in organizational structures that gave them practical traction (E. Anwar, 2018). The colonial overlay further complicated the landscape, since Dutch law had modified customary adat arrangements in ways that were not always favorable to women, meaning that the feminist critique had to operate simultaneously against patriarchal religious interpretation and against colonial legal inheritance.

Siti Musdah Mulia represents the most direct translation of this tradition into the language of legal reform. Her proposal for a progressive Counter Legal Draft of the *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* in 2004 was a document of remarkable ambition. It sought to revise the core provisions of Indonesian Islamic family law in ways that would eliminate gender asymmetry in marriage, divorce, inheritance, and polygamy, and it did so entirely in the language of Islamic theology rather than secular human rights. Mulia's insistence that "Islamic feminism bases its ideas on the humanist, inclusive and egalitarian teachings of Islam" was not a rhetorical concession to conservative critics but a genuine theological conviction that informed the method of the entire reform project (Mulia, 2022). Lies Marcoes-Natsir approached the same terrain from a different angle, integrating feminist analysis with grassroots anti-domestic-violence activism in ways that brought abstract theological arguments into contact with concrete situations of harm experienced by Muslim women in ordinary families. Her work, documented in writings including *Merebut Tafsir* (2021), models a form of feminist practice that refuses to separate intellectual argument from social intervention (Marcoes-Natsir, 2021).

Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir's development of *Qirā'ah Mubādalāh* at the Fahmina Institute in Cirebon is arguably the most original methodological contribution to emerge from the Indonesian context. The *mubādalāh* principle holds that any Qur'anic text addressing rights and obligations should be read as applying equally and reciprocally to men and women, so that a verse granting men authority also implies corresponding authority for women in symmetric situations. This is not simply a call for textual egalitarianism. It is a systematic hermeneutical procedure that generates different readings of hundreds of classical texts simultaneously, making it a genuinely transformative tool for Islamic jurisprudence (Kodir, 2019). Nasaruddin Umar's *Argumen Kesetaraan Gender Perspektif Al-Qur'an* (2004) complements this by showing that the Qur'anic case for gender equality does not require any external framework but can be built entirely from the resources of traditional Qur'anic



scholarship, thereby addressing the concern that feminist readings represent a foreign imposition. Together, these Indonesian contributions demonstrate that originality in Muslim feminist thought is not geographically concentrated in the Arab world or the Western academy but emerges with particular vitality where local intellectual creativity meets the pressure of specific social and political conditions (Umar, 2004).

Comparative Originality: Global Hermeneutics and Local Hybridization

Comparing the two trajectories reveals a pattern of originality that is complementary rather than competitive. Global thinkers developed tools that are translocal in their applicability, capable of generating arguments for gender justice in any Muslim context regardless of its specific cultural configuration, while Indonesian thinkers developed strategies that are deeply contextual, effective precisely because they speak in the vocabularies and through the institutional channels that their specific audiences already trust. The following table summarizes the key dimensions of this comparison.

Table 1. Comparative Originality of Global and Indonesian Muslim Feminist Thought

Dimension	Global Thinkers (Mernissi, Wadud, Ahmed, Barlas, Mir-Hosseini, Hassan, Engineer)	Indonesian Thinkers (Anwar, Mulia, Marcoes-Natsir, Katjasungkana, Umar, Kodir)
Core Innovation	Tawhid-based and <i>ijtihad</i> -grounded exegesis for universal gender equality	Integration of <i>adat</i> , anti-colonial narratives, and organizational activism
Family Power Focus	Critique of <i>qiwamah</i> as historical and jurisprudential distortion	Adaptation of authority concepts toward shared governance and local law reform
Methodological Originality	Hermeneutical tools: historical contextualization, woman-centered re-reading	Hybridization with indigenous systems; <i>mubadalah</i> reciprocal reading principle
Primary Challenges	Global patriarchal jurisprudence and accusations of Westernization	Colonial legal inheritance, Islamic revivalism, and cultural syncretism
Practical Implications	International reform models such as Morocco's Moudawana (2004)	KUPI advocacy (2017, 2022); proposed revision of Indonesia's Kompilasi Hukum Islam

Source: synthesized from comparative analysis of primary and secondary sources

This comparison discloses something important that a purely descriptive account would miss. The relationship between the two traditions is not one of center and periphery but of mutual enrichment across asymmetric conditions. Indonesian thinkers did not simply receive global frameworks and apply them locally. They worked with and against those frameworks, selecting what was useful, modifying what did not fit, and generating new concepts in the process of adaptation. Nurmila (2021) observed that the digital era accelerated the circulation of Muslim feminist ideas within Indonesia, but the more significant finding is that even before digital acceleration, Indonesian activists were already developing conceptual tools that had no direct parallel in the global literature. The *mubadalah* principle is the clearest example. It emerged from a local jurisprudential problem and produced a solution that has since attracted scholarly attention well beyond Indonesia, suggesting that the flow of intellectual influence is genuinely bidirectional rather than always running from global to local (Kodir, 2019; Nurmila, 2021).

