



International Journal Islamic Education, Research and Multiculturalism (IJIERM)

Available online <https://journal.uaspim.org/index.php/IJIERM/index>

Ziba Mir-Hosseini Thoughts : Gender and Punishment for Adultery in Islam

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Abstract: Ziba Mir-Hosseini is a Muslim feminist fighter, he examines how misogynistic verses often exclude women. So far, women are considered inferior to men as superior, especially when it comes to imposing sanctions for adulterers, women are more likely to become victims of gender injustice. Therefore, this article discusses the thoughts of Ziba Mir-Hosseini. This type of research is qualitative in the form of literature research with a normative approach. The author concludes that women are always considered inferior and there is no gender justice, besides that punishments in Islam place women in a discriminatory position such as punishment for female adulterers. Therefore, Ziba gives advice to Muslim scholars and thinkers to study using a feminist approach or a gender approach, both as a theory and as an analytical tool in the study of Islamic studies.

Keywords: Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Gender and Islam, Feminists, Zina, Women

INTRODUCTION

Gender is often associated with the term Feminist. When talking about feminism, this issue actually enters the realm of Islam and was introduced to Muslims in the 1990s. This term Feminist became known among Muslims. Regarding this term, Muslim scholars are also interested in seeing and studying it with new approaches in the study of Islamic studies, one of which is a famous Muslim figure who studies feminism, namely Ziba Mir-Hosseini. He is a Muslim figure who comes from Taheran (Iran). The issue of feminism in Islam is actually the same as Western feminism, but behind the feminist struggle for

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Islam, not everyone feels comfortable with the development of this thought so they do not want to associate themselves as Muslim feminist fighters.

The existence of Muslim feminist fighters cannot be separated from the background factor of the lack of balance and equality for women. Sometimes women receive more unpleasant treatment or harassment, even if women are victims, it is done unfairly to them. The Indonesian National Commission on Violence Against Women recorded cases of harassment and violence against women in 2020 amounting to 431,471 cases, this case increased by 6% from 2019 which was only 406,178 cases.¹ In the current development of social life, human behavior is required to make changes in socializing. Gender equality between men and women is a global concern, especially women, where they are sometimes considered to not have the ability and expertise, especially in doing work like men do, whether in leading or working to support the family. Many people judge women only as sexual gratifiers and only fit to take care of the household, and they are not fit to lead or take care of society and government like men.²

In the pre-Islamic era and before the arrival of Islam, Umar bin al-Khattab once carried out an action that was prohibited by religion, namely burying his daughter alive. Then in the Ancient Greek era, women were not allowed to spend their own wealth.³ In the case of adultery too, it is very easy for women to be punished for committing adultery, this is proven by if the woman becomes pregnant outside of marriage.⁴ From these problems, Ziba Mir-Hosseini considers that gender and women's issues have become the center of world studies in religious and political discourse, especially among Muslims. In fact, there is a lot of Islamic studies literature that examines women from the perspective of Islamic gender.⁵

The Al-Qur'an as a guide to Islam, allows interpreters to interpret the text of the Koran which may provide a new complex understanding of a text so that there is discrimination against women. There are several verses related to the creation of women including: (al-Baqarah: 34), the concept of polygamy (An-Nisa': 3), the concept of testimony (Al-Baqarah: 282), the concept of marriage guardians (An-Nur: 32 Al- Baqarah: 221, 232), and the concept of

¹ Komnas Perempuan.go.id accessed March 28 2024 at 19.58

² Zaenul Mahmudi, *Sosiologi Fiqh Perempuan*. Cet. Ke 1. (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2009) h. 87

³ Salim Hidayah, *Wanita Islam Kepribadian Dan Perjuangannya*. Cet. Ke-2. (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1996) h. 10

⁴ H, Ashari, and H Hasan. "Kriminalisasi Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Makna Perzinaan; Studi Komparasi Antara Sistem Hukum Positif Dan Pandangan Ulama Mazhab." *Jurnal Mahasiswa Perbandingan Mazhab* 3, no. 1 (2022): 25-40.

