

Reinterpreting Qiwwamah in Muhammad Abduh's Thought: Implications for Women's Emancipation and Domestic Violence Prevention in Indonesia

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Abstract: This article examines the relevance of Muhammad Abduh's thoughts on women's emancipation for addressing Domestic Violence in Indonesia. The study addresses the ongoing issue of gender-biased religious interpretations that legitimize acts of violence within the household, a problem evidenced by more than 10,000 reported cases in 2023. Abduh was chosen due to the significant influence of his reformist ideas—particularly his views on qiwwamah—on the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia, largely through the intellectual networks of Al-Azhar University. The objectives of this research are twofold: first, to descriptively analyze Abduh's concept of qiwwamah as articulated in his principal works (*Tafsir al-Manar* and *Risalat al-Tawhid*); and second, to evaluate its normative and practical relevance in shaping an Islamic legal framework that opposes domestic violence in the Indonesian context. The study employs a contextual hermeneutic method, supported by comparative analysis between Abduh's ideas and Indonesian domestic violence legislation. The findings reveal that Abduh offers three central arguments: qiwwamah as a moral and protective responsibility rather than a justification for male dominance; the spiritual and ethical equality of men and women; and the necessity of legal reform grounded in the principle of *maslahah*. These ideas are found to be in harmony with the core values of Indonesia's Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence. The study concludes that Abduh's reinterpretation provides a strong theological foundation for the prevention of domestic violence in Indonesia, although its practical application remains challenged by conservative interpretations and the ongoing need for contextual adaptation.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Hermeneutics, Muhammad Abduh, Qiwwamah, Women's Emancipation

Abstrak: Artikel ini mengkaji relevansi pemikiran Muhammad Abduh tentang emansipasi perempuan dalam menangani Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT) di Indonesia. Studi ini menyoroti persoalan berkelanjutan mengenai penafsiran agama yang bias gender, yang kerap melegitimasi tindakan kekerasan dalam rumah tangga—sebuah masalah yang tercermin dari lebih dari 10.000 kasus yang dilaporkan pada tahun 2023. Abduh dipilih karena pengaruh besar dari gagasan-

gagasan reformisnya khususnya pandangannya tentang qiwanah terhadap perkembangan hukum keluarga Islam di Indonesia, terutama melalui jaringan intelektual Universitas Al-Azhar. Penelitian ini memiliki dua tujuan utama: pertama, untuk menganalisis secara deskriptif konsep qiwanah menurut Abduh sebagaimana diungkapkan dalam karya-karya utamanya (*Tafsir al-Manar* dan *Risalat al-Tawhid*); dan kedua, untuk mengevaluasi relevansi normatif dan praktis konsep tersebut dalam membentuk kerangka hukum Islam yang menentang kekerasan dalam rumah tangga dalam konteks Indonesia. Studi ini menggunakan metode hermeneutik kontekstual, didukung oleh analisis komparatif antara gagasan Abduh dan peraturan perundang-undangan KDRT di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Abduh menawarkan tiga argumen utama: qiwanah sebagai tanggung jawab moral dan perlindungan, bukan sebagai pembenaran atas dominasi laki-laki; kesetaraan spiritual dan etis antara laki-laki dan perempuan; serta pentingnya reformasi hukum yang didasarkan pada prinsip masalah (kemaslahatan). Gagasan-gagasan ini ditemukan sejalan dengan nilai-nilai inti dari Undang-Undang No. 23 Tahun 2004 tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa reinterpretasi Abduh memberikan landasan teologis yang kuat untuk pencegahan KDRT di Indonesia, meskipun penerapannya secara praktis masih menghadapi tantangan dari penafsiran konservatif dan kebutuhan adaptasi kontekstual yang berkelanjutan.

Kata Kunci: Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga, Hermeneutika, Muhammad Abduh, Qiwanah Emansipasi Perempuan

Introduction

Domestic Violence (DV) remains a serious problem in Indonesia. Data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) recorded that in 2023, there were more than 10,000 cases of domestic violence reported, and this represents only a small fraction of cases that actually occurred. This phenomenon indicates the existence of power relation imbalances between men and women in households that are often legitimized by gender-biased religious interpretations (Aprianto BP Pasaribu et al., 2024).

