MUSHAF: Jurnal Tafsir Berwawasan Keindonesiaan

Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2025) page. 214-234, doi: 10.33650/mushaf.v5i2.11134 https://ejournal.unuja.ac.id/index.php/mushaf/index Submitted: 23 April 2025 | Revised: 06 June 2025 | Accepted: 15 June 2025 | Available Online: 30 June 2025

INDONESIAN QUR'ANIC INTERPRETATIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF NUSHŪZ: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CLASSICAL AND REFORMIST APPROACHES AMONG INDONESIAN MUSLIM SCHOLARS

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Abstract: The concept of *nushūz* in Islamic family law, particularly as outlined in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and 128, remains a subject of debate, especially concerning power relations within the household and the potential justification of violence against women. A conservative textual reading tends to portray women as the primary perpetrators of nushūz, subject to escalating sanctions up to physical punishment, while nushūz by husbands receives minimal legal attention. This imbalance is reinforced by classical interpretations shaped by patriarchal paradigms. This study addresses an academic gap by comparing the contextual-normative interpretation of M. Quraish Shihab and the feminist-progressive interpretation of Siti Musdah Mulia regarding nushūz. Using a qualitative-descriptive approach with literature review, content and discourse analysis, hermeneutic methodology, and critical engagement with global Muslim feminist literature, this research finds that Shihab seeks to reform classical views through a contextual lens that emphasizes harmony and shared responsibility, while maintaining male leadership. In contrast, Musdah Mulia deconstructs patriarchal interpretations and emphasizes spiritual and social equality between spouses. This study contributes to the development of a fair, inclusive, and contextual discourse on gender interpretation in Indonesia and enriches the dynamics of Islam Nusantara in addressing modern challenges, particularly in family law reform and gender justice.

Keywords: Musdah Mulia; Nushūz; Quraish Shihab; Reformist Interpretation

Introduction

The concept of *nushūz* in Islamic family law remains the subject of ongoing debate (Akbarul Falah, 2023). The Qur'an acknowledges that both husbands and wives may commit *nushūz*. However, in interpretative and legal practice, sanctions imposed on wives are more explicit and structured. QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 legitimizes a husband's authority to admonish, separate from the marital bed, and even strike a wife perceived as disobedient. In contrast, QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128 suggests that when a husband shows *nushūz*, the wife is encouraged to yield in order to maintain harmony (Sidik & Imaduddin, 2022). Classical *fiqh* perspectives further reinforce this asymmetry by framing *nushūz* predominantly as a transgression committed by wives who fail to fulfill domestic obligations. As a result, women are often portrayed as the guilty party, while similar behavior from husbands is rarely subjected to legal or moral scrutiny. This imbalance perpetuates patriarchal norms and can potentially legitimize domestic violence under the guise of religiously sanctioned discipline (Alamsyah, 2018).

In Indonesia, the Compilation of Islamic Law (Kompilasi Hukum Islam or KHI) reflects similar gender bias by defining $nush\bar{u}z$ solely in relation to wives, with no explicit provisions for $nush\bar{u}z$ committed by husbands (Rizal Maulana Rahman, 2023). From a feminist perspective, such an approach contradicts the Islamic principle of justice. Scholars such as Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia emphasize the urgency of contextual and egalitarian reinterpretations of religious texts to better reflect contemporary realities. Therefore, a critical reassessment of the concept of $nush\bar{u}z$ is essential, not to justify violence, butto serve as the foundation for a more equitable and just framework of Islamic family law (Husna & Sholehah, 2021).

This study aims to: (1) analyze M. Quraish Shihab's interpretation of *nushūz* based on QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and 128, and how his view frame the dynamics of leadership, obedience, and conflict resolution within the household; (2) explore Musdah Mulia's critique of gender-biased classical interpretations and her emphasis on egalitarian family structures; and (3) critically compare the methodologies and epistemologies of both scholars, particularly in regard to power relations, gender roles, and the potential legitimization of violence in religious discourse.

Several studies have explored nushūz from various angles, including its contextualization in Indonesia (Ilma, 2019), feminist reconstruction (Alamsyah, 2018), and comparative study involving figures such as Quraish Shihab and Faqihuddin Abdul (Andriani et al., 2022), M. Quraish Shihab and Amina Wadud (Zulfa, 2022), ibn Katsir and Quraish Shihab (Reni et al., 2023), Wahbah Zuhaili and Musdah Mulia (Rahmayanti & Ulya, 2022). Other studies examine nushūz in light of Islamic legal school, such as Analysis of the Compilation of Islamic Law Article 84 on Nushūz Wife in the Perspective of Mazhab Hanafi and Mazhab Shafi'i (Rahmat, 2021), Reinterpretation of Polygamy in Islamic Discourse: A Comparative Study of the Thought of Siti Musdah Mulia and Asghar Ali Engineer (Muhammad Adress Prawira Negara & Neng Hannah, 2023), and the Significance of the Meaning of Nushūz in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 with the Review of Ma'nā-Cum-Maghzā Theory (Umaroh, 2021). Several works also assess nushūz from perspectives of maslahah (Hasanah et al., 2025) and its relation to domestic violence issues in Indonesia (Fatah et al., 2024). Research by Kusmardani investigates interpretations of nushūz in Islamic family law, particularly in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and 128, and reveals differences between classical and contemporary scholars in resolving family conflicts. These differences reflect diverse approaches, including advice, mediation, and reliance on applicable legal provisions (Kusmardani et al., 2024). Zaenuri examines the broader evolution of tafsir methodologies, contrasting classical interpretations, typically more textualist with modern ones that increasingly incorporate social science perspectives and emphasize the ethical-legal foundations of the Qur'an as divine revelation (Zaenuri, 2023). Meanwhile, Kurniawan & Sayehu study verses about nushūz and shiqāq (QS. Al-Nisā' (4) 34-35 and 128), using normative-psychological and theological frameworks. Their findings emphasize that domestic conflicts in Islam should be resolved through wisdom, compassion, advice, and deliberation to preserve family harmony (Kurniawan & Sayehu, 2024).

