



Resolving Domestic Violence Issues: The Contribution of KUPI Interpretation in Gender-Responsive Qur'anic Interpretation

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Abstract

Domestic violence (KDRT) remains a significant issue in Indonesia, with high numbers of reported cases each year. Many of these cases are linked to gender inequality, and misinterpretations of Qur'anic verses often justify patriarchal practices within marriage. This study aims to analyze the interpretations of KUPI (Indonesian Women Ulama Congress) regarding Qur'anic verses related to KDRT and to explore how their progressive interpretations offer solutions to gender inequality in domestic settings. A qualitative, descriptive-analytical approach was used, with data sourced from KUPI's fatwas, related academic literature, and interviews with gender-responsive scholars involved in KUPI. The study finds that KUPI's interpretations of verses such as QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 34 and QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233 emphasizes equality, respect, and justice, rejecting violence and reinforcing mutual rights within marriage. This research contributes to the development of gender-responsive Qur'anic interpretation and offers new insights into addressing KDRT through Islamic law. For further research, it is recommended that field-based studies be conducted to examine the actual impact of KUPI interpretations on the prevention of domestic violence in Muslim communities, including through interviews with victims, advocates, and female religious scholars who are directly involved.

Domestic Violence; Gender Equality; Islamic Law; KUPI; Qur'anic Interpretation

Abstrak

Kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (KDRT) masih menjadi masalah signifikan di Indonesia, dengan jumlah kasus yang tinggi setiap tahunnya. Banyak kasus ini terkait dengan ketidaksetaraan gender, dan penafsiran yang keliru terhadap ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an sering kali membenarkan praktik patriarkal dalam pernikahan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis penafsiran KUPI terhadap ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an yang berhubungan dengan KDRT dan mengeksplorasi bagaimana tafsir progresif ini menawarkan solusi terhadap ketidaksetaraan gender dalam keluarga. Pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif analitis digunakan, dengan data yang diperoleh dari fatwa KUPI, literatur akademik terkait, serta wawancara dengan ulama perempuan yang terlibat dalam KUPI. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tafsir KUPI terhadap ayat-ayat seperti QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 34 dan QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233 menekankan kesetaraan, penghormatan, dan keadilan, menolak kekerasan dan memperkuat hak saling dalam pernikahan. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi pada pengembangan tafsir Al-Qur'an yang responsif terhadap gender dan menawarkan wawasan baru dalam mengatasi KDRT melalui hukum Islam. Untuk penelitian lanjutan, disarankan adanya studi berbasis lapangan yang meneliti dampak aktual tafsir KUPI terhadap pencegahan KDRT di masyarakat Muslim, termasuk melalui wawancara dengan korban, pendamping, dan ulama perempuan yang terlibat langsung.

Kata Kunci: Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga; Kesetaraan Gender; Hukum Islam; KUPI; Penafsiran Al-Qur'an

INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence is a prominent social issue in Indonesia, with widespread impacts on women's lives. Data reported by the National Commission on Violence Against Women [Komnas

Perempuan] shows an increase in the number of victims of violence each year. In 2020, there were 299,911 cases of violence against women, consisting of 291,677 cases in the Religious Court and 8,234 cases from the questionnaire data of the Service Provider Institution. Although there was a decrease of approximately 31.5% in the number of cases compared to the previous year, this does not mean that violence against women has significantly decreased. Several factors contributed to this decline, including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which reduced the number of complaints, with victims tending to isolate themselves or not report violence due to social restrictions and lack of access to technology to report (Komnas Perempuan, 2021).