The practice of domestic violence in Indonesia is exacerbated by various social, economic, and cultural factors. Historically, patriarchal structures deeply rooted in Indonesian society have created conditions where male dominance is considered a normal norm. (Eleanora & Supriyanto, 2020) This is reflected in traditional expressions such as "wife as *konco wingking*" (companion behind) in Javanese culture, which places women in subordinate positions with domestic roles (Arvianti, 2013). Furthermore, textual interpretation of religious verses without considering their socio-historical context is often used as justification for male authority to "discipline" wives, including through acts of violence.

The National Women's Life Experience Survey (SPHPN) conducted by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection together with the Central Statistics Agency revealed that 1 in 3 women in Indonesia have experienced physical

and/or sexual violence in their lives (Rai Yulianti et al., 2024). The violence that occurs is not only physical but also includes psychological, economic, and sexual violence. Domestic violence victims are often reluctant to report their cases due to social stigma, economic dependence, concerns about the impact on children, and minimal knowledge about legal protection mechanisms (Eleanora & Supriyanto, 2020).

Although Indonesia already has Law Number 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, its implementation still faces various challenges. The gap between policy and practice in the field is evident from the low reporting rate, limited victim access to assistance services, and the tendency toward case resolution patterns that prioritize "family integrity" over justice and protection for victims.

In the religious context, particularly Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia, there is a long debate regarding husband-wife relations and the boundaries of authority in households. Textual and partial religious understanding often becomes the foundation for justifying acts of violence, even though the fundamental values of Islam emphasize justice, compassion, and respect for human dignity (Anggraeni, 2024). This makes it important to re-examine the thoughts of Islamic reform figures who have progressive views on gender relations, one of whom is Muhammad Abduh.

In the context of Islam, there are various views about the position and role of women. One figure who has progressive thoughts on this matter is Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), an Islamic reformer from Egypt whose thoughts have had wide influence in the Islamic world, including Indonesia (Amir & Rahman, 2021). Abduh is known as a figure who championed women's rights within the framework of reformist Islamic thinking.

Muhammad Abduh lived during the era of colonialism when the Islamic world experienced decline in various aspects of life. In response to this situation, he initiated Islamic thought reform known as the Islamic modernism movement. Abduh believed that one of the keys to the revival of the Muslim *ummah* was to free minds from blind *taqlid* and provide adequate education to all members of society, including women. His thoughts on women's emancipation were inseparable from his greater efforts to reform and revitalize Islamic civilization.

In Indonesia, Abduh's thoughts began to be known in the early 20th century through networks of Minangkabau scholars who studied in the Middle East and publications of the Al-Manar magazine led by his student, Muhammad Rashid Rida. His ideas about Islamic reform, including about women's status and rights, became inspiration for reformist movements such as Muhammadiyah and women's organizations such as 'Aisyiyah. The influence of Abduh's thoughts became increasingly felt with the development of the Islamic feminism movement in Indonesia in the 1990s, which sought to articulate gender equality within the framework of Islamic values (Amir, 2021).

This article aims to analyze Muhammad Abduh's thoughts on women's emancipation in Islam and examine their relevance to domestic violence cases in Indonesia. The discussion will focus on three main aspects of Abduh's thought related

to women: (1) equality between men and women in Islam, (2) the importance of education for women, and (3) reform of Islamic family law. These three aspects will be connected to the context of domestic violence in Indonesia to see how Abduh's thoughts can contribute to efforts to prevent and handle domestic violence.

The significance of this study lies in the effort to offer a gender-just theological perspective in addressing the problem of domestic violence in Indonesia. By understanding Abduh's progressive thoughts on gender relations in Islam, it is hoped that it can provide a strong religious foundation for efforts to eliminate domestic violence and empower women. In addition, this study also aims to reconstruct religious understanding that has often been used as legitimacy for discriminatory practices and violence against women in households.

Method

This research employs a qualitative approach utilizing descriptive-analytical library research methodology. This study is categorized as doctrinal or normative research that aims to analyze the thoughts of a prominent figure (Muhammad Abduh) and examine their relevance to contemporary contexts (domestic violence in Indonesia). The approach utilized encompasses hermeneutic methodology to understand and interpret Muhammad Abduh's works, particularly those related to women's emancipation and the concept of *qiwamah*, as well as a comparative approach to analyze their relevance to domestic violence issues in Indonesia.