Despite this rich landscape, a specific comparative study between Quraish Shihab and Siti Musdah Mulia on *nushūz* remains underexplored. This comparison is academically

relevant because both represent two contrasting interpretive paradigms: Shihab's contextual-normative approach, grounded in classical tafsir but reformist in tone, and Mulia's critical-feminist approach, which deconstructs patriarchal readings in favor of egalitarian ethics. Shihab attempts reform from within tradition, while Mulia advocates reinterpretation based on justice, human rights, and gender equity. This contrast is not merely exegetical, but also epistemological, reflecting different hermeneutic commitments, and illustrating the broader spectrum of Islamic thought in Indonesia. Their juxtaposition provides a valuable entry point for synthesizing traditional and critical approaches to family law, particularly regarding gender roles and domestic conflict resolution. It also contributes to the ongoing intellectual discourse within *Islam Nusantara*, where local religious interpretations engage global feminist thought.

Methodologically, this research employs a qualitative-descriptive approach using library research, which is a method of collecting data by understanding and examining theories from various literatures related to the research (Adlini et al., 2022). It uses five key methodological components: (1) Primary Literature Review: Major works by M. Quraish Shihab (especially Tafsir Al-Misbah) and Musdah Mulia's writings on Islam and gender serve as the primary sources for understanding their interpretations of nushūz; (2) Discourse Analysis: This method is used to examine how *nushūz* is framed in each scholar's work and how these interpretations reflect broader value systems, patriarchal in some instances, egalitarian in others; (3) Hermeneutic Approach: The study applies hermeneutics to uncover the historical, social, and ideological contexts that inform each scholar's interpretation, and how they respond to modern realities through reinterpretation; (4) Comparative Study: This involves a detailed comparison of the two scholar's interpretive methods, epistemological frameworks, and positions on nushūz to highlight both contrasts and points of convergence: (5) Engagement with Global Muslim Feminist Thought: The research contextualizes the scholar's approaches within the broader spectrum of global Islamic gender discourse by referencing figures such as Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas, Kecia Ali, and Ziba Mir-Hosseini.

Definition and Scope of the Concept of Nushūz

The term *nushūz* is derived from the Arabic root *nasyaza–yansyuzu–nusyūzan*, which literally means "to rise" or "to elevate." In a broader context, *nushūz* refers to disobedient or rebellious behavior, whether committed by the wife against the husband or vice versa. Such behavior poses serious problems within the family, as it disrupts the harmony and mutual obligations of marital life. A wife's *nushūz* is often associated with disobedience and refusal to fulfill conjugal duties, while a husband's *nushūz* typically manifests in neglect or abusive treatment (Andriani et al., 2022; Husna & Sholehah, 2021).

Etymologically, *nushūz* also refers to something elevated or standing out from a flat surface. This linguistic imagery has been interpreted metaphorically to describe a wife's resistance or defiance toward her husband (Reni et al., 2023). In Islamic legal terminology (*shar'i*), *nushūz* is defined as the failure to fulfill marital obligations or showing indifference toward one's spouse. It is understood as behavior that signals emotional estrangement or intentional disregard between partners (Zulfa, 2022).

Classical fiqh schools offer varied interpretations. Hanafis (The Hanafiyyah scholars) view nushūz as emotional displeasure between spouses; Syafi'is (The Shafi'iyyah scholars) regard it as conflict or tension; Malikis (The Malikiyyah scholars) interpret it as hostility or feud; and Hanbalis (The Hanabilah scholars) define it as any behavior indicating disharmony, accompanied by discontent from either spouse (Ilma, 2019).

Feminist jurists argue that traditional *fiqh* has predominantly favored men, contributing to the marginalization of women within the household. Women are often portrayed as subordinate beings whose primary role is to serve within the domestic sphere, while men are framed as inherently superior and exempt from equal accountability. Scholars such as Muhammad Syahrur challenge this paradigm. According to Syahrur, QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 associates *qiwāmah* (leadership) not with gender, but with qualities such as wisdom, capability, and moral integrity. Leadership in the household, therefore, should belong to whoever possesses greater capacity regardless of gender (Alamsyah, 2018).

A critical reading of the Qur'an especially verses historically used to justify male dominance has been central to feminist tafsir. Muslim feminist scholars such as Amina Wadud with her book *Qur'an and Woman* (Wadud, 1999) and and Asma Barlas in *Believing Women in Islam: A Brief Introduction* (Barlas, 2019) advocate for a hermeneutic approach grounded in Islamic values of justice, compassion, and equality. Their works propose a reading that does not start from patriarchal assumptions, but from ethical principles that reflect the Qur'an's egalitarian spirit. Similarly, Ziba Mir-Hosseini frames Islamic feminism as a necessary paradigm shift in Islamic law (Mir-Hosseini, 2006), while Kecia Ali in *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith, and Jurisprudence*, calls for reinterpretation of gender relations that emphasize equal rights and shared responsibilities, aligned with contemporary realities (Ali, 2016).

In the Indonesian language, the term nushūz is directly adopted from the Qur'anic Arabic root نشز ينشز. The word appears in the Qur'an at least five times: twice as a verbal noun (maṣdar) in QS. Al-Mujādalah (58): 11, once as a present tense verb (fi'il mudhāri') attached to the first-person plural noun (dhamir mutakallim ma'a al-ghair) in QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 259, and twice as a verbal noun in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and 127. More specifically, the five verses are as follows:

And when it is said: "Arise", then arise; Allah will raise those who have believed among you and those who were given knowledge, by degrees (QS. Al-Mujādalah (58): 11).

And look at the bones, how We raise them, then We clothe them with flesh (QS. Al-Baqarah, 2: 259).

As to those women on whose part you fear nushūz (disobedience), admonish them, separate from them in beds, and strike them (QS. Al-Nisā' (4), 4: 34).

If a woman fears nushūz or disregard from her husband, there is no blame upon them if they seek reconciliation between themselves (QS. Al-Nisā' (4), 4: 128) (Nor Salam, 2015).