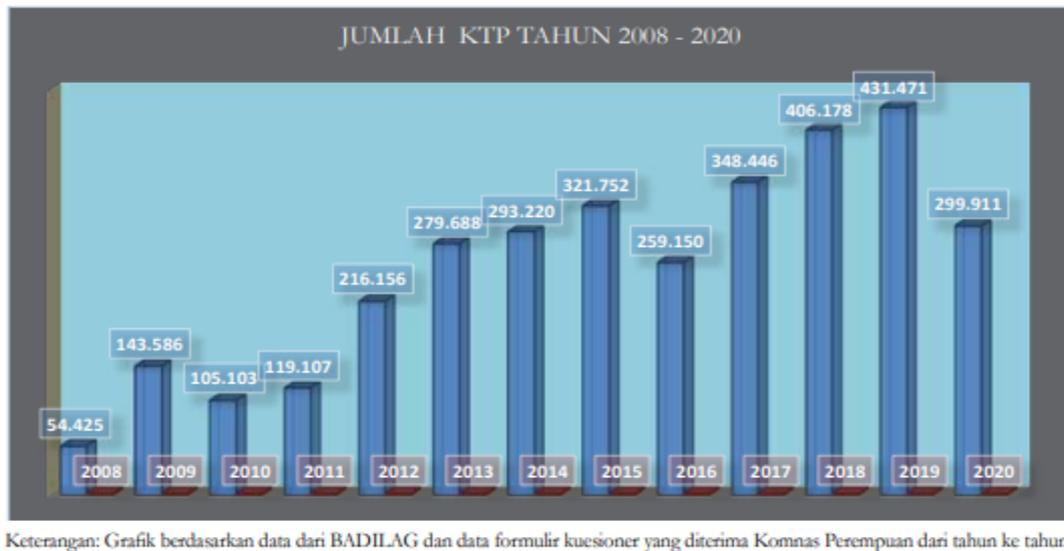


Figure 1: Graph of Cases of Violence against Women 2008-2020

Source: (Komnas Perempuan, 2021)

More specifically, Figure 1 shows the number of cases of violence against women over 13 years. It shows that although there was a decrease in 2020 compared to 2019, the number of cases of violence remains high. In this case, more than 431,000 cases were recorded in 2019, but this decreased to 299,911 cases in 2020 (Komnas Perempuan, 2021). These data show that despite the decline, violence against women remains a major problem that requires more attention, especially with social restrictions causing many cases to go unreported. This fact underscores the importance of understanding the factors that influence the dynamics of domestic violence cases, as well as how interpretations of Qur'anic texts that are often gender biased can play a role in worsening or improving the situation.

Research on domestic violence conducted by Muslim researchers has been widely carried out, particularly in relation to the interpretation of verses concerning husband-wife relationships. Most studies highlight how classical interpretations of gender verses often support patriarchal norms that permit violence against women in the household (Khasanah et al., 2025). For example, Geissinger (2002), in his study reviewing Asma Barlas' book, shows that classical interpretations, many of which were compiled by male scholars in the Middle Ages, often positioned women in a secondary position in the family. In this framework, husbands are considered to have higher authority, which is often misinterpreted as the right to dominate or even commit violence against

wives (Mahmudah & Islahuddin, 2025). In addition, research by Mahmudah & Islahuddin (2025) and Alfirdaus & Huda (2026) also confirms that classical interpretations often ignore the dimension of social justice in husband-wife relationships, which has an impact on increasing gender inequality in Muslim societies.

However, in recent years, new studies have begun to emerge that attempt to offer a more inclusive interpretation based on gender justice. Indonesian Women Ulama Congress [Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia] (KUPI), through its conferences in 2017 and 2022, introduced a progressive interpretation that focuses on equality in marital relationships and opposes gender-based violence (Ma'ruf et al., 2022). Kusmana (2019) emphasized the importance of the mubadalah approach, which emphasizes reciprocity and harmony in the household, which can counter interpretations that support inequality and violence in the household. This approach is expected to improve the understanding of verses such as QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 34 and QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 228, which are often understood in a gender-biased manner in classical interpretations (Nurmila, 2025).

However, despite many new efforts to reform interpretation through KUPI, there is still a lack of research specifically discussing the role of KUPI interpretation in addressing cases of domestic violence through a more gender-responsive interpretation. Many studies focus on the role of female scholars in interpretation in general, but do not explore in depth how this progressive KUPI interpretation is applied to address domestic violence issues in Indonesia (Faizah et al., 2024). This study aims to fill this gap by examining KUPI's interpretation of verses related to domestic violence and how this interpretation can offer new solutions in addressing this social issue. The novelty of this research lies in the use of KUPI interpretation as an instrument to overcome inequality and domestic violence, which has been reinforced by classical interpretations that teach patriarchy.