The data sources in this research consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data comprise Muhammad Abduh's works, particularly *Tafsir Al-Manar* co-authored with Rashid Rida, *Risalat al-Tawhid*, and his thoughts on Islamic reform documented in various literature. Secondary data include books, journal articles, and previous research discussing Muhammad Abduh's thoughts on women, literature on domestic violence in Indonesia, statistical data on violence against women from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), and related legislation such as Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence and the Compilation of Islamic Law. Data collection techniques were conducted through documentary studies by gathering, reading, and examining literature relevant to the research topic.

Data analysis was conducted through several stages: first, hermeneutic analysis to understand Muhammad Abduh's exegetical methodology and his reinterpretation of the concept of *qiwamah* in QS. An-Nisa [4]:34; second, contextual analysis to comprehend the domestic violence situation in Indonesia and its underlying factors, including the role of gender-biased religious interpretations; and third, comparative analysis to identify the relevance of Muhammad Abduh's thoughts to domestic violence prevention and management efforts in Indonesia. The analytical process also involved synthesis to develop the concept of "anti-violence fiqh" based on Abduh's thoughts that can be implemented within the context of Indonesian Islamic family law. Data validity was maintained through source triangulation by utilizing various credible literature and documents as well as cross-checking primary and secondary sources.

Results and Discussion

Muhammad Abduh and Women's Emancipation in Islam

The status of women in the Quran actually shows high appreciation and respect for women. The Quran affirms spiritual equality between men and women, where both have equal opportunities to receive rewards and paradise based on their faith and good deeds. This is clearly stated in Surah Al-Ahzab verse 35.

Surat Al-Ahzab ayat 35 adalah ayat yang sangat penting dalam Al-Qur'an karena membahas kesetaraan spiritual antara laki-laki dan perempuan di hadapan Allah SWT. Ayat ini dengan jelas menyebutkan bahwa baik laki-laki maupun perempuan memiliki kedudukan yang sama dalam hal keimanan dan mendapatkan pahala dari Allah. Ayat ini juga diturunkan dalam konteks sosial tertentu, di mana beberapa perempuan Muslim bertanya kepada Nabi Muhammad SAW tentang apakah Al-Qur'an menyebutkan tentang mereka sebagaimana menyebutkan tentang laki-laki. Ayat ini kemudian turun sebagai jawaban yang mengonfirmasi bahwa Allah memandang laki-laki dan perempuan secara setara dalam hal keimanan dan ketaatan. Al-Ahzab ayat 35

إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْقَنَاتِ وَالْقَنَاتِ وَالصَّادِقِينَ وَالصَّادِقَاتِ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَالصَّابِرَاتِ وَالْخَاشِعِينَ وَالْخَاشِعَاتِ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقِينَ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقَاتِ وَالصَّائِمِينَ وَالصَّائِمَاتِ وَالْحَافِظِينَ فُرُوجَهُمْ وَالْحَافِظَاتِ وَالذَّاكِرِينَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَالذَّاكِرَاتِ أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا

Meaning: Indeed, the Muslim men and Muslim women, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and obedient women, the truthful men and truthful women, the patient men and patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and charitable women, the fasting men and fasting women, the men and women who guard their chastity, and the men and women who remember Allah often- for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward.

Different from the conditions of *jahiliyah* society that degraded women, the Quran came by granting concrete rights to women, including the right to own personal property, inheritance rights, and the right to receive dowry in marriage. All these rights are explained in various verses in Surah An-Nisa. In the context of family life, the Quran describes the husband-wife relationship as a relationship based on *mawaddah* (love) and *rahmah* (compassion), as mentioned in Surah Ar-Rum verse 21.

Surat Ar-Rum ayat 21 adalah salah satu ayat dalam Al-Qur'an yang sering dikaitkan dengan pernikahan dan kehidupan berumah tangga. Ayat ini sering dijadikan landasan dalam Islam mengenai konsep pernikahan yang ideal dan tujuan membentuk keluarga yang harmonis berbasis kasih sayang. Bunyi Ar-Rum ayat 21

وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ أَنْ خَلَقَ لَكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَزْوَاجًا لِتَسْكُنُوا إِلَيْهَا وَجَعَلَ بَيْنَكُمْ مَوَدَّةً وَرَحْمَةً إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِقَوْمٍ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ

Meaning: And among His signs is that He created for you spouses from among yourselves so that you may find tranquility in them, and He placed between you affection and mercy. Surely in that are indeed signs for a people who reflect.

