

THE QUR'AN'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROHIBITION OF CATCALLING: A HERMENEUTIC, GENDER, AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Catcalling is a form of verbal sexual harassment that is often normalized in society, even though it has serious psychological impacts and reflects patriarchal power relations that are detrimental to women in public spaces. This study aims to analyze the prohibition of catcalling from the perspective of the Qur'an using hermeneutics, gender, and social psychology approaches. Through Qur'anic hermeneutics, verses such as QS. Al-Ahzab: 58, QS. An-Nur: 30–31, QS. Al-Hujurat: 11, QS. An-Nisa': 148, and QS. Al-Isra': 53 are interpreted as universal prohibitions against harassment, abusive language, and actions that demean human dignity. Gender analysis shows that catcalling is a social construct rooted in the patriarchal system, the objectification of women's bodies, and hegemonic masculinity. Meanwhile, social psychology reveals the effects of catcalling in the form of anxiety, decreased self-esteem, self-objectification, and restrictions on women's mobility. The integration of these three perspectives shows that catcalling contradicts the basic Qur'anic values of justice, honor, and social security. This study emphasizes that preventing catcalling requires a holistic approach through Qur'anic values-based education, deconstruction of patriarchal culture, and strengthening public regulations to make social spaces safer, more equitable, and dignified for all individuals.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Catcalling is one of the most common forms of verbal sexual harassment in public spaces, especially against women. Although it is often considered trivial or just a joke, catcalling is actually an act that contains elements of symbolic violence, objectification, and the reinforcement of patriarchal power relations. Various studies show that catcalling

does not function as a form of compliment, but as a mechanism to place women in a subordinate position in front of men, while also reinforcing social dominance in public spaces (Hisyam et al., 2025; Araújo-Reyes & Stanziola, 2025). The impact is not simple; victims often experience anxiety, discomfort, a decrease in their sense of security, and even psychological trauma that affects their

mobility and well-being (Zahra et al., 2024; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

The normalization of catcalling in society means that this behavior is often not considered a form of harassment, and is even legitimized as a normal part of social interaction. Many perpetrators, especially among teenagers and college students, do not realize that their behavior is unethical and harmful, due to a misguided understanding of masculinity and gender superiority (Rismaningtyas, 2025). On the other hand, the lack of legal protection against verbal harassment also reinforces permissive attitudes towards catcalling (Antungo, 2025).

In a religious context, particularly Islam, studying the phenomenon of catcalling is important because the Qur'an provides ethical guidelines regarding social interaction, individual honor, and the prohibition of harming others. Although the term catcalling does not appear textually, a number of verses emphasize the prohibition of harming believers (QS. Al-Ahzab: 58), the command to lower one's gaze (QS. An-Nur: 30–31), the prohibition of mocking or harassing (QS. Al-Hujurat: 11), and the prohibition of uttering bad words openly (QS. An-Nisa': 148). These teachings indicate that verbal abuse in any form, including catcalling, is fundamentally contrary to Qur'anic ethics.

However, interpreting these verses requires a hermeneutical approach, because the historical, social, and cultural context at the time the verses were revealed differs from the current conditions. Hermeneutic analysis allows for a more contextual reading so that Qur'anic values can be applied in a relevant way to modern phenomena such as catcalling. In addition, the integration of gender and social psychology perspectives is necessary so that religious understanding does not stop at the normative level, but is able to explain the power relations, social constructions, and psychological influences that accompany such behavior.

Based on this background, this article aims to analyze the prohibition of catcalling from the perspective of the Qur'an through hermeneutics, gender, and social psychology

approaches. The focus of the study is directed at how verses from the Qur'an can be understood as the basis for prohibiting behavior similar to catcalling, how gender power relations shape and perpetuate this practice, and how its psychological impact can be explained through the framework of social psychology theory. With this interdisciplinary approach, the research is expected to provide a comprehensive understanding of catcalling while contributing to the development of Islamic gender studies, social ethics, and the protection of women in public spaces.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definition and Characteristics of Catcalling

Catcalling is a form of verbal sexual harassment in public spaces that manifests itself through comments, whistles, calls, or gestures of a sexual nature without the consent of the recipient. This behavior is demeaning, objectifying, and often reveals a power relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. In social studies, catcalling is understood as symbolic violence that places women as objects that can be evaluated sexually (Hisyam et al., 2025). Cultural normalization makes this act seem normal or even complimentary, even though it causes fear, anxiety, and a decrease in women's sense of safety in public spaces (Zahra et al., 2024; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Conceptually, catcalling includes direct verbal remarks, suggestive whistles or glances, comments about the body, and intimidating remarks that give the impression of a threat. This practice is closely related to the construction of traditional masculinity and the need to assert social dominance (Rismaningtyas, 2025).