This study aims to analyze KUPI's interpretation of Qur'anic verses related to domestic violence [kekerasan dalam rumah tangga] (KDRT), focusing on how KUPI's interpretation can offer a more gender-responsive perspective through the principles of mubadalah and justice. Solutions can be provided to the inequality and domestic violence that have been perpetuated by patriarchal interpretations. Thus, this study is expected to contribute to a more equitable and equal understanding of interpretation for women in the social and family context in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study uses qualitative research with a descriptive analytical approach. This approach was chosen to examine in depth KUPI's understanding and interpretation of Qur'anic verses related to domestic violence (KDRT), as well as to explore its contribution in offering a more inclusive and fair perspective for women. Among the verses that are the focus of this study are QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 34 and QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233. This aims to describe how KUPI's interpretation is articulated, as well as to analyze its meaning and implications for the issue of domestic violence in Indonesia. This study also seeks to identify important elements in KUPI's interpretation that can support gender equality and overcome inequality in husband-wife relationships.

The data sources used in this study consist of scientific articles published by KUPI (in Kupipedia) and other scientific articles discussing KUPI, both in terms of history (such as discussions of the KUPI congress) and interpretations of the Qur'an from a KUPI perspective.

Additional data was also obtained from a literature review related to gender theory and Islamic interpretation. For data analysis techniques, this study used text analysis techniques to examine KUPI's interpretation of Qur'anic verses, as well as content analysis to identify the main themes relevant to domestic violence and gender equality. In presenting the data, the analysis results are presented in a descriptive-narrative form that explains KUPI's interpretation of the verses studied in detail and in a progressive manner.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical and Biographical Analysis of the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress

The Indonesian Women Ulama Congress [Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia] (KUPI) is an important movement that emerged as a reaction to the dominant gender inequality in the world of interpretation and religion. KUPI was founded to overcome patriarchal domination in religious interpretation, which often harms women (Asy'ari & Zuhriyah, 2025). KUPI was first held on April 25-27, 2017, at the Kebon Jambu al-Islamy Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon. Five hundred nineteen female scholars from Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Papua, and Maluku, and 131 observers from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Thailand, Nigeria, Australia, Kenya, America, and the Netherlands gathered to discuss social and religious issues related to women, such as sexual violence, child marriage, and gender inequality in interpretation (Zaen, 2022). KUPI became a turning point for women to demand a more equal position in religious spaces and fight for their rights, which are often marginalized in classical interpretations (Zaen, 2022).

KUPI was initiated by various institutions, with Rahima playing a major role in its conception. Rahima is an education and information center on Islam and women's reproductive rights, a non-governmental organization focused on empowering women from an Islamic perspective. Officially established on August 5, 2000, in Jakarta, it was created to address the need for information related to gender issues. Initially, it focused only on critical education and the dissemination of information related to women's rights in Islamic boarding schools. Due to the high demand from the community, it eventually expanded its reach to include madrasas, teachers in religious and public schools, *majelis ta'lim* (Islamic study groups), Muslim women's organizations, student organizations, and non-governmental organizations [Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat] (LSM).

In addition to being supported by Rahima, KUPI is also supported by Alimat and Fahmina. Alimat is an Indonesian social action and thought movement that aims to achieve gender equality and justice in the family from an Islamic perspective. It was founded on May 12, 2009, in Jakarta by various activists, both individuals and organizations, concerned with women in the family structure. Such as *Komnas Perempuan, Fatayat NU, Aisyiyah, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, Lakpesdam NU, Pekka, KPI, PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Gender Studies Center (PSG) STAIN Pekalongan, Pancasila University, Rahima, Fahmina, and GPPBM*. Fahmina is an institution and movement that strives to transform human life towards sustainable social relations that are just, dignified, humanistic, pluralistic, and democratic. It is based on critical traditions and local wisdom, both structurally and culturally. It began as a gathering of young intellectuals from Islamic boarding schools who shifted the social role of the boarding schools to be more prophetic. It was founded in November 1999

in Arjawinangun, Cirebon, and began to play a major role in 2001. Fahmina also raises the issue of contextualizing classical Islamic texts, contemporary Islamic studies, and community assistance.

KUPI was born amid social and religious conflict in Indonesia, particularly after the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, which was followed by the rise of extremist groups promoting religious interpretations that discriminate against women. The chair of the KUPI steering committee, Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi laid the foundation for this Congress in her sermon, focusing on female scholars and their roles (Razak & Mundzir, 2019). KUPI emerged as a response to this, offering a more progressive and fair Islamic perspective for women. This first congress was attended by various female scholars from different regions and supported by important figures such as Nyai Masriyah Amva, who also hosted the first congress at the Islamic boarding school she manages. The existence of KUPI also shows the involvement of women in Islamic education, which has been dominated by men (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022).