First, in QS. Al-Mujādalah (58): 11, the term nushūz is associated with the etiquette of attending the Prophet's assembly, specifically the command to "rise" when instructed. This action, carried out consciously and with intention, can be interpreted as a gesture of respect. When contextualized within domestic life, it suggests that neglecting marital duties whether by husband or wife must involve a conscious choice and intention, potentially driven by a desire to disrupt or end the marital bond. Second, QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 259 recounts Allah's demonstration of divine power to King Namrud and his followers through the story of Prophet Uzair, who was caused to sleep for 100 years and then resurrected. Upon awakening, Uzair saw the decayed state of his surroundings, only for Allah to restore them demonstrating His ability to revive what is dead. In the context of nushūz, this verse suggests that defiance within marriage could serve as a form of degradation or diminishment of the dignity of the spouse, echoing the themes of destruction and restoration. Third, QS. Al-Nisa' (4): 34 outlines the characteristics of pious women (qānitāt and hāfizāt), those who are devout and guard their chastity. The nushūz of a wife, therefore, can be indicated by her failure to fear Allah and uphold her own and her husband's honor. Thus, *nushūz* here is framed as a moral and spiritual failure. Fourth, QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128 discusses the nushūz of a husband, characterized by his neglect or emotional and physical abandonment of his wife. This reflects a failure to fulfill his obligations of affection and support, both materially and spiritually (Asem, 2024; Putra & Sumbulah, 2020).

There are thus two forms of *nushūz*: that of a wife toward her husband, and that of a husband toward his wife. Both men and women can exhibit defiant or neglectful behavior, though their expressions may differ due to differing psychological and emotional traits. A wife may show *nushūz* through actions such as rejecting religious commands, refusing her husband's requests, or speaking harshly, acts traditionally understood as insubordination. However, *nushūz* is not exclusive to women, as is often assumed. Men can equally commit acts of *nushūz* through neglect, indifference, or emotional withdrawal (Ayu & Pangestu, 2021). The two key verses that discuss *nushūz* in the household context are QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 (the wife's *nushūz*) and QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128 (the husband's *nushūz*) (Reni et al., 2023).

The above explanation illustrates that *nushūz* is a relational phenomenon that can manifest through various forms of neglect, defiance, or abusive behavior within a marriage, regardless of gender. While classical legal interpretations have often focused primarily on the wife's *nushūz*, contemporary perspectives emphasize the need for a more balanced and comprehensive understanding that recognizes both men's and women's potential to disrupt marital harmony. To further clarify the distinctions in how nushūz may be expressed by each spouse, the following table summarizes the typical forms of nushūz based on gender, along with their conventional interpretations:

Table 1. Forms of Nushūz Based on Gender

No	Actor	Forms of Nushūz Behavior	Remarks
1	Wife toward	Rejecting religious obligations -	Traditionally
	Husband	Refusing the husband's requests -	interpreted as
		Speaking harshly or using offensive	disobedience or
		language	defiance.
2	Husband	Emotional neglect - Abandonment of	Often overlooked in
	toward Wife	material or emotional needs - Violence	classical
		or abusive behavior	interpretations.

Table 1 above summarizes the different manifestations of $nush\bar{u}z$ committed by wives toward husbands and vice versa, as commonly discussed in both classical and contemporary scholarly discourse. Traditionally, $nush\bar{u}z$ is often associated with women's conduct that violates the expected norms of obedience within marriage, such as rejecting religious obligations, refusing reasonable requests from the husband, or using offensive language. Such behaviors have been interpreted within a patriarchal framework that positions women as inherently subordinate in the household, where disobedience by a wife is perceived as a threat to domestic harmony. Conversely, instances of $nush\bar{u}z$ committed by husbands have historically received minimal attention in classical discourse, even though they may take the form of emotional neglect, abandonment of material responsibilities, or even abusive behavior. This table illustrates that $nush\bar{u}z$ is not an inherently gender-specific phenomenon; rather, it reflects relational dynamics that can undermine marital harmony regardless of the perpetrator's gender. Consequently, it is imperative to adopt a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of $nush\bar{u}z$ —one that transcends patriarchal constructs and equally protects the rights and dignity of both spouses.

Quraish Shihab's View on Nushūz

The concept of *nushūz* in the Qur'an is explicitly addressed in two verses: QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, which focuses on *nushūz* by the wife, and verse 128, which discusses *nushūz* by the husband (Hussain, 2021; Riyani, 2017). According to M. Quraish Shihab, verse 34 emphasizes the position of men as *qanwāmūn*—leaders and protectors—of women, grounded on two key considerations: *first*, because Allah has granted certain advantages to some over others; and *second*, because men are generally responsible for providing financial support, including *mahr* and daily maintenance for their wives and children. In Shihab's interpretation, righteous women are those who obey Allah and, as a consequence, their husbands so long as the husband's command does not conflict with divine instruction or violate the wife's rights. These women also safeguard their own integrity and their husband's rights, even in the husband's absence, driven by a deep sense of trust and spiritual consciousness. Shihab explains that Allah's protection of wives includes the care embedded in the husband's affection, which endures even in physical absence (Shihab, 2005).

Acknowledging that not all wives are able to maintain such ideal conduct, verse 34 provides a structured guide for husbands in addressing disobedience (*nushūz*). Shihab affirms that conflict in marriage is inevitable, and crises may arise swiftly or linger. Therefore, Allah appointed men as household leaders, as their natural dispositions are

more suited for decision-making and stability. Men are described as more rational and emotionally steady, while women are viewed as more sensitive and emotionally driven (Shihab, 2005). Nonetheless, Shihab insists that these emotional traits are not weaknesses, but unique strengths necessary for nurturing roles in the family.

