

## **PRODUCING GENDER ON AN ISLAMIC CAMPUS: Sharia, Bodily Regulation, and the Politics of Equality**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Research on gender in Islamic higher education focuses on curriculum reforms, gender awareness, women's rights, and policies. However, less attention is given on how gender is produced through campus space, bodies, and social interactions. This study examines how sharia-based regulations produce gender relations and student experiences at an Islamic university. Using a qualitative case study approach, the study analyzed data from the Student Code of Ethics of UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau and applied Michel Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power, body

regulation, and biopower. The analysis focused on regulations governing spatial segregation, dress codes, and interactions. The findings identify three mechanisms governing gender: the politics of space, the body, and interaction. Classroom segregation creates boundaries; dress codes idealize pious bodies; and mobility restrictions regulate social relations. The formalization of sharia often aims to control women's bodies as symbols of religiosity. These results support Foucauldian views on disciplinary power and feminist critiques of body regulation. Gender in Islamic higher education is produced by practices that regulate bodies, spaces, and interactions. This study shifts attention from curriculum and perceptions toward the politics of the body. It recommends that sharia-based policies prioritize justice, equality, and human dignity over the symbolic control of women's bodies.

**Keywords:** body politics, gender, Islamic higher education, Michel Foucault, sharia formalization

## A. Introduction

Gender in Islamic higher education is increasingly discussed not only as a matter of equal access but also how religious norms, institutional arrangements, and everyday academic practices shape students' experiences. In Islamic higher education institutions (PTKI), gender equality is particularly complex because these institutions function as academic organizations and spaces where Islamic values are formally articulated and institutionalized. Consequently, gender relations are shaped not only by curricula or students' attitudes but also by rules governing how bodies occupy space, how students dress, how they move, and how men and women interact. Understanding these practices matters because institutional regulations do more than prescribe appropriate conduct; they also normalize particular understandings of masculinity, femininity, piety, morality, and equality.

Existing scholarship on gender in Islamic higher education has developed along several important lines. One strand examines gender mainstreaming through

curriculum, teaching materials, and pedagogical practices. Tandos (2020), for example, examines the development of gender-responsive curricula in Islamic higher education, Antasari et al. (2022) identify ongoing challenges in implementing gender mainstreaming within student organizations and academic environments. Other studies show that gender-responsive teaching materials can strengthen students' understanding of equality in Islam and contribute to more inclusive educational environments. These studies underscore the importance of pedagogical reform, but their primary concern remains what students learn about gender rather than how institutional practices organize gender relations.

A second body of research examines students' perceptions, attitudes, and understandings of gender equality. Studies report growing acceptance of equal educational opportunities, women's rights, and principles of gender justice among students in Islamic higher education, although differences persist regarding religious authority, female leadership, and gendered social roles (Juhaidi, 2024; Kumala et al., 2024; Thoriquattyas et al., 2022). This literature is important for documenting changes in students' attitudes toward gender. However, perception-oriented studies do not necessarily explain how institutional environments create such attitudes and behaviors. In other words, knowing what students think about gender equality does not fully explain how gendered conduct is organized, normalized, and reproduced.

A third strand addresses institutional reform and gender justice, including policies on women's participation, leadership, decision-making, and protection from sexual violence. Research shows that Islamic higher education institutions have increasingly adopted formal commitments to gender equality, yet patriarchal assumptions may remain embedded (Awaluddin et al., 2022; Syamsiah & Aisyah, 2025). Fadhilah and Rohmaniyah (2023), for instance, emphasize institutional reform and policies at creating safer, more inclusive academic environments. While these studies provide important insights into institutional

governance, they tend to emphasize organizational commitment and formal reform. Less attention has been paid to how institutional rules are translated into micro-level practices that regulate students' bodies, spatial positioning, mobility, and everyday interaction.