Qur'anic Hermeneutics Theory

Qur'anic hermeneutics views the text of the Qur'an not only from a literal dimension, but also from its historical and social contexts and its relevance to contemporary issues. This approach emphasizes three main analyses: first, *asbāb al-nuzūl* to understand the social problems addressed by the Qur'an, such as the ethics of public interaction and the protection of

women; second, linguistic analysis of terms such as *yu'dhūna* (to disturb) and *ghadd al-bashar* (to lower one's gaze) to see their relevance to modern verbal harassment; third, contemporary contextual analysis to interpret the basic values of verses in new phenomena, including catcalling. The hermeneutic approach helps to confirm that the Qur'an carries a communication ethic that prohibits harmful and abusive behavior.

Gender Perspective

From a gender perspective, catcalling arises from patriarchal social structures that place women as objects and men as holders of dominance. Objectification theory explains that women are often treated as bodies that can be judged or commented on (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Within this structure, catcalling functions as a mechanism of social control that creates discomfort for women in public spaces, reinforces hegemonic masculinity that considers sexual comments a symbol of courage (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), and is perpetuated by a culture that considers such actions as compliments. From an Islamic perspective that emphasizes respect and equality, catcalling contradicts the principle of respect for women's dignity.

Social Psychology Perspective

Social psychology explains the dynamics and impact of catcalling on individuals and society. Catcalling has been shown to trigger anxiety, fear, and decreased self-esteem in victims (Corning, 2002), which creates chronic insecurity in public spaces. The phenomenon of self-objectification causes victims to view their bodies from the perpetrator's perspective, thereby increasing psychological distress. From the perpetrator's side, group norms and the pressure of masculinity influence the emergence of verbal aggression, especially when masculine identity is perceived to be threatened (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Social normalization allows catcalling to continue without adequate social sanctions (Moghrabi, 2015). This perspective reinforces the relevance of Qur'anic ethics regarding the prohibition of causing harm and the

command to maintain honor through good communication.

Qur'anic Verses Related to the Prohibition of Catcalling

The phenomenon of catcalling is not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an, but a number of verses provide a very strong normative basis for understanding that all forms of verbal harassment, abuse, or actions that demean human dignity are prohibited in Islamic social ethics. Qur'anic principles related to respect for others, the prohibition of hurting others, the command to speak kindly, and the importance of maintaining security and dignity in public spaces can be used as a foundation for assessing catcalling as an act that is contrary to Islamic values. The following section outlines six key verses that are relevant to building the argument that catcalling is a fundamentally prohibited act.

1. QS. Al-Ahzab: 58 – Prohibition of Harming Believers

This verse emphasizes that anyone who harms male or female believers without any fault on their part has committed a lie and a grave sin. The concept of *adzā* in this verse is broad, covering all forms of physical and verbal harassment. Catcalling, as behavior that makes victims feel uncomfortable, afraid, or intimidated, clearly falls into the category of harassment without justification. A study by Magin et al. (2005) shows that the term *adzā* includes verbal actions that cause offense or demean dignity. Thus, this verse provides a strong normative basis that catcalling is an act of harm that has no *shar'i* justification.

2. QS. An-Nur: 30–31 – The Command to Lower the Gaze and Maintain Honor

These two verses command believing men and women to lower their gaze (*ghadd al-bashar*) and preserve their honor. This command concerns not only visual gaze, but also behavior that may provoke sexual tension or offend others. Catcalling often begins with sexual glances, body evaluations, and the intention to express interest verbally without permission. According to Ilham

et al. (2022), the command to lower one's gaze contains a preventive message not to initiate interactions that could be considered harassing. This verse emphasizes two important principles: the prohibition of initiating sexual interactions without consent, and the obligation to maintain honor and public ethics. Catcalling clearly contradicts both of these principles.