The implementation of KUPI is not limited to discussion forums, but also produces strategic fatwas that serve as references for Islamic policy and law in Indonesia. One of the important fatwas produced is the rejection of child marriage and sexual violence as part of KUPI's commitment to social justice and gender equality (Ilya, 2024). Thus, KUPI is not just a scientific forum, but also a platform that encourages real change in Indonesian society. This movement introduces a more inclusive interpretation, emphasizing justice and equality as the main principles in gender relations. Therefore, KUPI has become a symbol of resistance against interpretations that often favor men and oppress women (Faizah et al., 2024).

Since its inception, KUPI has introduced interpretive concepts that challenge patriarchal norms that have long been rooted in Indonesian religious traditions. One of these is *mubadalah*, a concept that prioritizes equality in husband-wife relationships, rejecting the domination of one party over the other. This concept reflects how women and men in marriage should support and respect each other, rather than dominate each other. This approach criticizes conventional interpretations that often view women as inferior in the household structure. In the concept of *mubadalah*, women are not obedient objects, but equal partners in building a harmonious and just household (Kusmana, 2019).

Along with the development of KUPI, there has also been an emphasis on the importance of inclusive religious education for women. This education aims to reduce inequalities in religious understanding, which has long regarded women as mere recipients of revelation rather than active subjects in the interpretation of sacred texts. Therefore, KUPI also emphasizes the importance of the role of female scholars in the process of interpretation, both within the family and in society. This emphasis shows that interpretation should not only be the domain of men, but also a space that women can enter to contribute to a more just and equal understanding of religion (Mahmudah & Islahuddin, 2025).

KUPI also considers government and community involvement in supporting this movement to be a very important factor for the sustainability of the struggle for gender equality in Islam. On several occasions, KUPI has collaborated with state and non-governmental institutions to strengthen women's voices in religious and social policies. This can be seen from how KUPI has gained the full support of the Indonesian government, especially in the context of Islamic law reform, which has so far been favorable to men (Mun'im et al., 2024). The collaboration between

female scholars and state institutions also proves that the KUPI movement is not only a religious issue, but also a social welfare issue that impacts the daily lives of the community (Nurmila, 2025).

The KUPI movement shows that women in Islamic tradition should not be marginalized, but rather have the right to play an active role in religious interpretation. This movement reflects the spirit to change the pattern of interpretation that prioritizes male interests and places greater emphasis on social justice values that apply to all of humanity. Thus, KUPI not only focuses on gender equality, but also on efforts to reduce social discrimination that women have experienced in Muslim communities in Indonesia. The steps taken by KUPI in developing a more inclusive interpretation show a significant change in the religious paradigm, which is now more based on justice and equality for all parties, regardless of gender (Nuroniya & Maula, 2025).

The Qur'an's Prohibition of Domestic Violence (KDRT)

Domestic violence is a complex social issue that is often not clearly addressed in classical interpretations. Several verses in the Qur'an discuss husband-wife relationships and provide a basis for understanding the roles of each in the household (Khasanah et al., 2025). One of the verses often discussed in relation to KDRT is QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 34, which in Tafsir Ibn Katsir is understood as justification for the husband's dominance over his wife, the narrative conveys "لأن الرجال أفضل" (because men are superior to women, a man is better than a woman) and continues "فالرجل أفضل من المرأة في نفسه وله الفضل عليها والافضل فناسب أن يكون قِيَمًا عليها" (a man is superior to a woman in himself, a man has superiority over a woman, and it is the man who gives superiority to the woman. Therefore, it is very appropriate to say that men are the leaders of women). This verse states, "Men are the leaders of women, because Allah has made some of them superior to others, and because they spend their wealth." However, classical interpretations often do not emphasize the principle of justice contained in this verse, and instead lead to the justification of inequality in husband-wife relationships (Mahmudah & Islahuddin, 2025).