Another body of scholarship examines gender through Islamic legal interpretation and debates over women's rights. Recent studies show that gender inequality cannot be reduced to Islamic texts alone but also stems from historically situated interpretations, structures of religious authority, and power relations (Caniago et al., 2024; Čustović, 2025; Fithriani & Faridah, 2024). This literature establishes that sharia is interpreted within particular social and historical contexts. However, its main focus remains normative, theological, or legal. An empirical question remains: what happens when particular interpretations of Islamic morality become institutional rules governing everyday conduct within an Islamic university?

Studies of gender and academic interaction provide another relevant perspective. Research has examined differences in communication, collaboration, and learning experiences between male and female students and has emphasized the importance of creating inclusive academic environments that support equal participation (Ardiansyah & Erawati, 2024; Luhuringbudi et al., 2020; Santi et al., 2024; Tashmatov et al., 2025). Nevertheless, these studies tend to explain gender differences through individual characteristics, communication patterns, or learning experiences. The institutional mechanisms that organize gender relations particularly the regulation of space, mobility, bodily appearance, and relationships between men and women—remain comparatively underexamined in Islamic higher education.

Scott-Baumann et al. (2020) offer a particularly relevant contribution by examining Islam and gender on campus through the politics of dress. Their study demonstrates that Muslim women's clothing constitutes an important site where religious identity, gender

stereotypes, and power relations intersect. It also shows that Muslim students may experience social surveillance while actively responding to and interpreting expectations surrounding religious appearance. This work significantly expands the study of gender on campus by shifting attention from formal rights and representation to the body. Nevertheless, it primarily focuses on the politics of dress and student experiences in Western university contexts. It examines how an Islamic higher education institution itself formally regulates dress, academic space, student mobility, and interaction through sharia-based rules.

Taken together, these studies establish several important dimensions of gender in Islamic higher education: curriculum and pedagogy, student perceptions, institutional reform, Islamic legal interpretation, and academic interaction. What remains insufficiently explained is the institutional process through which gender is produced through the routine regulation of bodies, spaces, mobility, and social relations. This gap is more specific than claiming that “gender in Islamic higher education has not been sufficiently studied.” Existing studies show what gender-responsive curricula seek to teach, what students think about gender equality, what institutional reforms aim to achieve, how Islamic law is interpreted, and how students experience academic interaction which tell considerably less about how an Islamic university materially organizes gender through everyday rules and practices.

This article addresses that gap by examining UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau as a case of Islamic higher education in which Islamic values are translated into concrete institutional regulations. Rather than treating gender primarily as an object of discourse, perception, or negotiation, this study conceptualizes gender as produced and regulated through institutional practices. Drawing on Michel Foucault’s concepts of disciplinary power, normalization, bodily regulation, and biopower, the study investigates how the university’s Student Code of Ethics and related campus practices organize three interconnected domains: space, the body, and

interaction. The analysis asks how spatial segregation, dress regulations, mobility restrictions, and rules governing male–female interaction help produce particular gendered and religious subjects within the Islamic campus.

The Foucauldian perspective is particularly useful because it shifts the analytical question from whether a regulation is “equal” or “unequal” toward how power operates through ordinary institutional practices to define, normalize, and regulate acceptable conduct. In this framework, the classroom, the student body, clothing, mobility, and social relationships are not neutral elements of campus life. They become sites through which institutional norms are materialized and students are positioned as particular kinds of gendered and religious subjects. Gender production occurs not only through explicit statements about men and women but also occurs through the repeated organization of space, bodily appearance, movement, and interaction.

Based on this framework, this article argues that sharia-based campus regulations function not only as expressions of religious morality but also as institutional mechanisms through which gender is produced and normalized. The study examines how the regulation of space, body, and interaction shapes gendered conduct at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau and how these mechanisms construct relationships between Islamic piety, bodily discipline, and gender equality. By shifting the focus from curriculum and perceptions to the everyday institutional production of gender, this study contributes to the broader discussion of gender, power, and Islamic higher education.