3. QS. Al-Ahzab: 59 – Prohibition of Harassing Women and Public Safety

This verse was revealed to ensure that women are not harassed in public spaces. The phrase *lā yu'dhaina* (so that they are not harassed) covers all forms of verbal, physical, and symbolic harassment. Patonah & Saepudin (2022) explain that this verse shows the Qur'an's concern for the safety and comfort of women in society. Catcalling, as a form of verbal harassment that can cause fear, insecurity, or threats, falls under the category of harassment that is clearly prohibited by this verse. The ethical message is clear: no action should be taken that causes difficulty or discomfort to women in public spaces.

4. QS. Al-Hujurat: 11 – Prohibition of Mockery, Insults, and Belittling

This verse prohibits any form of insult, mockery, and demeaning remarks that degrade the dignity of others. Although the context of the verse targets social relations in general, the principle is very relevant to the phenomenon of catcalling. Comments such as "hey sweetie," "psst," or other unwanted sexual remarks are forms of verbal abuse that degrade the dignity and objectify the victim. According to Aqillah et al. (2025), this verse emphasizes that verbal insults, even if considered trivial by some people, have serious psychosocial impacts. Thus, catcalling falls under the category of despicable speech that is prohibited in this verse.

5. QS. An-Nisa': 148 – Prohibition of Uttering Bad Words Openly.

This verse states that Allah does not like bad words spoken openly, except for the purpose of justice or against injustice. Catcalling, as a sexual, insulting, or degrading remark uttered in public, clearly has no value of goodness or context of justice. Armalinda (2022) emphasizes that this verse includes a prohibition against all forms of vulgar or rude speech in social spaces. Because catcalling has no *shar'i* purpose and instead has a negative impact on the victim, this action falls into the category of bad speech condemned by the verse.

6. QS. Al-Isra': 53 – The Command to Speak the Best Words.

This verse provides a basic principle in Islamic communication ethics: every Muslim is commanded to speak the best, gentlest, and most non-offensive words. Hakiki & Rohmatika (2024) explain that this verse emphasizes the obligation to guard one's speech as a reflection of character and spirituality. Catcalling, which is demeaning, inappropriate flirting, or even intimidating, clearly does not fall into the category of *aqwalan aḥsana*. Thus, this verse reinforces the conclusion that catcalling is a verbal practice that contradicts the Qur'anic guidance.

The entire verse shows a very consistent pattern of values: Islam emphasizes respect for human dignity, prohibits physical and verbal harm, emphasizes the obligation to maintain one's own dignity and that of others, and calls for the creation of a public space that is safe for all, including women. Within this normative framework, catcalling can be understood not only as a socially and culturally unethical act, but also as behavior that is fundamentally contrary to Qur'anic morality.

3. HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS

The hermeneutic approach to the verses of the Qur'an provides a framework that allows researchers to explore the moral message of the text more deeply by considering the historical context of its

revelation, its linguistic structure, and its relevance in contemporary social life. In the issue of catcalling as a form of modern verbal harassment, hermeneutics serves to bridge Qur'anic ethical values with an ever-evolving social reality. Through this approach, interpretation does not stop at the literal meaning of the verses, but moves towards a normative understanding that affirms the principles of morality, ethical communication, and protection of women's dignity. Therefore, hermeneutic analysis of this issue can be carried out through three main dimensions: historical context, linguistic-textual analysis, and contextual interpretation.

Historically, verses related to the protection of women were revealed in the context of pre-Islamic Arab society, which had a patriarchal social structure where women often faced exploitation and various forms of harassment in public spaces. Verses such as QS. Al-Ahzab: 58–59, for example, emerged as a response to the behavior of some hypocritical men who stalked and harassed women who left their homes. This problem of harassment, although not identical to catcalling, shows that verbal and nonverbal abuse were already social issues during the time of the Prophet and were seen as behaviors that undermined women's safety. Similarly, QS. An-Nur: 30–31 was revealed to reorganize the sexual morality of society by establishing rules regarding gaze, interaction, and boundaries of decency in relationships between men and women. Thus, revelatory texts from the early period of Islam have emphasized the urgency of building safe social spaces through the control of speech and behavior.