The Quran also elevates the status of women by presenting several noble female figures as examples, such as Maryam who even has a special chapter, Asiyah the wife of Pharaoh, Queen Balqis, and the wives of Prophet Muhammad. Although some Quranic verses need to be understood in certain socio-historical contexts, the basic principle of respect and justice for women is a universal value that becomes the core of Quranic teachings, showing how Islam brought revolutionary changes to women's status at that time (Winarti, 2023).

Muhammad Abduh viewed that Islam fundamentally recognizes equality between men and women. He referred to Quranic verses that affirm the common origin of humanity and spiritual equality between men and women. Abduh interpreted Surah Al-Hujurat verse 13.

Surah Al-Hujurat ayat 13 berisi pesan penting tentang kesetaraan manusia. Ayat ini menjelaskan bahwa Allah menciptakan semua manusia dari asal yang sama, yaitu seorang laki-laki dan perempuan. Meskipun manusia dibagi menjadi berbagai bangsa dan suku, tujuannya bukan untuk saling merendahkan, melainkan untuk saling mengenal dan memahami satu sama lain. Ayat ini menegaskan bahwa kemuliaan seseorang di mata Allah tidak diukur dari keturunan, kekayaan, atau status sosialnya, tetapi dari ketakwaannya. Dengan kata lain, yang membuat seseorang lebih baik dari yang lain hanyalah kualitas keimanan dan perbuatan baiknya. Allah Maha Mengetahui dan Maha Teliti, sehingga Dia yang paling tahu siapa yang benar-benar bertakwa. Pesan utama ayat ini adalah penolakan terhadap diskriminasi dan pengakuan bahwa semua manusia setara dalam pandangan Allah, dengan ketakwaan sebagai satu-satunya ukuran kemuliaan. Bunyi ayat Al-hujurat ayat 13:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۚ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

Meaning: O mankind, indeed We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowing and All-Aware.

as an affirmation that gender differences are not the basis of superiority, but rather nobility in Allah's sight is determined by piety (Abduh, 1947). In his interpretation of Surah An-Nisa verse 34, which is often used as justification for male dominance over women, Abduh offered a different interpretation. He interpreted "qawwamun" (leaders) not as legitimacy for male superiority, but as responsibility to protect and provide for. This leadership is functional, not structural (Abduh, Ridha, 1947). Abduh also emphasized that wives' "obedience" to husbands is not absolute obedience, but within the framework of goodness and cooperation.

Muhammad Abduh was born in 1849 in Egypt and died in 1905. He is known as one of the most influential Islamic thought reformers in the modern era. Abduh's education began with studying the Quran and the basics of Islam, then continued his education at Al-Azhar where he met Jamaluddin Al-Afghani who greatly influenced his reformist thinking. (Hitami & Murhayati, 2023)

Abduh served as Mufti of Egypt from 1899 until his death. During his tenure, he introduced various reforms in the Islamic education and legal system. His most famous works include *Risalat al-Tawhid* and *Tafsir Al-Manar* which he wrote with his student, Rashid Rida. (Madyunus, 2021)

Abduh's thinking was influenced by the context of Egypt in the late 19th century which was facing the challenges of modernity and European colonialism. He emphasized the importance of rationalism in understanding Islam and advocated *ijtihad* as a method to adapt Islamic teachings to the demands of modernity, without abandoning the fundamental principles of religion (Sofiullah, 2023).

Muhammad Abduh's Exegetical Methodology

Muhammad Abduh is known for his rational and contextual approach to interpretation. He criticized *taqlid* (blind following) of classical interpretations and encouraged the use of reason in understanding religious texts. Abduh's exegetical methodology includes several main principles (Abduh, Ridha, 1947):

Rational Approach

Muhammad Abduh strongly emphasized the use of reason in understanding the Quran. According to him, revelation and reason do not conflict, but complement each other. In his book "*Risalat al-Tawhid*," Abduh stated that "revelation and reason are two sources of knowledge that come from the same source, both cannot possibly conflict because truth cannot contradict other truths."