Discussion

The findings of this research, read together, reveal Muslim feminist genealogy as a layered and dynamic intellectual structure rather than a straightforward historical progression. The most important point of synthesis is that both global and Indonesian traditions converge on a single substantive conclusion: *qiwamah* and *wilayah* are not immutable divine



commands but human juristic constructions that can and should be reformed in the name of the very Islamic principles they claim to protect. What differs between the two traditions is not the destination but the route. Global thinkers arrive there through transhistorical hermeneutical argument while Indonesian thinkers arrive there through contextually embedded organizational and legal activism. This convergence on substance despite divergence on method is itself theoretically significant, because it suggests that the commitment to *tawhīd*, *‘adl*, and *ijtihād* as foundations of gender justice is not a culturally specific preference but a discovery that emerges independently from within different historical conditions, lending it a kind of cross-cultural robustness that neither tradition could achieve alone (E. Anwar, 2018; Mir-Hosseini, 2006).

The contextual significance of these findings becomes clearer when placed against the specific historical backdrop of each tradition. Global Muslim feminist thought developed largely in the conditions created by the postcolonial encounter between Islam and Western modernity, which meant that its primary intellectual audience was often Western-educated scholars and international human rights communities as much as Muslim believers themselves. This audience shaped the form of the argument: it needed to be theoretically sophisticated, capable of engaging Western feminist theory and Islamic scholarship simultaneously. Indonesian Muslim feminist thought, by contrast, developed primarily within the organizational culture of mass Islamic movements and the political context of a newly independent Muslim-majority nation navigating between imported legal codes and indigenous religious practice. This meant its primary audience was village women, religious leaders, and state officials, which shaped its form toward the practical, the institutional, and the rhetorically accessible. Understanding this contextual divergence clarifies why each tradition looks the way it does without requiring us to rank one as more authentic or more advanced than the other (E. Anwar, 2018; Rinaldo, 2013).

The Foucauldian framework applied in this research suggests a theoretical interpretation that goes beyond merely noting similarities and differences. Foucault's concept of genealogy (1977) holds that intellectual traditions are not autonomous developments driven by the pure internal logic of ideas but are always shaped by the power relations that determine which questions can be asked, which voices can be heard, and which conclusions can be institutionalized. Applying this lens to Muslim feminist thought reveals that the very possibility of reinterpreting *qiwāmah* and *wilāyah* depended on historical conditions: the entry of Muslim women into higher education, the formation of international human rights networks, the weakening of colonial legal structures that had rigidified particular interpretations of family law, and the rise of transnational feminist movements that created audiences for previously silenced voices. The originality of Muslim feminist thought is therefore not the product of individual genius alone but of the specific conjunctures of power and knowledge that made certain interventions both possible and necessary at particular historical moments (Barlas, 2002; Foucault, 1977).

A new understanding that emerges from this analysis is that the relationship between global and local Muslim feminist thought is better described as dialogical rather than diffusionary. Standard accounts of intellectual history tend to model the global as producing and the local as receiving, but this research shows that Indonesian thinkers were never simply recipients. They were active interlocutors who reshaped the global conversation by introducing problems and solutions that the global tradition had not anticipated. The *mubādalāh* principle did not exist in Mernissi, Wadud, or Barlas. It was invented in Cirebon in response to a specific Indonesian jurisprudential need and has since begun to influence scholarship beyond Indonesia. Mulia's method of grounding family law reform entirely in Islamic theological language rather than secular rights discourse is another local innovation with implications for how reform is argued anywhere in the Muslim world. Recognizing this



bidirectional flow requires letting go of the habit of reading Muslim intellectual history as always moving from Arab centers to peripheral Muslim-majority nations (Kodir, 2019; Mulia, 2022).