Linguistic analysis deepens our understanding of the key concepts used in the Qur'an to describe behavior that has the potential to hurt or demean others. The word *adzā* (أذى), for example, in QS. Al-Ahzab: 58–59 covers all forms of disturbance, both physical and verbal, so that sexual comments or demeaning remarks are included in the scope of this meaning. The command *ghadd al-bashar* (غَضَّ الْبَصَرِ) in QS. An-Nur: 30–31 refers not only to the physical act of lowering

one's gaze, but also to the moral act of controlling one's desires and preventing behavior that arises from objectifying gazes. In addition, the concepts of *qawlan karīman* (قولاً كريماً) and *qawlan ma'rūfan* (قولاً معروفاً) indicate that ideal speech according to the Qur'an must be polite, ethical, and respectful. Catcalling that is vulgar or sexual in nature clearly falls outside this category. Even the concept of *qawl al-zūr* (قول الزور), bad or wicked speech that appears in other verses, emphasizes that verbal expressions that hurt the dignity of others are contrary to Qur'anic ethics. Overall, linguistic studies show that the practice of catcalling has no legitimacy within the moral framework of the Qur'anic language.

Contextual interpretation then connects the basic values contained in the text with contemporary social reality. In the context of catcalling, the principle of protecting honor (*'ird*) becomes very important, because the Qur'an places honor as a value that must be upheld by all parties. Catcalling not only degrades women as victims, but also damages the moral integrity of the perpetrator. Furthermore, the principle of public space safety as implied in QS. Al-Ahzab: 59 affirms that women have the right to enjoy a safe social space without disturbance. This challenges modern culture, which sometimes normalizes catcalling as humor or a form of "compliment." The principle of ethical communication in QS. Al-Isra': 53, which commands humans to use the best form of speech (*ahsanu*), further emphasizes that verbal behavior that degrades or harasses cannot be justified.

Based on this historical, textual, and contextual analysis, it is clear that although the term "catcalling" does not appear in the Qur'an, the values contained in the text explicitly reject any form of speech that degrades women's dignity and disrupts the security of public spaces. Thus, hermeneutics not only explains the meaning of verses, but also connects the moral message of the Qur'an with the ethical challenges faced by modern society.

A hermeneutic synthesis of the verses of the Qur'an allows for comprehensive conclusions to be drawn regarding Islam's ethical position on the phenomenon of catcalling. By integrating the historicity of the verses, linguistic analysis, and modern social context, it can be understood that the Qur'an fundamentally rejects all forms of harassment against women, both verbal and nonverbal, as reflected in the concept of *adzā*, which encompasses all actions that undermine a person's sense of security and comfort. The ethics of social interaction established by the Qur'an also demand control over one's gaze, speech, and actions, so that catcalling violates all three ethical aspects at once. Furthermore, the moral mission of the Qur'an is to create a public space that is safe, humane, and full of respect between individuals, a vision that clearly contradicts the practice of catcalling, which degrades women's dignity and disturbs their psychological security. The hermeneutic approach emphasizes that the essence of the prohibition brought by the Qur'an is more important than the literal form of behavior that emerged during the time of the Prophet, so that its moral provisions remain relevant for assessing new behaviors in modern society. Based on this, catcalling can be understood as an unethical act that contradicts the principles of Qur'anic morals, even though the specific term or form is not explicitly mentioned in the text of the revelation.

Gender Analysis

Gender analysis provides an important framework for understanding catcalling not merely as rude verbal behavior, but as a manifestation of sexual harassment rooted in patriarchal social structures. From this perspective, catcalling is seen as a product of unequal power relations, in which women's bodies are positioned as public objects that can be commented on, judged, or even controlled by men. This phenomenon reflects how patriarchy legitimizes men's domination of public spaces and sets standards that place women in a subordinate position. The objectification of women's bodies, as explained by Fairchild and Rudman (2008),

transforms women from dignified subjects into visual objects that can be evaluated sexually, which in turn has an impact on the psychological well-being of victims. In a broader context, catcalling becomes a symbolic mechanism that affirms male control over public spaces, making women feel watched, restricted, or even unsafe, as stated by Rismaningtyas (2025). The impact is not only psychological, but also affects women's social mobility, as they are compelled to adjust the way they dress, walk, or choose certain routes solely to avoid harassment.