In addition, QS. Al-Nisa' [4]: 19 is also often associated with the issue of domestic violence, in which Allah reminds husbands not to be harsh towards their wives. This verse reads, "وَعَاشِرُوهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ" (and live with them in a manner that is appropriate). Literally, this verse indicates that any act of violence against wives is contrary to the basic principles of husband-wife relationships according to the Qur'an, namely respect and affection. An inclusive and gender-responsive interpretation emphasizes that this verse requires husbands to always do good and refrain from acts of violence in the household (Kusmana, 2019). Furthermore, QS. al-Nisa' [4]: 21 is also an important reference related to domestic violence, especially in the context of discussing the rights of wives in marriage. The narrative reads, "وَأَحْذَرْنَ مِنْكُمْ مَيْتًا قَائِمًا عَلَيْكُمْ" (and they (your wives) have made a strong covenant (marriage bond) with you?). This verse explains that marriage is a strong agreement. Therefore, husbands and wives have the same rights to be respected and treated fairly. This verse shows that any action that harms one party, especially women, is contrary to the basic principles of marriage in Islam (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022).

In addition, QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 228 regulates the rights of women after divorce with the narrative "وَلَهُنَّ مِثْلُ الَّذِي عَلِيَهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ" (they (women) have rights equal to their obligations in a manner that

is appropriate). This verse emphasizes that divorced women have the right to be treated well and provided for. This is important to understand in the context of domestic violence, because often women who experience domestic violence are forced to remain in unhealthy relationships due to financial dependence or concerns about social stigma. This verse implies that justice must be upheld, and each party in a marriage must be treated with respect and without coercion (Mahmudah & Islahuddin, 2025).

Finally, QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 233 also provides a legal basis for the husband's responsibility to provide for his wife after childbirth. "وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ" (*the father's obligation to provide for their food and clothing in a proper manner*). This verse emphasizes that women have the right to receive assistance from their husbands during the difficult period after childbirth, which also correlates with the protection of women from physical and emotional violence. When a husband does not fulfill this obligation, he has violated the woman's right to be treated with respect and fairness in the household. A more progressive interpretation would emphasize that any act of violence that hinders these rights is contrary to Islamic teachings that emphasize equality and respect between spouses (Nurmila, 2025).

Understanding Domestic Violence Verses through the KUPI Perspective

The Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI) introduced a more progressive and gender-responsive approach to interpretation to address social issues, particularly domestic violence. This approach focuses on the principles of justice, equality, and respect for women's rights from an Islamic perspective (Rahmawati & Aprilyanti, 2017). KUPI not only seeks to correct conventional interpretations that tend to be patriarchal but also develops a more inclusive interpretation by promoting the principles of *mubadalah* (reciprocity between men and women), *ma'ruf* (what is good), and true justice to create healthy and harmonious relationships within the household (Ma'ruf et al., 2022). In this discussion, several verses often associated with domestic violence will be presented, along with KUPI's interpretation of them, to emphasize how this progressive interpretation can contribute to social change in Indonesian Muslim society.

الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا آتَقْتُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ فَالصَّالِحَاتُ قَنَاطُتٌ حَافِظَاتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ وَالَّتِي تَخَافُونَ نُشُوزَهُنَّ فَعِظُوهُنَّ وَاهْجُرُوهُنَّ فِي الْمَضَاجِعِ وَاصْرَبُوهُنَّ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا كَبِيرًا ﴿٣٤﴾

"Men are the caretakers of women, as men have been provisioned by Allah over women and tasked with supporting them financially. And righteous women are devoutly obedient and, when alone, protective of what Allah has entrusted them with. And if you sense ill-conduct from your women, advise them (first), (if they persist), do not share their beds, (but if they still persist), then discipline them (gently). But if they change their ways, do not be unjust to them. Surely Allah is Most High, All-Great." QS. An-Nisa': 34.

This verse is often used to justify inequality in marital relationships and even violence against women in the home. However, KUPI's interpretation of this verse is much more progressive. KUPI emphasizes that this verse should not be understood literally and narrowly, but must be viewed in the overall context of Islamic teachings on mutual respect and cooperation in marriage. According to KUPI, leadership in this context does not mean that the husband has the right to dominate or commit violence against his wife, but rather the husband's responsibility to protect

and provide for the family, including his wife. The principle of mubadalah requires reciprocity between husband and wife, where both have equal obligations and rights in maintaining household harmony. This understanding rejects interpretations that often marginalize women's rights and give disproportionate dominance to husbands (Kusmana, 2019).