M. Quraish Shihab explains the physical and psychological differences between men and women. According to him, men tend to be more inclined toward activities involving movement, such as sports and hunting, whereas women are generally calmer and more sociable. Men are described as aggressive and noisy, while women prefer peace and tranquility. Women's emotions rise more quickly than men's, leading to immediate feelings of fear and sentimentality, while men tend to remain level-headed. Furthermore, men may feel bored when spending time with their partners over long periods, while women generally continue to feel comfortable and emotionally connected. Men are satisfied seeing the same facial appearance every day, whereas women often wish to present a different look each morning. For men, success is measured in terms of honorable social position; for women, it is defined as the ability to win and possess the heart and soul of their beloved (Shihab, 2005). From this, Shihab concludes that women are more governed by feelings, while men are led by reason. However, he emphasizes that such emotional sensitivity in women should not be seen as a weakness. Instead, it is a unique strength and privilege not shared by men, one that is essential in the context of family life, particularly in raising and guiding children (Shihab, 2005).

Regarding financial roles, Shihab points out that women are generally psychologically reluctant to be known as the financial supporters of their husbands, even of their lovers (Booley, 2024). On the contrary, men may feel embarrassed if it becomes known that their wives are fulfilling their financial needs. Therefore, Islam whose teachings align with human nature places the obligation of providing for the family on the husband. This responsibility, according to Shihab, becomes a source of pride for both the husband, as a sign of his love, and the wife, who feels valued through the fulfillment of her needs (Shihab, 2005).

M. Quraish Shihab further explains the steps that must be taken when a wife commits *nushūz*, namely: advising her, avoiding sexual relations, and finally, hitting. These three steps are connected in the verse by the conjunction wa (3), commonly translated as "and". Although in Arabic syntax this conjunction does not always indicate a strict sequence, the verse's structure suggests a gradual order of actions (Shihab, 2005). The phrase *wahjurūhunna* in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, commonly translated as "leave them," is interpreted by Shihab as an instruction for the husband to show discontent with the wife's conduct. The word *hajr* which means leaving something that is bad or undesirable for something better has two key implications: (1) a reaction to negative behavior, and (2) an effort to achieve improvement through that distancing. Hence, the husband's action should not merely be punitive, but oriented toward reconciliation and positive change (Shihab, 2005).

Shihab interprets the phrase fi al-maḍāji' (in the beds) as indicating that the husband should remain in the same physical space (i.e., the house or even the bedroom), rather than physically leaving the wife. This is based on the preposition fi (in), rather than min (from) which would imply departure. According to Shihab, keeping physical proximity without

verbal or sexual intimacy serves to express disapproval and encourages reflection. Physical separation or leaving the house, on the other hand, risks escalating conflict and should be avoided, especially in the presence of children or others (Shihab, 2006). This strategy, according to Shihab, is designed to maintain the chance for reconciliation while allowing emotional distance to function as a mirror. If the wife realizes that her emotional and physical appeal no longer elicits affection, she may reflect on her actions and seek to restore harmony. Thus, the goal of *hajr* is not punishment but awareness and restoration (Shihab, 2005).

If both previous steps namely advice and emotional distancing fail, then the next step mentioned is *wadribūhunna* (hit them). Shihab strongly emphasizes that this form of "hitting" must be understood symbolically or at the very least as something light, non-hurtful, and never violent. It is not meant to harm, humiliate, or express anger, but as a last-resort signal to awaken the wife's conscience after she has resisted earlier peaceful efforts. Shihab also cites that some scholars, including those referenced by Ashgar Ali Engineer in *Rāghib al-Mufradāt fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, argue that the word *daraba* here may carry a non-literal meaning, such as "to part", or even "to have intimate relations" (Shihab, 2005).

Shihab also affirms that nushūz is not exclusive to women. In QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128, Allah addresses the situation of a wife fearing *nushūz* or neglect from her husband. Shihab interprets this as referring to a husband's arrogance or emotional withdrawal, which deprives the wife of her rights, attention, and affection. Such negligence, if left unchecked, could end in divorce. Therefore, the verse encourages reconciliation through mutual compromise. Either spouse may waive certain rights to preserve the marriage, provided it does not violate divine guidance (Shihab, 2005). The phrase *lā junāḥa 'alayhimā* (no blame upon them) is interpreted not as an obligation but as a permissibility, a suggestion for peaceful resolution, not a forced settlement. Reconciliation must be achieved sincerely without coercion (Shihab, 2006).

Shihab also comments on the term *shuh* (miserliness or greed), explaining that it reflects the universal human reluctance to give up one's rights. This attribute, he emphasizes, is not gender-specific; it applies equally to both men and women. In the context of marital conflict and reconciliation, shub manifests as the unwillingness of either party to compromise or let go of certain entitlements for the sake of restoring harmony. Shihab views this as a natural inclination rooted in human psychology, but one that must be restrained in the interest of achieving a greater good. He links this insight to the directive in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128 where reconciliation between spouses through mutual understanding and voluntary concession is encouraged as long as it does not contradict divine principles. According to Shihab, the Qur'an acknowledges human imperfection but also provides ethical guidance to overcome it, especially in emotionally charged situations like marital disputes. Therefore, in negotiating nushūz, a spouse's capacity to overcome shuh becomes a spiritual and moral test: are they willing to prioritize peace, justice, and compassion over ego and entitlement? This broader reflection, in Shihab's view, reinforces the Qur'anic call to cultivate ihsān (excellence in conduct) as a means to resolve domestic tensions with dignity and care.

While Shihab's interpretation of QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 is careful and seeks to promote a peaceful marital environment, it still raises several theological and social concerns. Even though he stresses that "hitting" should be non-violent and only a symbolic final measure, this narrative nonetheless opens the door to justifying physical or psychological violence within the household. The concept of "non-hurtful" hitting is fraught with ambiguity: what one person considers harmless could still cause harm, emotionally, psychologically, or even physically.

In practice, the notion of "symbolic discipline" can be difficult to regulate. In many contexts, particularly in patriarchal societies with weak legal safeguards, such interpretations can legitimize domestic abuse. A husband may justify harmful actions as religiously sanctioned even when they cross ethical lines. This risk has prompted criticism from numerous modern scholars. Thinkers such as Muhammad Abduh, Riffat Hassan, Amina Wadud, and Khaled Abou El-Fadl reject the literalist reading of wadribūhunna, arguing that the verse was revealed in a specific historical context which is patriarchal, pre-Islamic Arabia, and was meant to restrict violence rather than authorize it. From this progressive standpoint, wadribūhunna is better understood not as physical action, but as a metaphor for serious reflection, emotional distancing, or firm but respectful confrontation. The broader message, they argue, is to regulate human behavior toward compassion and justice, not to endorse harm in any form.