Abduh harshly criticized the attitude of *taqlid* (following scholars' opinions without critical thinking) which he believed had caused the decline of the Muslim *ummah*. He encouraged Muslims to use rational thinking in understanding religion, including in interpreting the Quran.

Contextualization

Abduh understood that the Quran was revealed in a specific historical context. According to him, to understand the true meaning of Quranic verses, we need to understand the context when the verse was revealed.

He developed the concept of contextual understanding by distinguishing between universal principles (*maqasid kulliyah*) and specific provisions (*ahkam juz'iyah*) in the Quran. Universal principles apply for all times, while specific provisions need to be understood according to their context. Abduh argued that classical interpretations are not sacred texts that cannot be criticized. According to him, "Interpretation is a human effort to understand God's will, which is influenced by the limitations of the interpreter's context and knowledge."

Welfare (*Maslahah*)

Abduh placed human welfare (*maslahah*) as the main purpose of interpretation. According to him, Islamic law was revealed to realize good for humanity, not to complicate their lives. In his exegetical methodology, Abduh used the concept of *maslahah* as an important consideration in interpreting Quranic verses. He developed what is called "*maslahah* epistemology" which makes human welfare the ultimate goal of the interpretation process.

Ease (*Taysir*)

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Unity of the Ummah (*Wahdah*)

Abduh was very concerned with the unity of the Muslim *umamah* that was divided by sectarian and school differences. Through his exegetical approach, he sought to minimize sectarian differences by emphasizing universal principles that could unite Muslims. He developed an approach called "contextual universalism" which acknowledges universal truth without ignoring contextual specificities. This approach aims to mediate the tension between universalism and particularism in the Islamic interpretive tradition.

Abduh sought to minimize sectarian differences through his interpretation, emphasizing universal principles that could unite Muslims. This exegetical methodology of Abduh became the basis for Islamic thought reform in various fields, including understanding gender relations and family in Islam.

Reinterpretation of the Concept of *Qiwamah* in Muhammad Abduh's Thought: QS. An-Nisa [4]:34

In *Tafsir Al-Manar*, Muhammad Abduh offered a different interpretation of the concept of *qiwamah*. Unlike classical interpreters who tended to see *qiwamah* as absolute male authority, Abduh emphasized the functional aspect of leadership in the family. He interpreted the phrase "*qawwamuna 'ala al-nisa*" as men's responsibility to maintain, protect, and ensure the welfare of wives, not as permission to dominate or act arbitrarily. (Borotan, 2022)

According to Abduh, the "advantage" that Allah gave to men as mentioned in the verse relates to the capacity that men generally possessed at that time to seek livelihood and provide protection. This does not indicate inherent male superiority over women, but rather functional role division that can change according to social and historical conditions (Abou-Bakr, 2015, pp. 44-64).

Abduh also criticized the interpretive practice that understands the word "*wadribuhunna*" (and beat them) as legitimacy for physical violence. He emphasized that "beating" is a last option that must be done very carefully and must not cause physical injury. Furthermore, Abduh argued that this practice needs to be understood in a specific historical context and does not have to be applied literally in the present time when there are better conflict resolution mechanisms (Abduh & Rida, 1947, vol. 5, pp. 72-75). Although Abduh did not explicitly fight for gender equality in the modern sense, his thinking contains principles that support justice and oppose oppression. Abduh emphasized that Islam is fundamentally a religion that liberates humans from all forms of oppression and injustice (Kerr, 1966, pp. 103-115).

In the context of marriage, Abduh emphasized the importance of *mu'asharah bi al-ma'ruf* (good relations) between husband and wife. He criticized the misuse of polygamy and emphasized that the ideal condition of marriage is monogamy (Subkhy, 2019). Abduh also advocated education for women, which shows his view of women's intellectual capacity being equal to men.

The principles of equality and justice in Abduh's thinking are based on the understanding that the main purpose of *sharia* is to realize *maslahah* (good) for humans. In the context of husband-wife relations, this *maslahah* means creating harmonious and mutually respectful relationships, not domination of one party over another (Hallaq, 1997, pp. 214-220).

Muhammad Abduh's main contribution in reinterpreting the concept of *qiwamah* is the transformation of meaning from "authority" to "responsibility." According to Abduh, men's position as *qawwam* in the family is not a privilege, but a burden of responsibility that must be carried out with full trust. (Sani, 2023) This responsibility includes fulfilling the material and spiritual needs of the family, as well as protecting family members from danger.