KUPI also highlights the end of the verse, which reads, “do not seek ways to harm them,” as a clear barrier against violence. This means that violence, whether physical or emotional, is contrary to the true teachings of Islam. The application of the principle of true justice requires respect for women and protects them from all forms of oppression within the household (Mahmudah & Islahuddin, 2025).

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا يَحِلُّ لَكُمْ أَنْ تَرِثُوا النِّسَاءَ كَرْهًا وَلَا تَعْضُلُوهُنَّ لِتَذَهَبُوا بِبَعْضِ مَا آتَيْتُمُوهُنَّ إِلَّا أَنْ يَأْتِيَنَّ
بِفَاحِشَةٍ مُّبَيِّنَةٍ وَعَاشِرُوهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ فَإِنْ كَرِهْتُمُوهُنَّ فَعَسَى أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئًا وَيَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ فِيهِ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا ﴿١٩﴾

“O believers! It is not permissible for you to inherit women against their will or mistreat them to make them return some of the dowry (as a ransom for divorce) unless they are found guilty of adultery. Treat them fairly. If you happen to dislike them, you may hate something which Allah turns into a great blessing.” QS. An-Nisa’: 19

This verse provides very clear guidelines regarding women's rights in marital relationships. It emphasizes that women should not be forced to remain in unhealthy marriages, and that they are entitled to their rights fairly. From a KUPI perspective, this verse emphasizes the importance of *Mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf* (good relations), meaning the relationship between husband and wife must be based on love, mutual respect, and the opportunity for each to grow. KUPI uses this verse to emphasize that if there is disharmony, husbands and wives must engage in dialogue and seek solutions without resorting to physical or emotional violence. This approach is in line with the principle of *ma'ruf*, which is to do good and maintain mutual respect in the household (Rohmaniyah et al., 2022).

According to Kyai Husein Muhammad (a KUPI mentor) in his book entitled *Fiqh Perempuan* (Fiqh for Women), this verse focuses on the word *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf*. Linguistically, the word *mu'asyarah* means togetherness or intimacy. The word *ma'ruf* can also be interpreted as something that is known to be good. Therefore, *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf* means to get along well. In a marriage contract, the rights and obligations of husbands and wives must be based on the principles of equality, balance, and justice (Muhammad, 2001).

Broadly speaking, there are two principles of *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf*. First, *mabar* or dowry is the term for property given to a wife due to a marriage contract. Second, is *nafkah*. This is something that a person spends to fulfill the needs of his wife, which is his responsibility. Nafkah must be from good sources and in accordance with the husband's abilities. The obligation to provide nafkah is emphasized by Allah in Surah Al-Baqarah verse 233, “وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ” (and it is the duty of the husband to provide food and clothing to his wives in a *ma'ruf* manner). Therefore, *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf* in this case must be practiced by both husband and wife by loving, caring for, giving to, and accepting each other, and not neglecting their respective obligations.

Likewise, in sexual relations, it means that a husband has intercourse with his wife in a manner permitted by Sharia law, without coercion. This is confirmed by the hadith of the Prophet,

“لا ينظرُ اللهُ عزَّ وجلَّ إلى رجلٍ أتى رجلاً أو امرأةً في دُبْرِهَا” (On the Day of Judgment, Allah will not look at a man who approaches (has intercourse with) a man or who has intercourse with a woman in her anus) HR Ibn Abi Shaibah. In terms of humanity, husbands and wives must respect each other, be polite, not hate each other, and be pleasant to each other. There should be no hostility, and they should not feel superior to each other. According to Ibn ‘Atiyah, the term *mu’asyarah* contains the meaning of *musyarakah*, which indicates that a job or action is not carried out by one party alone, but involves cooperation or interaction between two individuals in its implementation. From this understanding, it can be understood that the obligation to apply the concept of *mu’asyarah bil ma’ruf* not only apply to husbands towards their wives, but also vice versa, wives towards their husbands (Ridha, 1990).

In the *Qira’ah Mubadalah* approach, the principle of *mu’asyarah bil ma’ruf* is the main pillar that underlies the relationship between husband and wife. Allah explains in QS. An-Nisa’ verse 19 that this is one of the main pillars for harmony in the household. This pillar is to maintain, nurture, and bring to life the goodness that is set as a common goal. This pillar emphasizes the importance of reciprocity, whether in terms of perspective, principles, or other values embodied in the bond of marriage. Every good thing in the relationship between husband and wife must be realized and felt fairly by both parties (Junaidi, 2023).