The following is Musdah Mulia's concept of *nushūz*, which is further clarified through the diagram presented below:

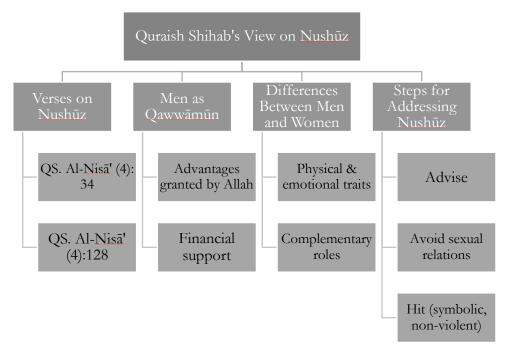


Figure 1. Conceptual Explanation of Quraish Shihab's View on Nushūz

The figure 1 above illustrates the conceptual framework of M. Quraish Shihab concerning *nushūz* (marital discord) as explained in the Qur'an, specifically in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and QS. Al-Nisā' (4):128). Shihab emphasizes that these two verses complement each other in providing a comprehensive framework for addressing marital conflict

involving either the wife or the husband. The first component, Verses on *Nushūz*, refers to QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, which addresses *nushūz* by the wife, and QS. Al-Nisā' (4):128, which highlights neglect or emotional withdrawal by the husband. Both verses provide ethical and procedural guidance to resolve marital tensions fairly and proportionately. The second component, Men as *Qawwāmūn*, affirms the role of men as protectors and maintainers of the family, grounded in two factors: specific advantages granted by God and the obligation upon men to provide financial support, including *mahr* and daily maintenance for the household. Third, the Differences Between Men and Women section reflects the natural distinctions between men and women, both physically and emotionally. Shihab underscores that women's emotional sensitivity is not a weakness but a unique strength essential for nurturing family harmony and child-rearing. The fourth component, Steps for Addressing *Nushūz*, outlines a three-stage process for resolving *nushūz* committed by the wife: providing advice, emotional distancing (without physical separation), and as a last resort, a symbolic, non-harmful physical gesture. Shihab stresses that these steps are intended to promote reconciliation and self-reflection, not punishment or humiliation.

Furthermore, Shihab highlights that *nushūz* is not exclusive to women. QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128 addresses the possibility of *nushūz* by the husband, often in the form of arrogance, neglect, or emotional detachment. In such cases, the Qur'an recommends compromise and mutual understanding, provided these do not violate religious principles. In sum, Shihab's interpretation promotes the resolution of marital conflict through compassion, mutual respect, and adherence to Qur'anic ethics, while firmly rejecting violence or the degradation of human dignity. His approach integrates textual, psychological, and contextual considerations, offering a more progressive and balanced understanding of *nushūz* within the family structure.

Musdah Mulia's View on Nushūz

In her analysis on *nushūz* within the household context, Musdah Mulia interprets this term as an act of resistance or failure to fulfill one's spiritual and ethical obligations toward one's spouse. This interpretation is based on the idea that a husband or wife who does not fulfill the responsibilities ordained by Allah SWT is considered to have committed *nushūz*. According to Musdah, *nushūz* can be committed by either the wife or the husband. In her book *Muslimah Reformis*, Musdah Mulia discusses the topic of women's leadership in relation to QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, which she presented at the Muslimah Congress held in Indonesia in November 1998. She observed that there were differing opinions on the role of women as leaders, with one of the key arguments referring to this verse. During the congress, Musdah Mulia argued strongly that the interpretation of the verse had been gender-biased. According to her, this interpretation as supported by other sources tended to marginalize women. Her argumentation clearly positioned women in a more empowered and dignified role (Siti Musdah Mulia, 2005).

Musdah Mulia identified several problematic viewpoints in classical Islamic scholarship, particularly concerning gender relations. She argued that the interpretation of QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 by many classical scholars endorsed male domination over women. This reading led to the assumption that a husband has the right to physically discipline his wife, a form of entitlement rooted in patriarchal family structures. In this framework, the

husband, as the main breadwinner, is considered to hold a higher status within the household, which is then used to justify disciplinary actions against the wife when deemed necessary (Muhammad Adress Prawira Negara & Neng Hannah, 2023).

In the context of societal norms, the views of individuals with misogynistic beliefs are widespread and perpetuated by religious leaders. This process of socialization hinders constructive discourse about women and obstructs fair and objective consideration of women's issues. Ideas about justice are frequently viewed as contradictory to dominant societal norms. This needs to be addressed, because maintaining such misconceptions lays the groundwork for legitimizing actions that can escalate into violence against women. In many cases, religious justification becomes the primary reason cited by men who commit domestic violence against their wives (Siti Musdah Mulia, 2005).

According to Musdah Mulia, QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 mentions the concept of *mushūz* committed by husbands and emphasizes that men must fear Allah, which should lead to self-reflection and improvement in how they treat their spouses. In QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, the resolution of *mushūz*, according to Musdah, begins with giving advice. This step includes open, mutual communication between spouses. If *mushūz* persists, the second step is bed separation, understood as not sharing the same sleeping space. The third step, instead of physical punishment, should be mutual deliberation (*mushawarah*). Musdah highlights a major issue in the common interpretation of the word *ḍaraba* in the phrase *waḍribūhunna* (QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34), which is traditionally translated as "to beat". She questions why classical scholars have chosen this meaning despite *ḍaraba* appearing 58 times across 28 surahs and 51 verses in the Qur'an, with varied meanings such as "to set an example," "to educate", "to explain", "to cover", and "to travel" (Rahmayanti & Ulya, 2022). She argues that the preference for "hitting" reflects patriarchal biases rather than a comprehensive philological understanding.