## **B. Discussion**

### **Space Politics: The Spatial Regulation of Gender in Academic Activities**

One of the most visible forms of sharia-informed regulation in the academic life of UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau is the gendered organization of classroom. Article 8

of the Student Code of Ethics requires students to participate in learning activities orderly, including male-female separating seating students. The study also identifies a program in which male and female students are placed separately. These provisions indicate that gender relations within the academic environment are partly organized through institutional rules.

From the institutional perspective reflected in the existing literature, spatial separation is associated with Islamic etiquette, preventing inappropriate interaction according to Islamic norms (Al Atsari & Haq, 2025; Aqilla & Kamil, 2022; Sahri & Hidayah, 2020). Within this framework, the institution may not view the separation of male and female students as restricting access to education. Instead, it can be understood as a way to maintain interaction boundaries. Similar interpretations have been discussed in studies of gender-segregated educational settings, where spatial separation is associated with particular understandings of modesty, interpersonal boundaries, and Islamic social ethics (Ardiansyah & Erawati, 2024; Rizqi & Brilliantti, 2023). The institutional rationale is therefore closely connected to preserving what is understood as appropriate interaction and moral conduct, including the principle of *hifz al-'ird* (protection of honour).

At the same time, the spatial arrangement can be examined beyond its stated moral justification. From a Foucauldian perspective, the organization of space is a mechanism through which institutions make bodies visible, distinguish their positions, and regulate possible forms of interaction. Disciplinary power operates not only through explicit prohibition or punishment; it also operates through the arrangement and distribution of bodies within institutional spaces (Darmansyah A et al., 2023; Mowitt et al., 1980). Foucault's discussion of space, knowledge, and power further highlights how spatial arrangements can organize conduct by determining where individuals are positioned and how they may move and interact (Foucault, 1980, 2023). In the case examined here, the students' separation does more than organize classroom seating. It establishes a

visible spatial distinction between two genders and institutionalizes expectations about how those should occupy academic space.

Repeated exposure to such arrangements may normalize gendered spatial boundaries. The classroom is not a neutral location for knowledge transmission; it is also an institutional environment in which students repeatedly encounter and practice particular forms of conduct. When academic activities consistently reproduce separation between male and female bodies, the distinction can become an ordinary feature. In Foucauldian terms, normalization establishes standards through which conduct becomes recognizable as appropriate or inappropriate and encourages individuals to regulate themselves in relation to those standards (Ball, 2012; Kebung, 2021). The significance of spatial regulation lies not only in the physical distance but also in its capacity to make particular gender boundaries appear orderly, legitimate, and routine.

This finding also raises an important question concerning the meaning of gender equality in the institutional context. Liberal feminist approaches have generally associated equality with equal access, equal opportunity, and removal of gender-based barriers from the public sphere (Okin, 2018). From this perspective, institutionalized spatial segregation may raise concerns because gender-based differentiation can reproduce unequal social positioning even when in equal formal educational access. However, the institutional logic identified in this study does not necessarily define equality through spatial integration. Rather, equality appears compatible with equal educational access alongside interaction boundaries justified through Islamic norms. This distinction matters because it shows that equality cannot be assumed to be the same across different religious and institutional contexts. The finding does not establish that spatial separation is inherently discriminatory; instead, it demonstrates that the same institutional arrangement can carry different meanings depending on the normative framework through which it is justified and experienced.

The spatial organization of the classroom can be understood as part of the production of gendered conduct within the university. The institution does not merely recognize male and female students as pre-existing categories; through spatial rules, it repeatedly organizes how these categories are positioned in relation to each other. The classroom becomes an academic and a disciplinary space where gender boundaries are materially enacted. As Kharisma (2025) suggests, classroom organization can shape interaction patterns, while the Foucauldian perspective explains how such arrangements may participate in forming subjects within institutional norms. Repeated organization of academic space shapes students' everyday understanding of what constitutes appropriate between men and women.

