



Criticism of Fatima Mernissi's Understanding of Misogynistic Hadith on Women's Leadership

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Abstract

Discussions on women's leadership in various areas of life attract the attention of many groups; both *fuqaha*, *mufasssir*, and hadith experts. Differences of opinion are inevitable. The basis of this debate stems from an understanding of the hadith which textually seems to prohibit women from becoming leaders. This scientific article presents the debate on women's leadership based on the hadith texts of the Prophet Muhammad and the views of hadith scholars, *mufasssir* and *fuqaha*. In fact, leadership is not in terms of *mahdhab* worship or rituals that do not recognize sex or gender. Leadership demands competence or skill and a person's worthiness in leading, not gender

INTRODUCTION

Leadership is an element that cannot be avoided in this life. Forming a community is a human thing, where the community needs a leader who is a reference in all matters related to social life (Arifah, 2020). Discussions about leadership are never free from occasional debate. Especially women's leadership amidst the presence of men. In the Big Indonesian Dictionary, the equivalent word for woman is female, but each has a different meaning in its use. Symbolically, the use of the word woman as female means changing an object into a subject. Feminists tend to use the word "woman", and according to Mernissi, "woman" is an Indonesian euphemism, while "woman" is a Malay euphemism.

Development over time cannot be stopped. Every year women's participation in various fields of life becomes increasingly important (Gatdet, 2024; Sikhosana et al., 2023; Wu & Wu, 2024). This is demonstrated by the increasing number of women participating in politics, government and social organizations. Only a few of them become political leaders, ministers, vice presidents or prime ministers. This fact has also caused debate among Muslims.

Starting in the sixth century, Christians held a meeting to discuss whether women were human or not (Susila, 2022). This meeting concluded that women are humans who were created only to serve men. How ironic. Religions that are supposed to uphold justice and peace instead accuse and blame each other.

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The debate regarding women's leadership never ends in controversy and attracts a lot of attention and really absorbs the energy of various parties (Saladin, 2022; Baqi et al., 2022; Wahyudi & Fadilah, 2018). The discussion begins with views regarding the differences in the biological structure of men and women which influence their role in society. Therefore, women are found to have more weaknesses than normal men. The use of Hadith as another source of Islamic law has also sparked debate regarding women's leadership. For example, Hadith 4425 narrated by Bukhari is often used as justification for the prohibition of women becoming leaders by those who believe that women are not destined to be leaders. It is believed that the emergence of views on women's leadership in the discourse of classical Islamic thought was still heavily influenced by the culture and understanding of patriarchy that prevailed at that time. It is natural that the products of their ideas are still in demand by the public.

It doesn't stop at the hadith above, the bad stigma directed at women who aspire to become leaders also flows to include the hadiths of the Prophet SAW. Starting from the stigma of humans being half intelligent, having an imperfect religion, being emotional, and even being a housewife.

METHODS

The type of research that the author uses in this research is library research, namely research carried out by reviewing books related to the discussion that the author is studying. In elaborating on this discussion, the author analyzes the verses of the Koran in relation to medical science and then looks at how they are interpreted based on tafsir. The approach that the author uses in this research is approach content analysis. Content analysis is any systematic procedure designed to examine the content of recorded information, including documentation, writings, films, and other communication media, including mass media (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020; J & T, 2022; Maemonah et al., 2023).

This research is qualitative research, interpreting and presenting data using methods analytical descriptive, namely compiling data through narrative text, then analyzing and building theories that are ready to be tested for truth. The data collected in this research is to answer all the problems that have been explained in the background of the problem and the problem formulation. This research uses an approach of content analysis or literature research with the object of discussion being hadiths that are considered misogynistic about women's leadership. In discussing this topic the author tries to analyze misogynistic hadiths related to women's leadership. First the author displays all primary and secondary data.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Misogynistic Hadith Terminology

In terms of terminology, the term misogynist is used for the doctrines of a school of thought that ultimately cornered and degraded women. The notion that there are misogynistic elements in hadith was popularized by a female activist, Fatima Mernissi, through her book "*Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Inquiry*". In her book, Fatima Mernissi displays a number of hadiths which in her view have a misogynistic tone (Al-Refi'i, 2021). Hadith according to the language is: new, and also has the meaning of news. While according to the term is: anything that is relied on the Prophet, peace be upon him, whether in the form of words, actions, taqrir or anything else.