Furthermore, Musdah asserts that forgiveness and deliberation are more ethical alternatives than physical discipline. Even in *qiṣāṣ* cases (retaliation law), forgiving is regarded as a noble act (see QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 178) about how much more so in a relationship between husband and wife. She maintains that classical fiqh interpretations, including those on *nushūṣ*, are products of their time, shaped by specific socio-political and historical contexts. While she acknowledges the value of these past scholar's ijtihad, she emphasizes that reverence for tradition does not necessitate wholesale acceptance, especially when those interpretations conflict with contemporary understandings of gender equality and justice (Basid & Miskiyah, 2022; Rahmayanti & Ulya, 2022).

Musdah Mulia explicitly rejects the translation of *ḍaraba* as "hitting". However, she notes that this rejection requires reinforcement through philological studies and comparative dialogue with feminist exegetes. Philologically, *ḍaraba* (فَرَبُ) is a polysemous verb in Arabic whose meaning depends heavily on context. In the Qur'an, its derivatives appear more than 50 times with a wide range of meanings. Feminist scholars argue that interpreting *ḍaraba* as physical violence contradicts the Qur'an's overall spirit of compassion and equity.

For instance, Asma Barlas argues that reading *daraba* as "hitting" stems from a patriarchal lens and does not align with the Qur'an's values of justice and mercy. Citing Amina Wadud, she notes that *daraba* can mean "to set an example," and that the form used

in the verse is not the same as one meaning "to hit violently and repeatedly". Therefore, the verse should be interpreted as discouraging harsh behavior toward one's wife. Barlas emphasizes that Qur'anic teachings about marriage are rooted in love, mercy, and tranquillity, qualities incompatible with domestic violence. One of her critical points is the classical interpretation of *qawwāmūn* (commonly translated as "leader"), which is often used to justify male authority over women. Asma Barlas challenges this view by quoting Pickthall, who argues that *qawwāmūn* is better understood as "breadwinners" or "those responsible for financial support". Accordingly, the verse does not grant men a leadership entitlement but rather imposes an obligation on them to provide materially and serve as moral role models for their wives (Barlas, 2019).

Amina Wadud asserts that the word *daraba* in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 should not be interpreted as a painful physical act. Instead, she proposes it be understood as "leaving" or "emotional and physical separation," in line with the Qur'an's spirit of peace and reconciliation. She rejects the common translation of *daraba* as "hitting," as it contradicts the principles of *raḥmah* (compassion) and *mawaddah* (affection) in marital relationships, as emphasized throughout the Qur'an. Wadud also highlights that the term *mushāz* appears in reference to both women (QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34) and men (QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128), yet it is often interpreted differently based on gender. In the case of women, *mushāz* is frequently equated with disobedience toward the husband, whereas for men, it is interpreted as neglect or a harsh attitude toward the wife. According to Wadud, this discrepancy reflects a gender-biased interpretation. She emphasizes that *mushāz* should be understood as any disruption to marital harmony not merely as a matter of a wife's obedience regardless of who causes it (Khotibi, 2020).

In addition, Wadud examines the term qānitāt, which is often translated as "obedient". She challenges this interpretation, arguing that in the Qur'anic context, qānitāt refers to a believer's obedience and devotion to Allah, not obedience to a spouse. According to her, *qānitāt* signifies spiritual submission to God and applies to both men and women. This differs from the word *tā'ah*, which denotes obedience to an external authority. Therefore, reading qānitāt in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 as "obedient to the husband" misrepresents the verse's intent. Regarding the three-step resolution process for a wife's nushūz in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, Wadud acknowledges that the Qur'an outlines: (1) verbal reconciliation between spouses, potentially with mediation (as supported by QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 35 and 128); (2) physical separation as a symbolic gesture of estrangement; and (3) wadribūhunna which is often translated as "strike them". While she accepts the structure of these steps, she does not endorse the third step in the form of physical violence. For Wadud, if verbal and emotional distancing fail, the solution is not necessarily hitting. Instead, it can lead to a return to dialogue, continued separation, or even divorce. Divorce itself requires a waiting period, during which the couple may reconsider their decision. Thus, "separation" can also be understood as part of a reflective process in managing irreconcilable differences (Wadud, 1999).

In line with Wadud's view, contemporary *mufassirah* Ziba Mir-Hosseini argues that patriarchal interpretations of verse 34 stem not from the Qur'an itself, but from the sociocultural context of its interpreters. She critiques classical tafsir for exaggerating men's dominance in the household, thereby neglecting Qur'anic values of justice, equality, and

mutual consultation. In her analysis, Mir-Hosseini questions: "Why do the texts of Islamic jurisprudence—which define the terms of *sharia*—treat women as second-class citizens and place them under male domination?" She sees these legal interpretations as products of patriarchal structures rather than divine mandates, and therefore calls for their reevaluation in light of contemporary understandings of gender and justice (Mir-Hosseini, 2006).

Referring to the many lexical meanings of the verb *daraba*, it becomes evident that "hitting" is neither the only nor the most appropriate interpretation in this context. Given that the verse addresses conflict resolution within marriage, the approach should prioritize peaceful, deliberate, and wise measures rather than physical actions. Such a reading aligns more closely with the Qur'an's overarching message of compassion, balance, and restorative justice.

The following is Musdah Mulia's concept of *nushūz*, which is further clarified through the diagram presented below:

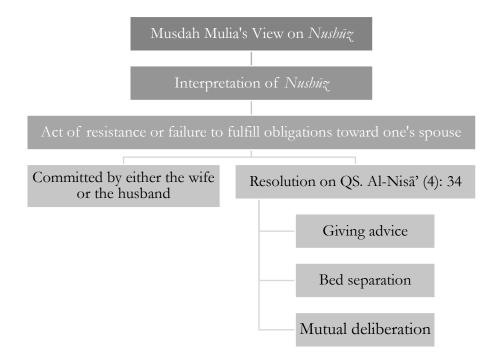


Figure 2. Narrative Explanation of the Conceptual Diagram on Musdah Mulia's View of Nushūz

Figure 2 above illustrates Musdah Mulia's conceptual framework on *nushūz* within the context of marital relations, as referred to in QS. Al-Nisā' (4):34. Musdah emphasizes that *nushūz* should not be narrowly understood as an act of disobedience by the wife alone, but rather as a spiritual and ethical failure that can be committed by either spouse. Musdah Mulia critically challenges classical interpretations that reflect patriarchal biases, particularly regarding the term *ḍaraba*, which is often translated as "to beat". Along with contemporary female exegetes such as Asma Barlas, Amina Wadud, and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, she argues that *ḍaraba* carries numerous alternative meanings that align more closely with the Qur'anic principles of compassion, justice, and mutual respect.