Accordingly, seating separation of male and female students should not be merely as a technical classroom arrangement. At UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, it functions as spatial politics through which bodies are positioned, gender relations are organized, and particular norms of Islamic propriety are institutionalized. The significance of this finding lies less in determining whether spatial separation is discriminatory or non-discriminatory, and more in showing how an institutional rule produces and normalizes particular forms of gendered conduct. The case illustrates one mechanism where sharia-informed institutional norms become embedded in the everyday academic life.

### **Body Politics: Muslim Attire and the Production of Visual Piety**

Beyond organizing academic space, sharia-informed institutional regulation at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau also operates through rules governing students' bodily appearance. Article 8 of the Student Code of Ethics requires students to dress modestly and neatly and to cover the aurat (body parts required to cover) in accordance with Islamic principles both inside and outside the campus environment. The regulation

specifies permitted and prohibited clothing, including restrictions on jeans, T-shirts, ripped clothing, tight trousers, and shorts. For female students, the provisions are more detailed, including requirements for modest Muslim attire, chest coverage with the hijab, and a prohibition on clothing considered tight, transparent, or revealing the body's shape.

The detail of these provisions indicates that the student body is an important object of institutional regulation. From the sociology of the body, the body is not understood simply as a biological entity or as a private domain. Rather, social norms, cultural expectations, and relations of power shape bodily appearance (Ackerly, 2016; Maftuhin, 2018; Saptandari, 2013). Turner (2008), for example, conceptualizes the body as a field on which social, moral, and political regulations operate. Clothing therefore becomes more than an individual matter of appearance when it is situated within an institutional environment that establishes explicit standards for bodily presentation.

This perspective helps explain the significance of clothing regulation within an Islamic university. Once students enter the institutional space, bodily appearance becomes visible within a shared social environment and subject to institutional expectations and social interpretation. Goffman's (1959, 1963) discussion of self-presentation demonstrates how individuals manage their appearance in social interaction, while Bourdieu's (1989, 2018) concept of *habitus* highlights how socially established dispositions become embodied and reproduced through everyday practices. In this context, dress regulations can be understood as mechanisms through which particular expectations concerning modesty, propriety, and Islamic identity are incorporated into students' everyday bodily practices.

The Foucauldian perspective adds another dimension. Foucault's account of disciplinary power highlights how institutions regulate the details of everyday bodily conduct rather than relying exclusively on direct coercion (Foucault, 2021, 2023). Clothing,

bodily appearance, posture, and similar practices can become institutional objects regulation when they are connected to established norms of appropriate conduct. Dress regulations in this case therefore function not simply as administrative requirements but as disciplinary mechanisms that define particular standards of acceptable bodily appearance. Through repeated compliance, students are encouraged to monitor their appearance in relation to institutional expectations. The body thus becomes a site where institutional norms are materialized and normalized.

An important dimension of this regulation concerns the different levels of detail applied to male and female bodies. The Student Code of Ethics includes provisions for both groups, yet for female students specify more aspects of clothing, including shape, size, transparency, and how the hijab should be worn. Previous studies have similarly highlighted the visibility of women's bodies in debates over Islamic dress and gender regulation (Kurniawan, 2018; Mufidah et al., 2021). In this case, greater specificity suggests that female bodily appearance occupies a particularly visible position in construction of modesty and piety. It does not establish that women are universally or systematically more regulated across Islamic higher education institutions. Rather, in the UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau case, female appearance receives comparatively detailed institutional attention.

This finding can be interpreted through Trethewey's (1999) argument that institutions may produce idealized bodily forms through standards governing appearance and conduct. Here, the institutional ideal is associated with a pious and appropriately presented Muslim body. Dress regulations, along with the spatial and interactional rules, establish expectations for students' presentation. The body becomes a medium through which institutional values become visible. Piety is treated as internal religious disposition, and a visible, embodied dimension through clothing and bodily presentation.