Abduh argued that the purpose of *qiwamah* is to realize household harmony, not to create hierarchical structures that can trigger conflict and violence. In his thinking, husband-wife relationships are based on the principle of partnership (*sharikah*), where each party has complementary roles and responsibilities. (Wahyudi & Zaenab, 2023) Abduh's reinterpretation of *qiwamah* as responsibility, not domination, opens space for a more egalitarian understanding in husband-wife relations. This approach also affirms that acts of violence contradict the essence of *qiwamah* which should be protective and supportive.

Problems of Domestic Violence in the Indonesian Context

Domestic Violence (DV) is a serious problem in Indonesia that impacts physical and mental health, especially for women and children. According to data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) (Komnas Perempuan, 2021, pp. 24-28), domestic violence cases continue to increase from year to year. In 2020, out of 299,911 cases of violence against women reported, around 11,105 cases were domestic violence, with 5,853 cases of physical violence, 2,123 cases of

psychological violence, 1,983 cases of sexual violence, and 1,146 cases of economic violence (Nurherwati & Azisah, 2018).

Factors contributing to the high rate of domestic violence in Indonesia include power relation imbalances in families, economic factors, gender-biased religious interpretations, and lack of public awareness about domestic violence as a criminal act (Nurherwati & Azisah, 2018). In some communities, domestic violence is still considered an "internal family matter" that should not be intervened by outsiders, including the state (Aini, 2018).

Indonesia already has a comprehensive legal framework to prevent and handle domestic violence through Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT). This law defines domestic violence as:

"Any act against a person, especially women, that results in misery or suffering physically, sexually, psychologically, and/or household neglect including threats to commit acts, coercion, or deprivation of freedom unlawfully within the household scope." (Republik Indonesia, 2004).

The UU PKDRT covers four types of violence: physical, psychological, sexual violence, and household neglect. This law also establishes reporting procedures, victim protection, and sanctions for domestic violence perpetrators (Munti, 2015, pp. 78-85).

In addition to the UU PKDRT, there are several other legal instruments related to domestic violence handling efforts, including the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) which regulates the rights and obligations of husband and wife, as well as Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage. However, the implementation of this legal framework still faces various challenges, including the perspective of some communities and law enforcement officials who are still influenced by conservative interpretations of religious teachings (Marcoes & Dwianti, 2017, pp. 32-38).

Textual interpretation of religious teachings, particularly related to the concepts of *qiwamah* and *nusyuz* (wife's disobedience), is often used as justification for domestic violence acts in Indonesia. For example, literal interpretation of the word "*wadribuhunna*" in QS. An-Nisa [4]:34 is used as legitimacy for husbands to "discipline" wives with physical violence (Nurmila, 2015).

Several studies show that gender-biased religious understanding still influences public perception, including victims, perpetrators, and religious leaders, toward domestic violence. A study conducted by Komnas Perempuan shows that patriarchal religious understanding impacts the low reporting rate of domestic violence cases and victims' tendency to accept violence as "fate" or "trial." (Komnas Perempuan, 2016, pp. 45-54).

On the other hand, there are efforts by progressive religious leaders to reinterpret religious texts with perspectives that are more gender-sensitive and anti-violence. However, these efforts are still considered minority and have not been fully integrated into the religious education system and family law system in Indonesia (Rofiah, 2020, pp. 175-184).

Contribution of *Qiwamah* Reinterpretation in Preventing Domestic Violence

Muhammad Abduh's reinterpretation of the concept of *qiwamah* offers significant contributions to domestic violence prevention efforts in Indonesia. By interpreting *qiwamah* as protective responsibility, not dominative authority, Abduh's thinking affirms that acts of violence contradict the essence of leadership in Islam (Abduh & Rida, 1947, vol. 5, pp. 71-73). Abduh's approach that emphasizes functional, not hierarchical aspects in husband-wife relations can reduce power relation imbalances that are often the root of domestic violence. When husbands understand their position as *qawwam* within the framework of responsibility and protection, the tendency to use violence as a form of control will decrease (Mulia, 2015, pp. 135-142).