The diagram also visualizes the three-step conflict resolution process for *nushūz* proposed by Musdah Mulia: (1) providing advice and engaging in open communication,

(2) temporary physical separation as an emotional cooling-off period, and (3) mutual consultation (*shūrā*) rather than physical violence. This approach rejects any legitimization of domestic violence and promotes marital relations grounded in rahmah (compassion), mawaddah (affection), and justice. Through this analysis, Musdah Mulia advocates for a progressive and contextual reinterpretation of Qur'anic verses to foster egalitarian, just, and harmonious family relations, consistent with the universal ethical values of Islam.

Comparison of the Views of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia on Nushūz

The concept of *nushūz* in Islamic households refers to an act of non-compliance by one spouse with the obligations of a husband or wife according to Islamic teachings. A comparative study of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia's views on *nushūz* provides a deeper understanding of their differing interpretations within the frameworks of Islamic law and gender roles. Each thinker emphasizes different aspects in understanding and applying the concept, influenced by their respective reading of religious texts and social contexts (Hussaini & Babayo, 2021).

M. Quraish Shihab interprets a wife's *nushūz*, as referenced in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, as behavior that violates the rights God has granted to the husband. Meanwhile, a husband's *nushūz*, as found in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 128, is described as arrogance that leads him to neglect his wife's rights and act indifferently, both emotionally and physically. This indifference makes the wife feel alienated and mistreated in communication and intimacy. On the other hand, Musdah Mulia defines *nushūz* as disobedience or failure to fulfill one's spiritual and ethical responsibilities toward God. She argues that *nushūz* is not exclusive to wives but can be committed by both husbands and wives, a point supported by the references to both genders in QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 and 128. In her view, *nushūz* is not about obedience to the spouse per se, but about disobedience to Allah's moral commands (Zulfikri & Nurhidayatullah, 2023).

Quraish Shihab in his tafsir emphasizes gender roles within the household based on a principle of balance and complementary (Safhira Faradilla, 2024) (Halimah, 2023). He upholds the interpretation of men as *qawwāmūn* (those entrusted with leadership and responsibility in the family) primarily due to their roles as providers. Accordingly, men are seen as naturally suited to leadership, while women are viewed as better positioned to nurture and care for children.

When interpreting QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34, Shihab outlines three sequential steps for addressing a wife's nushūz (Hamdalah & Jamil, 2022): (1) offering advice, (2) avoiding sexual relations, and (3) light, non-harmful physical discipline as a last resort. He clarifies that "spanking" is not intended as abuse, but rather as a symbolic expression of displeasure, aimed at prompting the wife's reflection and repentance. For Shihab, the purpose of these steps is to protect the marriage, not to dominate or oppress the wife. He also stresses that the husband should remain in the same house during this process, even the same bedroom, to preserve communication and intimacy (Shihab, 2005).

In contrast, Musdah Mulia presents a more critical and reformist perspective on traditional interpretations of *nushūz*. She argues that equating *nushūz* with the husband's right to discipline his wife physically is a misreading rooted in patriarchal culture. In *Muslimah Reformis*, she challenges the use of QS. Al-Nisā' (4): 34 to justify violence,

highlighting the multiple meanings of the word *daraba*, including "to educate," "to set an example," and "to separate". For her, the appropriate steps in addressing marital conflict involve dialogue, bed separation (if necessary), and sincere deliberation, but never violence (Siti Musdah Mulia, 2005). Musdah argues that many classical jurist's interpretations of *daraba* as "to hit" were shaped by their socio-political contexts, which were patriarchal in nature. While she respects the historical ijtihad of classical scholars, she maintains that these views are not always relevant to contemporary societies and should be reinterpreted. Her emphasis lies in promoting justice and equality in marriage, and she firmly rejects any understanding that reinforces male superiority or legitimizes domestic violence (Siti Musdah Mulia, 2005).

This comparative analysis reveals stark differences in how *nushūz* is understood by Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia. Shihab upholds a traditional view grounded in classical tafsir and complementary gender roles, whereas Musdah Mulia promotes a reformist stance that centers justice, equality, and non-violence in interpreting the same verse. Shihab maintains that male leadership, supported by financial responsibility, entails certain corrective rights in the marriage. Musdah Mulia, in contrast, calls for an egalitarian model of marriage, grounded in mutual respect and reflective of modern understandings of gender justice. Both perspectives offer valuable insights, those are Shihab's grounded in historical context, and Musdah's responsive to the evolving needs of contemporary society.

In conclusion, their differing interpretations reflect the dynamic and evolving nature of religious thought. The ongoing reinterpretation of verses concerning *nushūz*, especially when viewed in light of justice, compassion, and shifting social realities is crucial in ensuring that Islamic teachings remain relevant, just, and aligned with the lived experiences of Muslim families today.