⁵ Noer Zahara D. *Kemitrasejajaran Pria Dan Wanita Dalam Perspektif Islam (Dalam Tuntunan Islam Tentang Kemitrasejajaran Pria Dan Wanita)*. Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1999. hlm 213)



Inheritance (An-Nisa': 11). The verse above is the basis for mufassir to position women as companions only to men while the main ones are still men. Seeing these assumptions, feminist interpreters or feminist interpreters emerged to analyze gender as a framework in their interpretation.⁶ Based on the description above, the researcher is interested in studying "Ziba Mir-Hosseini's Thoughts: Gender and Punishment for Adultery in Islam". The problem formulation in this research is; 1. What are Ziba Mir-Hoessein's views on gender in Islam. 2. How does Ziba Mir-Hosseini see the punishment for adultery in Islam?.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several literature reviews that examine Ziba Mir-Hosseini's thoughts, including research conducted by Mutmainah that the legal rules for the rights of men and women are no longer in accordance with current Islamic developments.⁷ This is also confirmed in Salsabila's research that gender equality is one of the efforts to maintain family harmony. ⁸ Duderija in her research revealed that Ziba as a Muslim feminist fighter reformed Islamic family law with a neo-traditional approach to Islamic law, politics and ethics in general. ⁹ Similar to Chotimah and Agustina's research, Ziba provides the view that Islamic family law must use a new methodology in solving feminism. ¹⁰ Based on the literature review above, there are many studies that discuss Ziba Mir Hossein's thoughts, but what differentiates this research is how the researcher looks specifically at Ziba's views on gender and Islam and what the law is about committing adultery with women.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses qualitative research in the form of literature. The research used aims to find out Ziba Mir Hossein's thoughts about gender and the punishment for adultery. This research uses a normative approach. The data source used in this research is a primary data source originating from Ziba Mir Hosseini's own thoughts. And secondary materials come from books, journals, the internet and other supporting data. The data analysis used by the

⁶ Abdul Mustaqim. *Tafsir Feminis versus Tafsir Patriaki: Telaah Kritis Penafsiran Dekonstruksi Riffat Hassan*. Yogyakarta: Sabda Persada, 2003. hlm 45

⁷ Mutmainah. "Pengarustamaan Gender Perspektif Ziba Mir-Hosseini Islam Dan Gender: Debat Keagamaan Pada Masa Iran Kontemporer." *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pranata Islam: SYAIKHUNA* 7 (2016). hlm 318)

⁸ Naila Salsabila. "Strategi Pembentukan Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Upaya Harmonisasi Keluarga Islam." *Jurnal Mutawasith* 5, no. 1 (2022). hlm 16

⁹ Adis Duderija. "Islam and Gender in the Thought of a Critical-Progressive Muslim Scholar Activist Ziba Mir Hosseini." *Journal of Islam and Christian Muslim Relations*, 2014. hlm 27

¹⁰ Chusnul Chotimah, and Arifah Millati Agustina. "The Islamic Feminism: A Methodological Reconstruction of Contemporary Islamic Era." *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 19, no. 2 (2019). hlm 276)



researcher is descriptive analysis in which the researcher explains in detail and also explains whether he opposes or agrees with the study. The aim is to obtain an overview of gender and Islam.

SHORT PROFILE OF "ZIBA MIR-HOSSEINI"

Since childhood, Ziba Mir-Hosseini was in a family descended from the Prophet Muhammad and in his youth lived in Iran (1952-1974). Ziba completed his undergraduate studies in Sociology at Tehran University (1974), then he studied further in the field of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University (1990). After his studies, in 1980 Ziba Mir-Hosseini then returned to Iran, where there had just been a change in the political system from Reza Pahlavi's rule to the Islamic Republic. With this new system, Iran's religious leaders. This change in the political system was the beginning for him to understand feminism and Islam.