Furthermore, Abduh's criticism of literal interpretation of the word "*wadribuhunna*" and his emphasis on verse contextualization can reduce the misuse of religious texts to justify violence. Abduh emphasized that the essence of Islamic teachings is *rahmah* (compassion) and *'adalah* (justice), which contradict all forms of violence and oppression (Karam, 2004, pp. 78-85).

Muhammad Abduh's progressive thinking has the potential to be integrated into revisions of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and development of family *fiqh* in Indonesia. Several elements of Abduh's thinking that can be considered include:

1. Redefinition of Family Leadership: Revising Article 79 of KHI on the position of husband and wife by emphasizing aspects of responsibility and partnership, not authority and obedience (Muhammad, 2019, pp. 228-235).
2. Strengthening the Principle of *Mu'asharah bil Ma'ruf*: Developing standards of "good relations" in husband-wife relationships that include prohibition of violence in any form (Nasution, 2002, pp. 112-120).
3. Adoption of *Maslahah* Approach: Applying the principle of welfare as the main consideration in formulating and interpreting family law, which implies rejection of practices that harm family members, including domestic violence (Abdullah, 2019).

Integration of Abduh's thinking into the Indonesian Islamic family law system can be done through several mechanisms: (1) fatwas from religious authorities such as the Indonesian Ulema Council; (2) education materials for prospective couples; (3) training for Religious Court judges; and (4) sermon materials and religious education (Rofi'ah & Nakha'i, 2018, pp. 87-96).

Development of "Anti-Violence *Fiqh*" Based on Muhammad Abduh's Thought
Based on Muhammad Abduh's reinterpretation of the concept of *qiwamah*, there is an opportunity to develop "anti-violence *fiqh*" that is gender-responsive and contextual. This *fiqh* will emphasize several main principles: (Kodir, 2019, pp. 224-230). *First*, the Principle of Equality (*Musawah*) recognizes the equal dignity and rights of men and women as the foundation of husband-wife relationships. *Second*, the Principle of Justice (*'Adalah*) ensures a fair distribution of rights and responsibilities within the family, taking into account the specific conditions and needs of each individual. *Third*, the

Principle of Compassion (*Rahmah*) emphasizes that family relationships must be grounded in mutual love and respect, making any form of violence fundamentally unacceptable. *Fourth*, the Principle of Consultation (*Shura*) promotes decision-making through dialogue and consensus rather than coercion or dominance. *Fifth*, the Principle of Welfare (*Maslahah*) encourages the evaluation of religious practices and interpretations based on their real impact on the well-being of all family members. Together, these principles offer a normative-theological foundation that not only supports the implementation of Indonesia's Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT) but also encourages the transformation of social norms regarding gender relations in Muslim families across the country.

This anti-violence *fiqh* can become a normative-theological framework that supports the implementation of the UU PKDRT and transformation of social norms related to gender relations in Muslim families in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Based on the above discussion, several key conclusions can be drawn. Domestic violence continues to be a serious issue in Indonesia, with more than 10,000 reported cases in 2023, driven by a combination of social, economic, cultural factors, and gender-biased religious interpretations. In this context, the progressive thought of Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), an Islamic reformer from Egypt, offers a valuable contribution by emphasizing gender equality and justice in Islam. Abduh's rational and contextual methodology in interpreting Islamic texts forms a strong foundation for the reform of Islamic thought, particularly in matters related to gender relations. His approach is guided by principles such as rational reasoning, contextualization, public welfare (*maslahah*), ease (*taysir*), and the unity of the Muslim community (*wahdat al-ummah*). Notably, Abduh reinterprets the concept of *qiwamah* in QS. An-Nisa [4]:34 as a moral responsibility to protect and provide for, rather than a justification for male superiority. He also views the phrase *wadribuhunna* ("and beat them") as a last resort within a specific historical context, which should not be applied literally when better, more peaceful conflict resolution methods are available. Abduh's ideas can be developed into a comprehensive anti-violence *fiqh* rooted in the principles of equality, justice, compassion, consultation, and welfare. This framework can support both the implementation of Indonesia's Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT) and the transformation of social norms regarding gender relations within Muslim families. Furthermore, integrating Abduh's thinking into Indonesia's Islamic family law system can be achieved through fatwas issued by religious authorities, educational materials for prospective couples, training for judges in Religious Courts, and religious sermons and educational content.

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