This misogynist hadith study was popularized by gender activists and is used to study controversial hadith. The gender nature of the texts of the Qur'an and al-Hadith, which often give rise to conflicts of interpretation between religious figures, is an issue of women's leadership and the like (Chairun Nisak & Rohmah, 2023; Izzan, 2021; Zuldin, 2016). Ilyas explained that this hadith contributed more or less

to society's patriarchal mindset so that Islam was considered unfair towards gender. In fact, Islam emphasizes equality and justice for men and women also in domestic life and in fulfilling the sexual needs of men and women. The strong patriarchal structure of society must be overthrown. One way is to understand misogynistic hadiths about gender justice through various research, the results of which are then disseminated to the wider community.

However, misogyny must be understood from a theological, not sociological, perspective (Juliani & Hambali, 2022; Krisdiana, 2021; Wahyu Hanafi Putra & Lisma Meilia Wijayanti, 2021). The theological side is the historical root of misogyny. Meanwhile, the sociological side is the result of theological influences accumulated throughout the long history of mankind, starting from myth. According to Nasaruddin Umar, certain relationships between men and women in different cultures are established with the help of myths. Starting from the myth of the rib cage, the origins of women's events, to the myth of menstruation. These myths show that women are the second creation and the second sex. The influence of these myths is stored for so long in women's subconscious that women accept the fact that they are subordinate to men and do not deserve to be equal to men.

Myths about women are quite difficult to solve because they intersect with religious issues. When a myth is translated into religious language, according to Nasaruddin Umar, its influence becomes stronger because the holy book for its followers is not a myth but comes from God. The influence of various stories in the holy books is called a non-mythological aspect because according to him the mythology mentioned in the holy books raises the status of faith

The weak position of women in society is an accumulation of various factors in the long history of mankind (Faiqah & Pransiska, 2018; Susantin, 2017). Culturally, women have many similarities between a cultural group or belief. Some myths surrounding women have similarities with the myth of the origin of women's birth. According to Fudhail, the historical roots of misogyny start from understanding the concept of the creation of women as separate from the concept of creation of men. At the same time, the concept of women as inferior and men as superior, rooted in the concept of creation. Among the stories of the first man found in the religious teachings of Mithras or Mithras (Magi), that is the tale of the first man found in the book Arya Dasacitra V-72.

Fatima Mernissi's Intellectual Genealogy

Fatima Mernissi was born in 1940 in the city of Fez in northern Morocco. He came from a middle class family in a harem, it was in this harem environment that his intellectual restlessness began. Little Mernissi and her cousin (Chama) always asked about the meaning of a harem or being surrounded by a harem (Choiri & Fathony, 2021; Dadah, 2018; Fathony et al., 2020). Some of his (female) family members saw the harem as a good thing. Another group, including his mother, who often protested against the separation of rooms between her family and her uncle's family, were anti-harem groups. Her mother's actions directly or indirectly instilled in her the ideas of women's liberation and rebellion

The opinion of Lala Yasmina (her grandmother), who stated that limits are limits harem More than just walls that physically limit women's movement, they are also the seeds of Mernissi's awareness of women's confinement. Outside his family environment, Mernissi received a first-class education at a traditional school founded by nationalists, which taught the Koran using a rigorous learning system. This is different from the lessons he received from his grandmother, where the Koran had opened the door for him to a poetic religion, which could lead to dreams rather than being a mere spirit weakener.

His introduction to Hadith in high school really touched his emotions. It is said in al-Bukhari taught by his teacher, that "Dogs, donkeys and women cancel

someone's prayer if they pass in front of him." This almost made him not repeat the hadith in the hope that it would be erased from his memory. She couldn't understand how the Prophet could say a Hadith that could hurt the feelings of a little girl like her. As an adult, Mernissi felt an urgent need to gather information about hadiths that he felt were degrading to women (misogynistic), and then seek out these texts to better understand them. His next intellectual journey was at Mohammed V University in Rabat, Mernissi took a political science program which he completed in 1965. Then he continued to Paris, and completed his doctoral program in sociology at Brandeis University in 1973, where *Beyond The Veil* is his dissertation. Mernissi worked as a journalist (Amal Rasaam, in John L. Esposito (ed.), 1995: 93). Upon returning to Morocco, he taught at the Department of Sociology at Mohammed V University, as well as being a lecturer at the Institute of Scientific Research, at the same University from 1974-1981. His career as a senior researcher developed through IURS in 1981-1995. The focus of his research revolves around efforts to transform research results that are pluralist-humanist in nature and support the position of minority groups such as women in an effort to strengthen the position of civil society. Apart from that, she also acts as a consultant to the United Nations Agencies, the World Bank, the Aga Khan Commission and is actively involved in the women's movement, besides being a member of the Pan Arab Women Solidarity Association. In 1981-1995, he developed his career as a senior researcher at IURS. The focus of her research is related to efforts to produce quality research and disseminate pluralist, humanist Islamic ideas and empower women as a subordinate group in the context of strengthening civil society.