Ziba Mir-Hosseini, has been to Indonesia twice. There was something that caught his attention while he was in Indonesia. His admiration for Indonesia's unique and interesting nature encouraged him to conduct research on the control over women's sexuality in Indonesia. This can be seen in his book about *"Control and Sexuality: the Revival of Zina Laws in Muslim Contexts"*. Ziba Currently lives in London and works in *"London Middle Eastern Institute dan The Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Law"*, as a researcher and he is in the environment *"The School of Oriental and African Studies"* (SOAS) di perguruan tinggi University of London College.¹¹ Apart from the books above, there are many writings on Islam and Gender. scientific works written by Ziba Mir-Hosseini, among others:

- (1) "Islam and Gender: The Religions Debate In Contemporary Iran"
- (2) "Marriage on Trial: A Study of Islamic Family Law in Iran and Marocco" tahun 1993
- (3) "Islam and Democracy in Iran: Eshkevari and the Quest for Reform" tahun 2006. Karya ini ia tulis bersama Richard Tapper.
- (4) "Religious Modernists and the Women Question: Challenges and Complicities"

There are many more works that he wrote, especially women's issues, which became Ziba's special study. Through this work he criticizes how Gender and Islam is a study that needs to be raised in order to fight for women's rights.

ZIBA MIR HUSSEIN'S THOUGHTS

If we know, Ziba Mir-Hosseini is actually an anthropologist and sociologist, this is different from the Muslim feminist fighter, namely Amina

¹¹ Neng Dara Afifah. *Perkawinan Dan Kontrol Atas Seksualitas Perempuan Menjelajahi Pemikiran Ziba Mir-Hosseini*. Jakarta: KDT, 2013. hlm 85



Wadud, who studies gender issues. Amina in her research uses a hermeneutic method, while Ziba uses an ethnographic or ethnomedological methodology which questions the stability of identity according to gender and pays attention to how gender is played by actors in various situations at a particular focus. And of course, when it comes to ethnography, our image is not disconnected from anthropology. Ziba Mir-Hosseini is not only a campus academic who teaches at various universities, but Ziba is also a gender activist. The call "Muslim feminist" has always stuck with her, she believes that every Islamic teaching has good values that can be adopted in modern or contemporary civilization. The good values contained in Islamic teachings can liberate and advance women.

In each of Ziba's research on gender and Islam, he not only conducts research through a text study approach but also uses field studies that can strengthen his research, such as through court institutions. In his research, Ziba worked mostly in urban peripheries and also in rural Iran and Morocco. When Iran experienced the 1979 Iranian revolution, he then conducted research in religious courts with cases of marriage and family problems. For Ziba, many developments have been obtained from the results of her research, especially regarding gender issues in the Islamic family law system in Iran, all of this is a learning process in understanding gender cases that occur.¹² Regarding Islam, Ziba sees that Islam has three categories of terms that are currently prominent, including:¹³

- (1) Conservative Islam. This Islamic group is known for maintaining the traditions of classical Islamic teachings or they understand religion by following previous religions. Apart from that, this group is nervous about the changes that are currently developing
- (2) Fundamentalist Islam. This group is always in touch with current developments. The advantage of this group is that they have a modern educational background, but in their understanding of religion they only understand Islam textually and present Islam in a political way.
- (3) Secular Fundamentalists. This group openly rejects all good values in religious traditions, one of which is Islam. This group is included in the religious phobia group, because they always uphold secular values

Ziba also makes a clear distinction between "sharia" and "fiqh", because many people are confused about the difference between these terms. The differences between the two are:¹⁴

- (1) *Sharia is God's laws which Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, SAW. On the other hand, Shari'a is God's teachings which are understood as teachings*

¹² Mutmainah. Pengarustamaan Gender Perspektif... hlm 310)

¹³ Neng Dara Afifah. *Perkawinan Dan Kontrol...* hlm 86-87

¹⁴ Mutmainah. Pengarustamaan Gender Perspektif... hlm 315



that are considered true both in practical and theoretical form, so that Shari'a is sacred and eternal.

- (2) *Fiqh itself is not revelation. Fiqh is an important element of religious scholarship which aims to understand differences and derive the essence of Islamic laws which originate from the Koran and Sunnah. Fiqh contains theory and methodology, then developed in depth by fuqaha. Apart from that, fiqh is also part of human knowledge which can change, and fiqh is only a spice for the sharia.*

Based on the differences between Shari'a and Fiqh, Ziba considers the problems of men and women to be incomplete. However, this issue is a construction that can be negotiated, so changes can be made.