Sociologically, catcalling is also closely related to the construction of hegemonic masculinity, which is a social norm that requires men to appear dominant, aggressive, and bold in taking sexual initiative, even in unethical ways. The findings of Vandello and Bosson (2013) on precarious manhood show that men often feel the need to assert their masculine identity when they feel their gender status is threatened. In this context, catcalling can serve as a means of demonstrating dominance in front of peers, as proof of being a "real man," or as an expression of verbal aggression disguised as a joke. Thus, catcalling is not merely individual behavior, but part of a system of norms that reinforces false stereotypes of masculinity and has the potential to harm women.

This phenomenon is exacerbated by cultural normalization that considers catcalling to be normal or even a form of appreciation for women. Its legitimacy in public spaces creates a dangerous cycle: perpetrators' behavior is justified, victims are blamed, and social and legal sanctions are minimal. In societies that are still strongly patriarchal, catcalling is often seen as a joke, while women are considered to be "inviting" harassment through their clothing or behavior. This normalization reinforces unequal power structures and makes women vulnerable in everyday social interactions.

From an Islamic perspective, the values of the Qur'an provide a strong moral foundation for rejecting this phenomenon. The principle of honor (*'ird*) given equally to

men and women affirms that every individual has dignity that cannot be degraded through abusive words or actions. The principle of reciprocity (al-mubādalah) in gender relations teaches that relationships between men and women must be built on the basis of fair reciprocity, not a relationship of domination as reflected in catcalling. Similarly, the commands of rahmah and ihsan underscore the importance of gentleness, kindness, and respect in social interactions, which are diametrically opposed to the verbal aggression that accompanies catcalling. Furthermore, QS. Al-Ahzab: 59 shows that Islam pays special attention to the safety of women in public spaces, emphasizing that any disturbance to them, including verbal forms, cannot be tolerated.

When linked to the conditions of modern public spaces, gender analysis shows that the ideal space according to Qur'anic values is one that is safe, equal, and free from threats of verbal or nonverbal harassment. Catcalling undermines this social order because it creates gender-biased public spaces, hinders women's social participation, and causes chronic psychological discomfort. Therefore, reinterpreting Qur'anic values in a contemporary context encourages society to eliminate the practice of catcalling as part of an ethical commitment to gender justice. With this interpretation, catcalling is not only socially unethical, but also fundamentally contrary to the principles of equality, honor, and justice taught by the Qur'an. sampling method, data collection, and data analysis (10 pt).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Psychological Analysis of the Catcalling Phenomenon

The Psychological Impact of Catcalling on Victims

In social psychology studies, catcalling is seen as a stimulus that can elicit intense emotional and cognitive responses in women. Research by Zahra et al. (2024) shows that women who experience catcalling often feel fear and anxiety, especially when the harassment occurs in a quiet public space or is

carried out by a group of men. This fear arises because catcalling is often interpreted as a potential physical threat, transforming public spaces that should be safe into uncertain environments.

In addition, catcalling also has a deeper psychological impact. Corning (2002) explains that verbal abuse or harassment can cause psychological distress and a decrease in self-esteem, especially when sexual comments are made repeatedly. Victims begin to feel that they are not valued and are seen solely as sexual objects, triggering feelings of helplessness and prolonged discomfort. This impact is reinforced by the findings of Fairchild and Rudman (2008), who explain that verbal harassment can cause self-objectification, a condition in which women view themselves from the perpetrator's perspective. This process is closely related to body anxiety, mild depression, and self-image disorders.

The psychological impact of catcalling does not stop at emotional and cognitive conditions. Many victims end up limiting their mobility and daily activities in an effort to avoid harassment. They change their travel routes, adjust the hours they leave the house, or even adjust the way they dress. These behavioral changes show that catcalling has a lasting social impact, as it limits women's freedom to access public spaces. Thus, catcalling is a form of symbolic violence that affects the long-term quality of life of victims.

Psychological Mechanisms in Catcalling Perpetrators

Social psychology also provides an explanation of the psychological mechanisms that drive perpetrators to engage in catcalling. One important factor is the influence of group norms. In certain friendship groups, especially male groups, catcalling can be a form of social identity confirmation and solidarity. Perpetrators do not always act on personal impulses, but rather try to conform to group expectations of courage or masculinity.