Fatima Mernissi's Understanding of Misogynist Hadith on Women's Leadership

Not a few hadiths of the Prophet SAW were lifted and understood to reject women's leadership for those who are against women's leadership. Apart from that, those who are pro-female leadership argue with hadiths and have their own views in understanding misogynist hadiths. The hadith text from Abu Bakrah and QS An Nisa: 34 is the most basic reason among the ulama who require leadership to be in the hands of men and reject the role of women being allowed to occupy that position. Meanwhile, the story of Queen Balqis in QS An-Naml 27:23-44, and QS At-Taubah 9:71 and the hadith "*Women are brothers of men*" became the basic argument of the scholars that allowed female leaders.

There are at least four hadiths that often color the debate on women's leadership (Aziz, 2020; Saladin, 2022; Supriady et al., 2022). Usually these four hadiths are contained in the form of simplifications or simplifications in terms of sanad and matan. The following hadith is often brought up in discussions of women's leadership which the author presents in full, both in terms of sanad and matan as stated in the books of Sahih Bukhari and Muslim:

Othman bin Al-Haytham told us, Awf told us, on the authority of Al-Hasan, on the authority of Abu Bakra, who said, "God has helped me with a word I heard from the Messenger of God - may God bless him and grant him peace Day of the camel, after I had almost caught up with the owners of the camel and fought with them. He said, when the Messenger of God - may God bless him and grant him peace - was informed that The people of Persia made Khosrau's daughter king over them. He said, "No people will succeed if they have a woman in charge of their affairs." (Narrated by Al-Bukhari and Muslim).

According to Fatima Mernissi, this hadith is a reaction to injustice that is legitimized by cultural and religious structures. According to Fatima Mernissi, Abu Bakrah said this during the war between Ali and Aisyah. At that time Aisyah's situation was very critical, politically she lost, Aisyah controlled the city of Basrah, and everyone who chose not to join Ali's army had to find an excuse. Before the war

broke out, Aisyah sent many letters to Islamic leaders explaining to them the reasons that made her rebel against Ali and asking for their support. However, many of them refrained from taking part in the civil war, including Abu Bakrah.

The seventh theme is channeling interest in reading. This theme aims to instill character likes to read. At the student there is a library or some guesthouses call it a literacy corner. Here are provided books that can be borrowed, with this library it is hoped that students will read diligently. This theme was conveyed by informants as excerpts from the below: Abu Bakrah remembered the hadith above, only as proof at critical moments. If the historical context of the hadith is clear, then a critical evaluation of the hadith can be carried out using the methodology determined by the jurists as a basis for evidence.

Criticism of Fatima Mernissi's Understanding of the Hadith on Women's Leadership

Most of the world's religious traditions assign secondary and subordinate roles to women, although there is historical evidence that women have taken leadership roles in their communities, Christian, Jewish, and Muslim feminists have reviewed their sacred texts and concluded that religion offers opportunities for women (Nuril Fajri, 2019). However, tradition and history have weakened this potential and used religion to oppress women, so the problem is not with religious texts, but with their interpretation.

Through the framework above, Mernissi reveals the reasons behind the exclusion of women from the world of politics, because the above hadith is often used to corner women, so Mernissi tries to trace this hadith (Daklo & Obadire, 2024; Hirpa, 2021; Tayyaba et al., 2022). The hadith narrated by Abu Bakrah contains authentic hadith both sanad and mata. In general, hadith experts such as Abu Hazim and Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, after studying the takhrij, agree on the validity of the hadith narrated by Abu Bakrah regarding women's leadership, sanad and matan genealogy. For more details on the sanad route, see the book *Tahdzib al-Tahdzib* by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani.