GENDER AND ISLAM

The feminist movement is basically a movement to seek justice, equality and proportion, so that men and women do not have differences that are detrimental to women or discriminatory.¹⁵ For Ziba, there is no justice for Muslim women in gender equality. So far, Islamic society understands that patriarchy is justified and enforced in Islamic teachings and for Ziba the traditional interpretation is not part of the values and principles of his beliefs.

The effort made to understand the meaning of Ziba Mir-Hosseini's thoughts is to understand his scientific work in the social context of contemporary developments. Therefore, in achieving this understanding, what must be done is how we build the logical flow designed by Ziba and how to understand the feminist context by looking at the existing flow. Ziba is a scientist and thinker who studies Islamic law, he also conducts research on family law in Iran and Morocco. His studies focused on marriage and divorce. Morocco was chosen because it wanted to collaborate with Muslim feminists, one of the figures was Fatima Mernissi, who really inspired it.¹⁶

Talking about Gender and Islam, these two topics are very colorful in contemporary Islamic studies, however, feminist groups sometimes still avoid criticizing Islamic premises regarding gender. The narrative about gender that has emerged recently has opened up space to re-examine gender and Islam, until finally a feminist theory has emerged based on gender politics, both in Islamic society and religion, so that both of these are important elements in studying gender and Islam.¹⁷

In Ziba Mir-Hosseini's research there are three approaches he took towards religious figures at the center of Shiite Islam, including:

¹⁵ Noer Zahara D. *Kemitrsejajaran Pria Dan...hlm 43)*

¹⁶ Mutmainah. *Pengarustamaan Gender Perspektif... hlm 310)*

¹⁷ Ziba Mir-Hosseini. *Islam and Gender: The Religions Debate In Contemporary Iran*. New York: Princeton University, 1990. hlm 9



- (1) The traditional interpretation approach takes the form of gender inequality. This approach represents the readers and interpretations of traditional ulama whose thinking is guided by sharia. For example, regarding the relationship between marriage and divorce which experienced a dialectic between Ziba and Ayatollah Madani, especially in divorce, their dialectics showed the authority of a husband to carry out the divorce vow unilaterally.¹⁸ In Iran itself, talak is strongly influenced by classical Shiite fiqh.
- (2) Neo-traditional approach (gender balance). This approach seeks to incorporate the value of "balance" into the understanding of traditional interpretation which then opens itself up to making changes in the Islamic legal system.¹⁹
- (3) Gender equality approach or modern approach to justice/equality. This approach emphasizes justice and equal rights between women and men as seen from the perspective of Islamic law, especially related to family law.²⁰

In Amina Wadud's view, most scholars who interpret the Koran are men, this is biased because they interpret the verses of the Koran according to the perspective, will, vision and interests of men. ²¹ Therefore, Ziba revealed that men view women negatively, so that the resulting interpretation always lowers women's position. ²² Contemporary Muslim thinkers always try to provide other interpretations that suit the current context, for example the sentence qawwam in the Koran has many understandings. Asghar Ali Engineer interprets that historically women have been in the lowest or lowest position, while household work has become an obligation for women and men consider themselves to be at the top, either because of their power or ability to seek and provide obligations to women. ²³ Through the example above, Ziba understands that women have a strong relationship in Islamic law, especially in cases of marriage and family. In the case of the family itself, for him the family is considered a social space for men and women. Ziba gave an example of his criticism of marriage cases, according to him, women seem like objects of sale and purchase where there is consent, qabul and dowry. Women also have the right to refuse sexual relations if they have not received the full dowry, and for them marriage is an agreement in fiqh between worship and muamalah. ²⁴

¹⁸ Ziba Mir-Hosseini. *Islam and Gender...* hlm 29

¹⁹ *ibid.* hlm 18-19

²⁰ *Ibid.* hlm 211

²¹ Amina Wadud. *Qur'an Menurut Perempuan*. Terj. Abdu. Jakarta: Serambi, 2001. hlm 34