The theory of precarious manhood proposed by Vandello and Bosson (2013)

reinforces this phenomenon. In this theory, masculinity is understood as a fragile social status that must be constantly proven. Catcalling then becomes a way for men to assert their dominance when their masculinity feels threatened. In this context, verbal harassment is not just a spontaneous act, but part of an effort to maintain gender identity.

Another factor that encourages catcalling is deindividuation, which is a condition where an individual's identity dissolves into the group identity. Perpetrators who are part of a group feel that they will not be held accountable, so they are more daring to commit harassment. Moghrabi's (2015) findings show that a culture that considers catcalling to be a joke or a compliment also reinforces this behavior. Cultural normalization makes perpetrators feel innocent, even considering such behavior to be normal. In many cases, catcalling is also triggered by a cognitive bias called the " " a false social inference in which perpetrators misinterpret women's clothing as an "invitation" to comment. This bias is a product of gender stereotypes that are deeply rooted in society.

Social Factors That Normalize Catcalling

The phenomenon of catcalling cannot be separated from the social structures and practices that reinforce its continuation. The lack of social and legal sanctions is one important factor. Antungo (2025) notes that regulations on sexual violence in Indonesia often focus more on physical acts, so that verbal harassment such as catcalling does not receive adequate legal protection. This condition makes perpetrators feel safe because they are unlikely to face consequences.

On the other hand, the still-strong culture of victim-blaming also contributes to the normalization of catcalling. Many women are blamed for the way they dress or behave, shifting the burden of guilt from the perpetrator to the victim. Popular media also plays a significant role by often portraying verbal harassment as humor or a form of romantic approach. Such representations

shape the public perception that catcalling is harmless and a normal part of social interaction. Narratives about aggressive masculinity also exacerbate the situation, as they encourage men to demonstrate dominance through behavior that harms women.

The Alignment of Social Psychological Analysis with Qur'anic Principles

Interestingly, findings in social psychology align with the ethical values taught in the Qur'an. Catcalling contradicts the basic principle of prohibiting verbal abuse, as emphasized in QS. Al-Ahzab: 58. The Qur'an also prohibits all forms of ridicule or derogatory remarks (QS. Al-Hujurat: 11) and commands believers to speak kindly (QS. Al-Isra': 53). Furthermore, QS. Al-Ahzab: 59 emphasizes the importance of protecting the safety and dignity of women in public spaces. This alignment shows that the prohibition against catcalling is not only based on moral and social aspects, but also on scientific evidence that such behavior can damage mental health and social harmony.

5. CONCLUSION

This study shows that catcalling, as a form of verbal sexual harassment that degrades and endangers women in public spaces, is a behavior that fundamentally contradicts the teachings of the Qur'an. Through hermeneutics, gender analysis, and social psychology, this article proves that the prohibition of catcalling is not only based on moral and religious grounds, but is also supported by scientific evidence and structural analysis of social injustice.

From the perspective of Qur'anic hermeneutics, a number of verses such as QS. Al-Ahzab: 58, QS. An-Nur: 30–31, QS. Al-Hujurat: 11, QS. An-Nisa': 148, and QS. Al-Isra': 53 emphasize the prohibition of harming others, the command to maintain honor, the obligation to lower one's gaze, and the command to speak with the best words. These values clearly include the prohibition of verbal harassment such as catcalling, because such behavior undermines the safety,

comfort, and psychological well-being of individuals in public spaces.

Gender analysis places catcalling as part of the patriarchal structure that positions women as objects and men as holders of dominance in public spaces. This behavior reveals an unequal power relationship, a cultural normalization that harms women, and the false demands of hegemonic masculinity. In contrast, Qur'anic values of reciprocity, justice, and respect for human dignity reject all forms of behavior that demean women.

From a social psychology perspective, catcalling has been proven to have a real psychological impact, such as anxiety, decreased self-esteem, self-objectification, and avoidance behaviors that limit women's freedom in public spaces. In addition, social factors such as peer pressure, cultural normalization, and weak social sanctions contribute to the continuation of this practice. These findings are in line with Qur'anic teachings that encourage good communication, protection of honor, and the creation of safe and benevolent social spaces.

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