In its application, this hadith is often used by some people for their personal interests and political power when facing women who are political opponents of their power who are seen as endangering their position. On the other hand, among women, this hadith is seen as a tool to legitimize men's power in the political arena. There are three framework approaches used by Fatima Mernissi in responding to the hadith, namely historical analysis, gender analysis and hadith criticism. In the historical analysis, Mernissi revealed examples of the role and participation of Muslim women in the government sector. There are those who play a direct role, such as queens who are generally recognized by their people as heads of state. Among them are Razia Sultan (New Delhi), Syajarat al Durr (Cairo), Padishah Khatim (Mongol Dynasty), Sultana Khatim (Central Asia). Those who play an indirect role, such as making political decisions, include Khayzuran, wife of Caliph al Mahdi, mother of al-Hadi and Harun al-Rasyid (Abbasid Daula. Caliph al-Harun al-Rasyid's confession about his mother's abilities is depicted in his assertion that he is not ashamed to share power with women who have qualities like his mother in Harun Al-Rasyid's government. Khazuran's influence is visible in making important state political decisions.

If we look back at history during the time of the Prophet, we see that Muslim women played a role in political activities (Habibah, 2021; Handayani & Nurwahidin, 2023; Zaky Ismail, 2016). For example, Umm Aiman's participation in the Uhud, Khaibar and Hunain wars, even though she only fought in the rear, prepared food and drink and cared for injured soldiers. Apart from that, Umm Salamah's participation in the emigration to Ethiopia and Medina is another example of the political activity of Muslim women during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In

the second part, Mernissi uses gender analysis to look at patriarchal culture which gives rise to subordination of women. Because in her research, Mernissi did not find Islamic teachings that demean women. The subordination of women is not due to biological weakness or religious teachings, but rather because of social structure. Women's roles often create inequality.

Among Muslims, the opinions of some Ulama often result in the exclusion of women from public roles, including the political field. Ulama and Imams are ordinary people who are not free from mistakes, therefore there is a possibility of misinterpretation which can give rise to stereotypes of women's roles being limited to domestic walls. So, according to Fatima Mernissi, it is necessary to carry out a careful analysis of the opinions of Ulama and Imams. For this reason, he expressed the opinion of the need to track down hadiths which explicitly contain depictions of unequal roles between men and women. This hadith was raised by Abu Bakrah, when he refused to get involved in the Jamal war between Aisyah and Ali bin Abi Talib. According to him, the Prophet Muhammad said this hadith when there was a long war between the Romans and the Persians, in 628 AD, the king of Persia was killed which caused chaos and murder in his country, especially during the takeover of power, finally a woman named Buwaran bint Syairawaih bin Kisra bin was elected. Parwaiz as queen (Kisra) of Persia.

Based on the facts above, the above hadith has a kind of testament, it can be seen that this hadith was narrated by Abu Bakrah who stated what the Messenger of Allah. said when he saw an event in the Persian Kingdom. Then Abu Bakrah remembered this hadith when he found himself in a confusing situation, namely at the time of the war between Siti 'Aisyah and Ali, both of whom were the Prophet's lovers. So Abu Bakrah had a motive to repeat the hadith again. Abu Bakrah implicitly refused to tie Aisyah.

Therefore, al-Ghozali in the book "*Al Sunnah Al Nabawiyyah*" (the Prophet's tradition) expresses the rights of women, including holding the rights of public office including head of government, by referring to Surah al-Naml verse 23 as the basis of its argument. From the story of Queen Balqis presented in this verse, there is an illustration of women's ability to hold control of government. And this is a very positive role model for women in the field of government. After revealing historical evidence, Fatima Mernissi also expressed the opinion and attitude of the *Fuqaha* in the first centuries regarding this hadith, even though the hadith was considered authentic by Bukhari, it turned out to be widely debated, the *Fuqaha* themselves did not agree on the use of this hadith in relation to women's and political issues.

CONCLUSION

There are several framework approaches that Fatima Mernissi uses in responding to this hadith, namely historical analysis, gender analysis and hadith criticism. In the historical analysis, Mernissi revealed examples of the role and participation of Muslim women in the government sector. In the second part, Mernissi uses gender analysis to look at patriarchal culture which gives rise to subordination of women. Because in her research, Mernissi did not find Islamic teachings that demean women. The subordination of women is not due to biological weakness or religious teachings, but rather because of social structure. Women's roles often create inequality. After revealing historical evidence, Fatima Mernissi also expressed the opinion and attitude of the *Fuqaha* in the first centuries regarding this hadith, even though the hadith was considered authentic by Bukhari, it turned out to be widely debated, the *Fuqaha* themselves did not agree on the use of this hadith in relation to women's and political issues.

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