The finding resonates with Scott-Baumann et al. (2020), who demonstrate that Muslim women's clothing on university campuses can become an arena in which religion, identity, gender, and power intersect. Their study, however, concerns Muslim students' experiences in Western university contexts, where clothing may be influenced by social, stereotyping, and negotiating identities. The present context differs because expectations concerning Muslim attire at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau are not produced only through informal interaction; they are also articulated through formal institutional regulations. Thus, the dressing politics has an explicit institutional dimension in which religious expectations concerning bodily appearance are formally codified.

Institutionalization of dress standards also demonstrates how religious values can translate into visible everyday practices. Within the regulatory framework examined here, piety is not represented solely as an internal belief or theological commitment but also associated with bodily appearance observable on campus. Andiko (2018) similarly emphasizes the visible dimension of religious expression. Clothing becomes a medium through which students become subjects conforming to the institution's understanding of Islamic propriety. Dress regulation therefore contributes to the production of visual piety by transforming an abstract religious ideal into a recognizable, institutionally legible appearance.

From this perspective, dress regulation operates at the intersection of body, identity, and institutional power. The rules do not merely specify what students wear; they establish standards through which certain forms of appearance become recognizable as modest, proper, and consistent with the identity of an Islamic university. Repeated compliance may normalize these standards, making them appear ordinary and expected. In Foucauldian terms, disciplinary power can operate daily that encourage individuals complying institutional norms.

At the same time, the findings require a distinction

between regulations in this case and broader claims the Indonesian sharia formalization. The evidence shows that sharia-informed norms at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau translate into concrete rules governing bodily appearance, with comparatively detailed provisions concerning female students. Previous studies from other Indonesian contexts provide a broader discussion of how women's bodies can become objects of religious and moral regulation. Still, those contexts involve different legal, political, and institutional arrangements. Such literature is used as a comparative interpretive framework rather than as evidence that the same regulatory pattern characterizes Islamic higher education institutions throughout Indonesia.

The significance of the finding lies in showing how gender is produced through institutional attention to the body. At UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, bodily appearance becomes one domain through which Islamic identity and gendered expectations are materially expressed and normalized. The institution does not simply communicate ideas about gender and piety through teaching; it also organizes how students are expected to present their bodies on campus. Body politics, therefore, constitutes an important mechanism through which religious norms become embodied as routine and particular forms of gendered and religious subjectivity are produced.

### **Interaction Politics: Regulating Mobility and Social Relationships**

Beyond academic space and bodily appearance, sharia-informed institutional regulation at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau extends to students' mobility and social relationships. The Student Code of Ethics contains several provisions concerning interactions between male and female students, including restrictions on riding together with not mahram (people forbidden to marry due to blood ties, breastfeeding, or marriage) and prohibitions against with opposite sex in secluded places without a legitimate relationship (Patittingi et al., 2021; Saraini &

Kholifah, 2018). The regulations also include a specific provision concerning female students' bodily posture when riding a motorcycle. These provisions indicate that institutional attention extends beyond classroom and appearance to mobility and interpersonal relationships.

From the institutional perspective reflected in the literature, such regulations are associated with maintaining Islamic etiquette and preventing conduct considered inconsistent with religious norms. Restrictions on riding together and being alone in secluded places can therefore be understood as preventive mechanisms intended to maintain social boundaries, protect personal and collective honour, and create an Islamic conducive campus environment (Hasan, 2020). Within this normative framework, the regulation of interaction is not necessarily presented as a restriction on educational access but as an effort to establish boundaries concerning relationships between men and women. Its rationale is consequently connected to particular understanding of morality, propriety, and *hifz al-'ird* within Islamic social ethics (Dozan, 2021; Hakim, 2023; Nur Iffsatin, 2019).