Comparing these findings with previous research illuminates what this study adds. Badran (2009) mapped the global landscape of Islamic feminism with great care but maintained a center-periphery structure that this research challenges. Rinaldo's (2013) ethnographic account of Muslim women in Indonesia captured the texture of lived piety but remained at the level of social practice rather than intellectual genealogy. Anwar (2018) provided the most sophisticated genealogical account of Indonesian Islamic feminism available in English but did not undertake the systematic comparison with global traditions that this article attempts. Mir-Hosseini (2006) offered the clearest articulation of the jurisprudential critique from the global perspective but did not analyze the Indonesian adaptations in any depth. This article's contribution is therefore genuinely cumulative. It does not simply repeat what previous studies have done but builds on each of them to produce an integrated comparative account that none of them, taken individually, provides.

The implications of this research extend across three levels. For scholarship, the findings argue for a more robustly comparative and genealogical approach to Muslim feminist thought that takes seriously the intellectual originality of non-Arab, non-Western contributions rather than treating them as peripheral applications of ideas generated elsewhere. For policy and advocacy, the findings support the argument that Islamic family law reform, including the revision of Indonesia's *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* and the renewal of marriage law provisions, carries solid theological legitimacy from within the Islamic tradition and does not need to be framed as an external imposition. This reframing could significantly reduce conservative resistance to reform. For movement strategy, the findings suggest that the most effective interventions combine the translocal hermeneutical tools developed by global thinkers with the institutional embeddedness and local credibility developed by Indonesian activists, rather than treating these as alternative approaches between which one must choose (Kodir, 2019; Mulia, 2022; Nurmila, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This genealogical investigation has demonstrated that Muslim feminist thought constitutes a rich and multilayered intellectual tradition whose global and Indonesian streams are better understood as partners in a long conversation than as independent developments or hierarchically ordered levels of a single movement. The primary synthesis emerging from the analysis is that both traditions share a common epistemological commitment to *tawhīd*, *ʿadl*, and *ijtihād* as the foundations of gender justice in Islamic family life, and that this shared commitment generates a shared conclusion about *qiwāmah* and *wilāyah*: these concepts represent historically constructed juristic authority rather than divinely mandated hierarchy, and they can and should be reformed through processes of rigorous scholarly *ijtihād* that take seriously both the textual evidence and the social conditions of contemporary Muslim life. The scientific contribution of this article lies in demonstrating this shared originality through a comparative genealogical method that maps both the convergences and the divergences between global and local traditions without imposing a hierarchy between them.

From a theoretical standpoint, the application of Foucauldian genealogy to Muslim feminist intellectual history has proven its analytical value by exposing the power conditions that shaped which arguments became possible when, a dimension that hermeneutical and sociological approaches taken alone tend to underplay. The finding that the global-local relationship in Muslim feminist thought is dialogical rather than diffusionary constitutes a revision of the standard center-periphery model that has dominated comparative Islamic



intellectual history, and it opens the door to a more genuinely pluralistic historiography of Muslim thought in which non-Arab, non-Western contributions are recognized as sources rather than mere recipients of intellectual innovation. Methodologically, the three-stage thematic coding procedure applied in this study offers a replicable model for comparative genealogical analysis of intellectual traditions that span multiple linguistic and cultural contexts, though its textual character means it captures the history of ideas more fully than the history of their effects on actual family life. This limitation is not a failure but an invitation for the next generation of scholarship.

The practical implications of this research are addressed to several audiences simultaneously. For lawmakers and legal scholars in Indonesia, the genealogy traced here provides authoritative backing for the argument that progressive revision of the *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* and the Marriage Law of 1974 is not a capitulation to secular feminism but a fulfillment of authentic Islamic principles that the finest Muslim scholars have been developing for decades. For educators in Islamic higher education, the findings support the integration of gender-justice perspectives into Islamic studies curricula as a dimension of comprehensive theological formation rather than a politically contentious supplement. For future researchers, three directions are most urgently needed: first, ethnographic studies of how Muslim feminist ideas are received, negotiated, and sometimes resisted in actual family practice across different regions of Indonesia, including both rural and urban settings; second, analyses of how digital platforms are transforming not just the reach but the substance of Muslim feminist arguments as younger generations engage with them through new media; and third, comparative studies that extend the scope of genealogical analysis beyond Indonesia to other Muslim-majority societies in Southeast Asia, West Africa, and Central Asia, in order to test whether the global-local dialogical model proposed here holds across a wider range of historical and cultural conditions.

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