In addition, the *Qira’ah Mubadalah* approach also captures the use of linguistic structures for men (*mudzakkar*), who at that time were socially in a dominant position that tended to impose their will, treat women arbitrarily, and even deprive them of their rights. This verse actually commands us to abandon these bad habits, abuse, violence, forced inheritance of women, or seizing their property (Ulfiyati, 2019). However, in the framework of *Qira’ah Mubadalah* theory, the substance of this does not only apply to men but also to women. This means that wives are also prohibited from obstructing their husbands’ rights, imposing their will, or seizing their property. Both must be based on mutual respect and affection and behave in a *ma’ruf* manner. At its congress, KUPI defined this word as something that contains the values of goodness, truth, justice, and social customs that do not conflict with Islamic principles.

وَالْمُطَلَّقَاتُ يَتَرَبَّصْنَ بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ قُرُوءٍ وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَهُنَّ أَنْ يَكْتُمْنَ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ فِي أَرْحَامِهِنَّ إِنْ كُنَّ يُؤْمِنَنَّ بِاللَّهِ
وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَيُعَوِّلُهُنَّ أَحَقُّ بِرَدِّهِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ أَرَادُوا إِصْلَاحًا وَلَهُنَّ مِثْلُ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَلِلرِّجَالِ
عَلَيْهِنَّ دَرَجَةٌ وَاللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ﴿٢٠٨﴾

“Divorced women must wait three monthly cycles (before they can remarry). It is not lawful for them to conceal what Allah has created in their wombs, if they (truly) believe in Allah and the Last Day. And their husbands reserve the right to take them back within that period if they desire reconciliation. Women have rights similar to those of men equitably, although men have a degree (of responsibility) above them. And Allah is Almighty, All-Wise.” QS. Al-Baqarah: 228.

This verse explains the rights of divorced women, including the right to be treated well during their idah period. KUPI emphasizes that the rights mentioned in this verse indicate that women have rights that are equal to their obligations in a marital relationship. This interpretation contradicts the interpretation that states that husbands always have more rights in all aspects, including the right to decide the fate of their wives. The principle of *mubadalah* affirms that

husbands and wives must respect each other and share responsibility for maintaining family harmony, both during marriage and after divorce. In a more progressive interpretation, husbands cannot act unilaterally, but must respect women’s rights in all aspects of their lives (Nurmila, 2025).

وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُتِمَّ الرَّضَاعَةَ وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ
 لَا تُكَلَّفُ نَفْسٌ إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا أَلَا تَضَارَّ وَالِدَةٌ بِوَلَدِهَا وَلَا مَوْلُودٌ لَهُ بِوَالِدِهِ وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ فَإِنْ أَرَادَا فِصَالًا عَنْ
 تَرَاضٍ مِنْهُمَا وَتَشَاوُرٍ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا وَإِنْ أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تُسْتَرْضِعُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذَا سَلَّمْتُمْ مَا آتَيْتُمْ
 بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ ﴿٢٣٣﴾

“(Divorced) mothers will breastfeed their offspring for two whole years, for those who wish to complete the nursing (of their child). The child’s father will provide reasonable maintenance and clothing for the mother (during that period). No one will be charged with more than they can bear. No mother or father should be made to suffer for their child. The (father’s) heirs are under the same obligation. But if both sides decide after mutual consultation and consent to wean a child, then there is no blame on them. If you decide to have your children nursed by a wet-nurse, it is permissible as long as you pay fairly. Be mindful of Allah, and know that Allah is All-Seeing of what you do.” QS. Al-Baqarah: 233.

This verse emphasizes the husband’s obligation to provide for his wife, including food and clothing, as well as the woman’s right to receive proper protection, especially after giving birth. In the context of domestic violence, this verse is particularly relevant as it reminds husbands of their responsibilities towards their wives and children. KUPI interprets this verse to emphasize that physical violence or neglect of financial obligations is contrary to the principles of justice in Islam. Any form of violence or neglect in a marital relationship must be opposed, as it contradicts the basic teachings of the Qur’an, which prioritizes *ma’ruf* or mutual kindness in the household (Kusmana, 2019).