From a Foucauldian perspective, however, these provisions demonstrate how institutional power operates through the regulation of everyday mobility and social relations. Disciplinary power does not necessarily require continuous physical punishment; it can operate through rules that define acceptable and unacceptable conduct and encourage individuals to regulate themselves accordingly (Cristiana, 2021; Marhumah, 2012). In this case, the institution regulates not only formal academic activities but also aspects of how the students move through social spaces, with whom they may travel, and what circumstances they may interact privately. Mobility consequently becomes part of the field of institutional regulation.

The significance of these rules becomes clearer when considered together with the spatial and bodily regulations discussed above. Spatial separation establishes boundaries between male and female bodies

within academic settings, while interaction rules extend those boundaries beyond the classroom into everyday mobility and social relationships. Restrictions on riding with a non-mahram, avoiding secluded encounters, and regulating bodily posture while riding therefore do more than regulate isolated actions. They organize the conditions under which relationships between bodies may occur. Regulation consequently affects not only the individual body but also the possibilities for interaction and association between bodies (Christian, 2023).

This dimension is particularly significant because mobility is ordinarily experienced as an everyday and relatively ordinary activity. When institutional rules attach religious and moral meaning to particular forms of movement, however, mobility becomes a site of social regulation. Turner (2008) conceptualizes the body as an arena in which social, political, and religious norms are produced and maintained. From this perspective, restrictions concerning how students travel, sit, or interact are not merely technical regulations of movement. They contribute to expectations about how bodies should move and relate to one another in ways considered morally appropriate within the institution.

The comparison with sharia-related regulation in Aceh provides a useful context but should not be treated as equivalent. Previous research has examined Aceh regulations concerning women's bodily posture and conduct in public spaces (Rahman, 2013). The similarity is in the regulatory concern—the effort to attach moral significance to bodily movement and public conduct—rather than in the institutional or legal structure through which regulation occurs. Aceh's sharia regulations operate within a broader public and governmental framework, whereas the rules examined in this study operate within the institutional environment of an Islamic university. The comparison is consequently useful for identifying an analytical parallel without suggesting that UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau represents the broader pattern of sharia regulation in Indonesia.

From a Foucauldian perspective, mobility

regulation can be interpreted in terms of biopower, insofar as institutional power operates through managing bodies and everyday conduct (Cronin, 1996; Martono, 2014). The mechanism is not necessarily direct coercion but the establishment of norms that guide individuals toward self-regulation. In this case, rules on clothing, spatial separation, mobility, and social interaction collectively set standards for how male and female students are expected to behave within and around campus. Religious norms consequently become embedded in routine institutional practices and are encountered through everyday bodily activities.

The comparison with Aceh highlights an important institutional distinction. State-based sharia regulation and university-based regulation differ in legal authority, institutional objectives, and enforcement mechanisms. In Aceh, regulation operates within a broader public sphere and involves state institutions. At UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, regulation occurs within an educational institution and primarily concerns students' conduct. The campus therefore constitutes a more bounded environment where norms can be reproduced through rules, socialization, repeated practice, and normalization. This distinction allows the present study to identify the disciplinary dimension of campus regulation without extending the finding to a general claim about the operation of sharia throughout Indonesian society.

The case also offers a basis for examining the gendered dimension of interaction regulation. Some provisions apply generally to relationships between male and female students, while others explicitly address women's bodily posture and appearance. Gender is therefore produced not only through physical separation or clothing regulation but also through rules governing how gendered bodies may move and relate to one another. Nevertheless, this case alone cannot establish that women are systematically more regulated than men across Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia. Rather, it indicates that women's bodily conduct becomes particularly visible in several of the regulations examined at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau. This finding can be

considered alongside previous research on gender and sharia-related bodily regulation.