The following is a comparison table between the views of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia regarding the concept of *nushūz* in terms of interpretive methods, gender positioning, epistemology, and practical implications:

Table 2. Comparison between the Views of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia

Aspects	Quraish Shihab	Musdah Mulia	Similarities	Differences
Interpretation Method	Contextual interpretation with a traditional foundation; considers lafz structure, verse order, and Arabian socio- cultural context; integrates linguistics and	Critical hermeneutics based on gender justice; reexamines classical interpretations through a progressive feminist lens; challenges patriarchal elements in	Both affirm that mushūz can occur in both men and women.	Quraish accepts gender hierarchy with a proportional approach; Musdah rejects it as gender- biased.

	classical exegesis.	both text and context.		
Gender Position	Emphasizes natural differences between men and women (men as qamwām, or leaders due to their physicality, intellect, and financial responsibility); women are seen as educators and caretakers.	Rejects gender subordination; views marriage as a partnership of equals where both men and women can commit <i>nushūz</i> by failing to fulfill ethical responsibilities.	Both emphasize the importance of household harmony.	Quraish supports patriarchal structure; Musdah critiques it as unjust.
Epistemology	Rooted in classical fiqh, Arab sociological reality, and family values; reads verses as normative guidelines with practical considerations.	Critical- emancipatory epistemology; prioritizes lived female experiences and justice as a foundation for reinterpreting patriarchal texts.	Both use the Qur'an as a primary source.	Quraish follows a historical-textual approach; Musdah adopts a critical-contextual one.
Practical Impact	Allows symbolic, limited "spanking" as a prior measures fail within the framework of preserving the family.	Firmly rejects all forms of violence, including symbolic ones; opposes interpretations legitimizing power imbalances; promotes gender equality	Both promote conflict resolution within the household.	Quraish permits disciplinary methods; Musdah condemns them as violence.

and social transformation.

Table 2 provides a systematic comparison between the perspectives of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia concerning the interpretation of *nushūz*, taking into account their respective methodologies, gender positioning, epistemological foundations, and practical implications. Both scholars acknowledge that *nushūz* can be committed by both men and women. However, significant differences emerge regarding their conceptualization of gender relations and how religious texts should be applied to family dynamics. Quraish Shihab adopts a contextual interpretive framework rooted in classical exegesis, in which male leadership (*qanwāmah*) within the household is viewed as natural and justified, based on men's rational disposition, socio-economic roles, and responsibility as providers. In contrast, Musdah Mulia presents a critical feminist interpretation that rejects hierarchical gender roles and conceptualizes marriage as a partnership of equals, where both spouses bear ethical and spiritual responsibilities.

Epistemologically, Shihab draws upon normative principles from classical figh and Arab sociological realities, reading Qur'anic verses as practical moral guidelines. Musdah Mulia, however, adopts a critical-emancipatory epistemology, prioritizing lived female experiences and justice as essential lenses for reinterpreting patriarchal readings of religious texts. Their approaches also diverge in practical terms. Shihab allows for symbolic, nonviolent disciplinary measures—such as temporary separation or light, non-harmful physical gestures—as a last resort to preserve marital unity. Musdah Mulia, by contrast, firmly rejects all forms of violence, including symbolic ones, viewing such interpretations as perpetuating power imbalances and legitimizing domestic abuse. This comparison highlights the dynamic nature of Islamic hermeneutics in addressing gender-related issues. The views of Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia exemplify two interpretive trajectories: one that seeks reform within the boundaries of classical tradition, and another that calls for a transformative reinterpretation informed by contemporary human rights and gender justice principles. Their differing approaches enrich the broader discourse on nushūz and reflect the ongoing intellectual contestation within Islamic scholarship regarding family law, gender relations, and the ethical foundations of marital conflict resolution.

Conclusion

This study reveals that the concept of *nushūz* as interpreted by Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia demonstrates two contrasting approaches, each contributing to ongoing discourse between traditional and progressive interpretations based on gender justice. Quraish Shihab interprets the verses related to *nushūz* through a normative-textual approach that still considers the social and psychological dynamics between men and women. He emphasizes a step-by-step conflict resolution process rooted in preserving household harmony, while acknowledging that both spouses can commit *nushūz*. However, his reading retains the notion of male leadership (*qanwāmah*) in the family. By contrast, Musdah Mulia offers a more progressive critique of classical interpretation, aiming to dismantle patriarchal readings that legitimize male dominance and violence. She redefines *nushūz* not as mere disobedience of a wife but as the failure of either spouse to uphold

spiritual and ethical responsibilities. Her interpretation prioritizes dialogue, mutual respect, and justice, drawing from both Islamic teachings and modern human rights values. Musdah Mulia specifically challenges the dominant translation of the word *daraba* (in "wadribūhunna", QS An-Nisa: 34) as "to hit". She points out that *daraba* appears 58 times across 51 verses in the Qur'an, with meanings that vary from "to set an example", "to educate", "to separate", and "to travel". Therefore, interpreting it solely as "to hit" neglects its semantic richness and risks legitimizing domestic violence. The differing approaches of these scholars reflect a broader shift in the interpretation of gender-related Qur'anic verses, from traditionalist, normative readings to contextual and ethical interpretations. Theoretically, this highlights the importance of interdisciplinary approaches in Qur'anic hermeneutics, combining Islamic scholarship with insights from gender studies, psychology, and law. Practically, these interpretations contribute to a more just and responsive Islamic legal framework addressing domestic violence and gender relations.

This research, however, does not delve deeply into the socio-historical contexts that influenced the interpretations of both Quraish Shihab and Musdah Mulia. Nor does it empirically explore how their ideas are received by society or how they affect Islamic legal regulations and public policies on women's protection. Further research is therefore recommended to examine how these interpretations are understood and practiced at the community and institutional levels, especially in Islamic educational settings. Additionally, studies on the influence of such interpretations on family law reform in Indonesia and comparative international perspectives on *nushūz* in Islamic traditions will further enrich our understanding of gender dynamics in Islam. Such future work will strengthen the basis for promoting maslahah (public good), equality, and the fair protection of women's rights in Muslim societies.

CRediT Authorship Contribution Statement

Lolla Pitaloka: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Resources, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Kayan Manggala:** Funding acquisition, Methodology, Resources, Writing – review & editing. **Hasan Abdul Wafi:** Resources & Validation.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to all those who contributed to the completion of this research. Special thanks to the academic mentors and peers who provided valuable feedback during the development of this study. We also extend our appreciation to the institutions and libraries that provided access to the classical and contemporary tafsir literature essential for our analysis. The authors also gratefully acknowledge the financial support from Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (LPDP), Indonesia, which provided a scholarship that supported the academic journey of the author.

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