²² Ziba Mir-Hosseini. *Islam and Gender...* hlm 4

²³ Mutmainah. *Pengarustamaan Gender Perspektif...* hlm 309

²⁴ *ibid:* hlm 316



The problems above then became the basis for Ziba to carry out his study that there was inequality between husband and wife which affected marital harmony and peace within it. Therefore, Ziba divides into two problems, namely: first, the extent to which women's lowest position in law is reflected in every social practice. *Second, the extent to which the process of modernization of education and women's independence influences marital relations.* Based on these two issues, Ziba then conducted his research in court, because court is the place where Islamic law is practiced. Then Ziba studied the issue using an Islamic legal text study approach. To support his research, Ziba took two countries as places to conduct his research. These countries are Iran and Morocco. There are two reasons why Ziba took to these two countries, firstly, these countries adhere to the same law, namely Islamic family law. Second, this country experienced drastic social changes in response to the development of modernization and the influence of Western ideology, while the difference between these countries is that Iran has a Shiite school of thought, and Morocco has a Maliki school of thought.²⁵

In the view of the Maliki and Shiite Schools, marriage is a social contract whose main function is to justify sexual relations between a man and a woman.²⁶ With this view, there are two legal consequences in marriage, namely worship and muamalah. It is called the law of worship because it is an interaction regarding the permissibility of sexual relations between two people of different sexes. It is called muamalah law because it has a contract function like other agreements that are reflected in the consent agreement. Apart from that, other forms of muamalah are living, dowry, etc.²⁷

ZIBA MIR-HOSSEINI'S CRITICISM OF THE PUNISHMENT FOR ADULTERY

Ziba Mir-Hosseini pays special attention to the punishment of adultery. Zina is sexual intercourse outside of marriage (zina) for both men and women. For those who commit adultery there are sanctions in the form of flogging. This punishment for adulterers is considered a punishment that contains torture. Islamic legal tradition views all lawful sexual relations outside marriage as a crime, therefore the punishment for them is 100 lashes. Seeing this sanction, Ziba criticized that caning contains torture and must be explored from Islamic law itself through a feminist framework. The law of Zina is considered to be a reflection of fiqh interpretation (the interpretation of some scholars regarding sharia). It has existed for centuries and can be criticized according to time, place, and contemporary understandings of justice. To understand why sexual relations outside marriage are considered a crime, first we need to know how

²⁵ Neng Dara Afifah. *Perkawinan Dan Kontrol...* hlm 91

²⁶ Ziba Mir-Hosseini. *Islam and Gender...* hlm 19

²⁷ Neng Dara Afifah. *Perkawinan Dan Kontrol...* hlm 91



classical fiqh views forms of criminal acts. Classical Fiqh divides three types of crimes based on the form of punishment, namely: ²⁸

- (1) Hudud punishment. This type of punishment is for morality crimes such as felonies; sexual intercourse (zina), baseless accusations of adultery (qadhf), theft (sariqah), robbery on the street (begal) and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Even some schools of jurisprudence include rebellion and apostasy among the crimes of hudud.
- (2) Qisas punishment. These crimes include crimes against other people, such as: crimes that result in bodily injury to murder. Qisas punishment actually depends on a person's demands. This means that the qisas penalty can only be applied in murder cases if the victim's heirs request that qisas be applied in its entirety.
- (3) Ta'zir punishment. This punishment is for all offenses other than the two crimes of Qisas and Hudud. Basically, the punishment for the crime of ta'zir is not specified in textual sources, but is open to be decided by the judges.

The agreement of the fuqaha ends at the time of proof, so there are differences between schools of thought and fiqh experts, the differences are as follows:

- (1) The Hanafi, Hanbali and Shia schools of thought dictate that testimony must be carried out at different places and times
- (2) Legal experts from the Maliki and Shafi'i schools state that one witness's testimony is sufficient to prove a crime.
- (3) The majority Maliki school of thought is of the view that only pregnancy can be proof that someone has committed adultery, but that is not enough, and must be proven from another side, namely eyewitness testimony that someone has committed adultery.

