



Gender Deradicalization: Economic and Political Violence Analysis in the Perspective of Nasaruddin Umar

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Abstract. *Gender equality* is a significant issue affecting all countries and religions worldwide. Nonetheless, gender discrimination remains become commonplace. One of the reasons for this is the continued veneration of patriarchy, which places men more dominant than women in the social structure. This discrimination became even more pronounced, After the Covid-19 pandemic struck nearly all regions in the world pandemic and affected all aspects of human life, including economics and politics. Various narratives were created to empower patriarchal culture, including religious perspectives. Several Qur'anic verses are cited as affirmation that Islam appears to support gender discrimination, along with the paradigm of certain people who state that the pandemic is God's confirmation to restrict the role of women. Therefore, this paper specifically examined and analysed the concept of gender equality in Islam, particularly in the economic and political space, based on Nasaruddin Umar's perspective. What is the proper relationship between men and women according to the Qur'an? Are the interpretations that appear to discredit women still relevant for viewing the current reality? The writer employed qualitative research methods and collected data from library research, books and journals. The study's findings indicated that; *First*, the Qur'an views the relationship between men and women in terms of equality, justice, and harmony (*mawaddah warahmah*). Suppose there is a difference; however, it is not intended to discredit one party as a sign that the two will not be totally equated. *Second*, fundamentally there are verses of the Qur'an that have the potential to be interpreted generally. However, when the results are harmful to one party, a re-reading is required since it is not appropriate to use these verses to perpetuate the patriarchal culture.

Keywords: Al-Qur'an · Gender · Politics · Economic

1 Introduction

Gender and Equality are two of the essential topics to be discussed, particularly in developed and developing countries [1]. Gender is a concept based on the pattern of role selection and relationships between men and women determined by the socio-cultural, political, and economic environment rather than biological differences. Gender

and Equality can thus be defined as an equal and harmonious relationship between men and women who share the same status and have the same potential to realise their respective potentials and rights as human beings while also contributing to the discourse of national, political, economic, social, and cultural development [2]. Nasaruddin Umar has cited several highly influential theories for explaining the standpoint of gender equality. It was stated that this issue concerned numerous groups [3].

Gender inequality persists in all aspects of human life, including in Indonesia. Particularly since the emergence of the feminism paradigm highlighted inequality in gender relations between men and women. Numerous theories point to the root cause of this inequality, but misunderstandings of the term gender are crucial in igniting a diabolical debate between the two [4]. Biological differences, for example, make it impossible for a man to be feminine, and similarly, a woman cannot enter and access masculine spaces. Thus, gender, a social construction debated since birth, has contributed to inequalities [5].

There is still a significant disparity in the attainment of benefits and development between men and women, which must be considered. These issues are primarily related to a person's fundamental rights in terms of employment, education, politics, and health. On the other hand, it is undeniable that modern gender equality efforts have made significant progress, as have the relatively different levels of discrimination and inequality in each region. However, if calculated, women bear the brunt of the inequality that occurs, even though inequality in gender relations harms everyone [2], even affecting a country's economy.

This disparity has grown even more pronounced since the Covid-19 pandemic hit almost every region of the globe. After all, the Covid-19 pandemic is a problem and a challenge for all countries, particularly in terms of human security in terms of economy, politics, and health, among other things. All of these factors then impact gender issues, where there are generally differences in the outcomes, the impact of a patriarchal culture that has taken root before [6].

Patriarchal culture is a social structure system in which men play a more dominant role, serving as the central figure in social relations and the central control in a society. Meanwhile, women are given little power—if any—in general. This biologically based role limitation causes women to be discriminated against, shackled, and subordinate (inferior). Nasaruddin Umar refers to these various discriminations and stereotyped images (negative views and images) of women as “violence,” which is no longer limited to physical violence. This practice can be seen in at least a few aspects of human life, the most prominent of which are economic and political activities. As a result of the perpetuation of patriarchal culture, both contribute to the most severe social problems, such as domestic violence (KDRT), sexual harassment, the high frequency of early marriage due to rape, and the stigma associated with divorce [7].

For example, in economic activity, being the most dominant and dominant space breeds ‘violent’ behaviour, which becomes a burden for women. According to Nasaruddin, a phenomenon known as feminisation of poverty occurs when women in strategic areas of production face restrictions due to the existence of reproductive functions that are assumed to prevent them from working optimally. Silmutonously, men's participation in accessing economic space becomes very dominant with the assumption that men

are productive beings [8]. Division of workload based on reproductive function which is more detrimental to women.