Taken together, the three dimensions examined in this study—space, body, and interaction—reveal an interconnected institutional process. Spatial regulation organizes where male and female bodies are positioned; dress regulation establishes how those bodies should appear; and interaction rules regulate how they may move and relate to one another. Interaction politics therefore matters not simply because it restricts particular activities but because it extends institutional norms into everyday social relations. Within the UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau case, sharia-informed regulation operates through these interconnected mechanisms to produce and normalize particular forms of gendered conduct. This finding supports a Foucauldian interpretation of the Islamic campus as a disciplinary environment in which religious norms become embodied through routine practices, while leaving open the question of how far similar mechanisms occurs in other Islamic higher education institutions.

### **Producing Gender on an Islamic Campus: Space, Body, and Interaction**

Taken together, the three dimensions identified in this study—space, body, and interaction—should not be understood as separate forms of regulation. They form interconnected mechanisms through which institutional norms become everyday practices. Spatial regulation determines where male and female bodies are positioned; dress regulation establishes how those bodies should appear; and interaction rules define how they may move and relate to one another. Together, these mechanisms show that gender within the institutional setting examined here is not simply a pre-existing social category but is continuously produced and normalized through institutional practices.

This interpretation moves beyond whether particular regulations are restrictive or permissive. The more analytically issue is how institutional rules render

certain forms of gendered conduct recognizable as appropriate, moral, and consistent with an Islamic university's identity. Classroom seating regulations establish spatial boundaries; dress codes render particular bodily appearances institutionally recognizable as modest and pious; and restrictions on mobility and interaction set boundaries for acceptable relationships between men and women. Through their repetition in everyday campus life, these rules can become normalized as ordinary practices rather than remaining exceptional acts of regulation. In Foucauldian terms, power operates here not simply by prohibiting conduct but by organizing the conditions under which conduct becomes possible, visible, and intelligible.

The three mechanisms also reveal different dimensions of the same disciplinary process. Space regulates proximity by determining how male and female bodies are positioned relative to one another. The body regulates visibility by establishing standards for how students should present themselves. Interaction regulates relationality by determining which forms of mobility and interpersonal association are considered appropriate. These dimensions are mutually reinforcing. Spatial separation can reduce opportunities for certain forms of interaction; dress regulations make religious identity visibly legible; and mobility restrictions extend institutional expectations beyond the classroom into students' everyday social practices. The campus therefore operates not only through individual rules but also through an interconnected regulatory environment in which space, appearance, and interaction support one another.

This interconnectedness is important for understanding Foucault's concept of subject formation. Institutions do not merely impose external rules on passive individuals; disciplinary mechanisms can encourage individuals to monitor and regulate themselves according to established standards. The student who learns where to sit, how to dress, how to move, and with whom to interact also learns which forms of conduct the institution recognizes as appropriate. In this sense,

gender regulation also produces particular kinds of religious and gendered subjects. The Islamic campus becomes an arena where religious norms are embodied through repeated practices and where students encounter institutional definitions of propriety, modesty, and piety in concrete forms.

The findings also indicate that the production of gendered conduct cannot be separated from the institution's understanding of Islamic piety. The regulations examined in this study are not presented simply as gender regulations; they are justified by broader concepts of morality, modesty, social order, and Islamic identity. This is significant because it shows that gender regulation operates within a religious normative framework rather than through gender categories alone. The institutional construction of the “appropriate” male or female student is consequently linked to a particular understanding of what constitutes a pious Muslim subject. The production of gender and the production of religious subjectivity therefore intersect within the same regulatory practices.

At the same time, the findings raise an important question about gender equality. The institutional framework examined here does not necessarily define equality as the complete removal of gender boundaries. Rather, equal access to education can coexist with differentiated expectations regarding spatial organization, bodily appearance, and interaction. Existing literature has identified similar distinctions between formal equality and approaches to gender justice that emphasize rights, dignity, and opportunities within particular religious and cultural frameworks (Azizah, 2021; Masruroh, 2022; Zein, 2024). The present study does not seek to determine which conception of equality should be adopted. Instead, it shows that different understandings of equality coexist with institutional practices that organize gendered conduct in everyday campus life.