Table 1: Analysis of the Implications of KUPI Interpretation on the Prevention of KDRT

Verse	Contested Gender Issues	Classical Interpretation	KUPI Interpretation	Implications for KDRT Prevention
QS. An-Nisa’: 34	Husband’s leadership & legitimacy of beating	Qawwam is understood as male superiority; beating is considered a disciplinary measure.	Qawwam = protective responsibility and financial support; beating should not be understood literally; limited by the principles of justice and the prohibition of harm	Rejecting the legitimacy of violence; affirming the moral responsibility of husbands
QS. An-Nisa’: 19	Marital relationship	Mu’asyarah is often understood normatively without elaboration on reciprocity.	Mu’asyarah bil ma’ruf = dialogical, equal, loving, and consultative relationships	Strengthening non-violent relationships and equal communication

QS. Al-Baqarah: 228	Rights and obligations after divorce	The “degree” of masculinity is understood as absolute superiority.	Women’s rights are equal to their obligations; equality is interpreted as responsibility, not superiority.	Limiting the unilateral dominance of husbands in divorce
QS. Al-Baqarah: 233	Mother’s allowance and protection	Focus on the husband’s material obligations	Alimony as part of justice and protection; prohibition against harming mothers	Neglecting to provide financial support is considered a form of structural violence.

As shown in Table 1, there is a fundamental difference between classical interpretations, which tend to place men in a superior position, and KUPI interpretations, which emphasize the principles of responsibility, reciprocity, and substantive justice. Through the approaches of *mubādalāh*, *mu’āsyarah bil ma’rif*, and true justice, KUPI reconstructs the meaning of verses that are often used to legitimize violence into a normative basis for equal and non-violent husband-wife relationships. Through KUPI’s interpretation, these verses are not only understood textually but also considered in the context of the values of equality, justice, and respect for women’s rights. The progressive interpretation developed by KUPI seeks to bridge Islamic understanding with modern social realities that prioritize equality and human rights, thereby helping to overcome the problem of domestic violence in Muslim communities in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

This study found that the interpretation developed by the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI) offers a more gender-responsive reading of the verses of the Qur’an that are often associated with domestic violence, particularly QS. al-Nisa’ [4]: 34, QS. al-Nisa’ [4]: 19, QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 228, and QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233. Through the approaches of *mubādalāh*, *mu’āsyarah bil ma’rif*, and the principle of true justice, KUPI interprets the relationship between husband and wife as one based on responsibility, reciprocity, and respect, not domination and subordination. This interpretation explicitly rejects the legitimacy of domestic violence and places men and women as equal moral subjects in marriage. Thus, KUPI’s interpretation not only reinterprets the text but also reconstructs the paradigm of gender relations in Islam to be more just and contextual to the social reality of Indonesia.

Academically, this study contributes to strengthening the discourse on gender-responsive interpretation of the Qur’an by positioning KUPI as an epistemic actor that produces alternative religious authority in Indonesia. This study shows that interpretation is not a static final product, but rather a dynamic arena that can be reinterpreted through the framework of social justice and women’s experiences. However, this study has limitations, particularly in the scope of data, which focuses on documents, fatwas, and secondary literature related to KUPI, as well as the limited empirical exploration of the concrete implementation of this interpretation in social practices. In addition, this study has not conducted an in-depth comparative analysis with classical interpretations or with women’s ulama movements in the context of other Muslim countries.

For further research, it is recommended that empirical field studies be conducted to examine the actual impact of KUPI interpretations on the prevention of domestic violence in Muslim communities, including through interviews with victims, advocates, and female religious scholars who are directly involved in advocacy. In addition, comparative research between the KUPI approach and gender reinterpretation models in other countries will enrich our understanding of the transformation of women's religious authority in contemporary Islam. A more in-depth theoretical study using the *maqāṣid al-syari'ah*, hermeneutics, or Islamic feminism approaches is also important to strengthen the epistemological foundations of gender-responsive interpretations in addressing religion-based violence more systematically and sustainably.

DECLARATION OF USING AI

The author used ChatGPT to assist the writing process in order to maintain consistency in structure and language, DeepL to support text translation, and Grammarly to perform grammar checking and final proofreading to ensure the manuscript is clear, accurate, and aligned with academic writing standards.

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