There are two verses of the Koran according to Ziba Mir-Hosseini as a law of injustice against women, namely:

- (1) Surah an-Nisa verse 15 which reads:

“وَالَّذِي يَأْتِيَنَّ الْفَاحِشَةَ مِنْ نَسَائِكُمْ فَاسْتَشْهِدُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ أَرْبَعَةً مِّنكُمْ فَإِنْ شَهِدُوا فَأَمْسِكُوهُنَّ فِي الْبُيُوتِ حَتَّىٰ يَتَوَفَّيَهُنَّ الْمَوْتُ أَوْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لَهُنَّ سَبِيلًا”

It means "And (against) women who commit abominable acts, let there be four witnesses among you (who witness them). Then if they have given testimony, then lock them (the women) in the house until they die, or until Allah gives them another way."

- (2) Surah an-Nisa verse 16 which reads:

“وَالَّذَانِ يَأْتِيَنَّهَا مِنْكُمْ فَءَاذُوهُمَا فَإِنْ تَابَا وَأَصْلَحَا فَأَعْرِضُوا عَنْهُمَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ تَوَّابًا رَّحِيمًا”

²⁸ ibid. hlm 96-98



It means "And against two people among you who commit an abominable act, then punish both of them, then if both of them repent and improve themselves, then let them be. Indeed, Allah is the Most Accepting of repentance, the Most Merciful"

Surah an-Nisa verse: 15 above does not use the term zina, instead, fahisha (carelessness) is used, which by most opinions is understood as infidelity and fornication. However Yusuf Ali, one of the important translators of the Qur'an in a note states that fahisha is interpreted "to refer to unnatural crimes between women, with unnatural crimes between men". Then Surah an-Nisa verse 16 supports the existing punishment for fahisha, only women can be accused.²⁹ However, this verse does not eliminate this punishment. Then legal experts also agreed that the punishment was replaced by Surah an-Nur 24: 2, which means: " Women and men who were guilty of fornication or fornication had each of them whipped with a hundred lashes". The explanation above can be understood that the verses contained in the Koran and also legal experts show how complicated they are to prove adultery. This proof aims to reform existing practices towards justice, as found at that time. However, the verses of the Koran and the rules of fuqaha will lose their strength when classical fiqh decisions are codified and then incorporated into the legal system implemented or created by the State. The ineffectiveness of this punishment is where the State determines legal regulations regarding women's sexuality as a commodity and object of exchange.

Another policy currently being implemented is justifying control over women and limiting their freedoms, such as those related to wearing the hijab. People see this policy as being used to enforce and justify punishment of women, for those who do not follow the dress code, namely using ta'zir which is decided by the authorities based on the considerations they have where Islamic law is enforced. Ziba then criticized the regulation that the dress code had no basis in Islamic legal norms, because this punishment was different from the laws on marriage and adultery. For him, classical fiqh texts only talk about dress codes for women.³⁰ At a glance, look at the case that occurred in Indonesia, where the female figure Baiq Nuril, a victim of sexual harassment, was at that time at risk of becoming a prisoner due to the ITE Law, while the perpetrator of the harassment was still free and received a promotion. Responding to this case, it can be illustrated what Ziba Mir-Hosseini said that women are often the subject of blame and are discriminated against when mistakes occur. There are even negative views about women's bodies that

²⁹ Ziba Mir-Hosseini and Vanja Hamzić, *Control and Sexuality... hlm 30*

³⁰ Neng Dara Afifah. *Perkawinan Dan Kontrol... hlm 101*



women are a place for slander, a source of danger, sexual seduction, social destruction, chaos and crime in the future.³¹

CONCLUSION

Ziba Mir-Hosseini's thoughts provide an illustration of his views regarding women's problems and punishment for adultery. For Ziba, Islamic law which is based on premodern (traditional) traditions is a form of gender inequality, women are always considered inferior, and men are superior. Then the punishments in Islamic law clearly place them in a discriminatory position, such as violence against women in marriage, adultery and also wearing the hijab. Ziba also regrets Muslim scholars for not using a feminist perspective as a theory and also as a tool for analyzing Islamic studies.

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