Nevertheless, a Foucauldian analysis enables examination of the power relations embedded in this coexistence. Even when regulations are formally

presented as applying to all students, their content may produce differentiated expectations for male and female bodies. The more detailed provisions on female attire and bodily conduct, identified above, indicate that gender-neutral institutional applicability does not necessarily mean regulatory effects are experienced or distributed in identical ways. This does not establish a general pattern across Islamic higher education, but it shows why the gendered content of institutional regulations requires attention alongside their stated religious and moral purposes.

This point also offers a cautious engagement with previous studies of sharia-related regulation in Indonesia. Research on Aceh and other contexts documents how dress, bodily conduct, mobility, and public morality can become objects of religiously justified regulation (Ansor, 2017; Fadlia et al., 2023; Ikrom, 2019; Khairi, 2012). These studies provide an important comparative context for the present analysis. However, the UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau case should not be treated as representative of sharia formalization across Indonesia. Its significance lies in showing how similar concerns about morality and religious propriety translate into institutional practices within an Islamic university, where regulation operates through educational rules, everyday socialization, and normalization rather than through the same legal and governmental mechanisms found elsewhere.

The synthesis therefore yields a more bounded conclusion. The case of UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau demonstrates that sharia-informed institutional regulation can operate simultaneously through the organization of space, the disciplining of bodily appearance, and the regulation of mobility and social interaction. These mechanisms do not merely communicate religious values; they also help produce and normalize gendered conduct and religious subjectivity in everyday campus life. Whether similar configurations occur in other Islamic higher education institutions remains an empirical question that requires comparative research across institutions, regions, and

models of Islamic educational governance.

From this perspective, the study's contribution is not to propose a general model of sharia formalization in Indonesia but to identify a specific mechanism of gender production within an Islamic higher education setting. By integrating space, body, and interaction into a single analytical framework, the study shifts attention from what Islamic higher education teaches about gender to how institutional arrangements actively organize and embody gender in everyday academic life. The Islamic campus can therefore be understood as a site of education, religious socialization, and disciplinary subject formation.

### **C. Conclusion**

This study examined how sharia-informed institutional regulations shape gender production within the Islamic campus environment at UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau. The findings indicate that gender is shaped not only by the curriculum, formal discourse, or students' individual perceptions, but also by institutional practices that organize everyday bodily conduct. Regulations governing academic space, bodily appearance, mobility, and social interaction establish recurring standards of appropriate conduct for male and female students. In this sense, the study answers the research question by showing that institutional arrangements produce and normalize gender through practices that translate religious norms into everyday conduct.

Theoretically, the study contributes to the discussion of gender in Islamic higher education by bringing institutional regulation and Foucauldian analysis into closer conversation. The concepts of disciplinary power, normalization, and subject formation help explain how religiously informed rules become embodied in students' everyday practices. The study therefore contributes not by treating gender as a fixed category or sharia as merely a normative framework, but

by showing how institutional practices help produce particular forms of gendered and religious subjectivity. The findings also show that the meaning of gender equality within an Islamic university is situated within a specific normative context, in which equal educational access may coexist with differentiated expectations concerning space, bodily appearance, mobility, and interaction.

At the same time, this study's conclusions are bounded by the institutional context of UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau. The findings should not be taken as representative of all Islamic higher education institutions or as evidence of a uniform pattern of sharia formalization in Indonesia. Rather, the case demonstrates one way in which sharia-informed norms can become institutionalized and embodied through everyday campus regulation. Further research involving interviews or other forms of student-centered inquiry would be valuable for examining how students interpret, accommodate, contest, or transform these institutional regulations. Such research could complement the present analysis by bringing students' own perspectives into the study of gender production in Islamic higher education.

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