Furthermore, in the Indonesian context, numerous women in the labour market earn half as much, if not less, than men in the same occupational group. Not to mention that women have a lower Labor Force Participation Rate (TPAK) than men. Of course, these facts indicate the massive gender discrimination against women in economic activities [9].

Wulandari stated that the discrimination received by women in economic activities could be seen before workers retired. Classification in job vacancies by requiring unmarried women, attractive appearance, or guarantees not to get pregnant and marry within a specific time frame is a pattern of discrimination against prospective women workers. Discrimination takes the form of exploitation of women, in which what is seen from work done is based on appearance (body) rather than the outcome of the work. Even after being hired, women may face discrimination in the form of limitations on ability, working hours, or special training to support positions and advance their careers. Men, on average, have a much higher potential for job advancement since they are regarded as productive and capable [10].

These various forms of discrimination have been exacerbated since the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, in which women are more likely than men to lose their jobs. Even though women continue to work, they bear a double burden regarding income, household management, domestic violence, and other issues. The United States has the most Covid-19 cases globally, and economic discrimination is widespread. From a large number of layoffs, the majority of whom are women, to the income disparity between men and women in the same field of work, with the same risks, and participating in the workforce. Since the Covid-19 Pandemic, they have been inseparable [11].

Meanwhile, other forms of gender discrimination in political activities are inextricably linked to women. This is because, in practice, when women enter leadership competitions, they frequently face “barriers” [12]. These barriers appear against women in the domestic (private) sphere, such as being the household leader or simply as decision-makers, just as they do in the public sphere—for example, as the head of government. In general, various barriers and restrictions on women’s roles in these spaces are related to the biological sex (sex) attribute rather than the individual qualities of men and women. Since a person is projected to have specific gender characteristics, he bears a gendered burden due to the division of his status, function, and role in people’s lives.

This also occurred in Indonesia, where movements and discussions about women’s political participation have been ongoing since 1998 but have not yielded significant results. Even though we know that in 1999 the issue of women’s rights and representation in political parties became a massive campaign theme, which led Megawati Soekarnoputri to occupy the President’s seat, the composition of the parliamentary council at that time was still deficient (9% of the total parliamentary seats) [13].

The enhancement of women’s participation, which experienced ups and downs, was officially acquired in 2003 through Election Law no. 12 of 2003. It requires every political party to involve at least 30% of women as all political participants [13]. However, once again, the application of a 30% quota for women in each political party has not yet been able to provide a 30% representation of women’s representation in parliamentary seats

[14]. This is proven by the fact that only 20.5% of women members were elected from a total of 575 members of parliament [14], which of course, is still very far from what is aspired to. Even in subsequent elections, women's representation in parliamentary seats is decreasing. According to the data, there were only 101 female council members (17.86%) in the 2014 elections, while the number fell to 79 (14%) in the 2019 elections [15].

Gender disparities and discrimination against women in gaining access to leadership cannot be separated from the assumption that women who become leaders violate norms. Data show that women are more vulnerable to Experiencing Domestic Violence (KDRT) than before the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly since entering the era of the Covid-19 pandemic. This suggests that the violence experienced by women in political activities also occurs in the private (domestic) sphere, namely forced and total submission to their husbands, who are regarded as the sole policymakers. Women are frequently regarded as the second creation and the second sex, serving only as a complement, companion, and subordinate to men [16].

This situation is then maintained under the guise of religion. Several verses in the Qur'an justify men's superiority over women, the legality of arrogance, and men's superiority (domination) in all aspects of life, particularly in the economic and political fields. As a result, Islam is frequently brought into sharp focus regarding human rights implementation and protection, particularly regarding women's participation in Islam. Even Western countries frequently use women's political issues and economic concepts (muamalah) in Islam to intervene and criticise Islamic countries that are perceived to have not fully granted women's rights [17].

The irony is that some Muslim communities positively confirm this; some even try to strengthen it by providing legitimacy with the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic. As is well known, public reactions to the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic have been highly diverse. Several think the Covid-19 pandemic was a curse from Allah, who is enraged by human sin and immorality. Some believe that the Covid-19 pandemic is a test from Allah and that those who pass it will be elevated in Allah's views. Others think the Covid-19 pandemic is a rebuke from Allah since humans are too far from Allah, so they must be reminded to return to the right path [18]. Moreover, some of the following groups affirmed that the Covid-19 pandemic was a form of affirmation from Allah regarding Islamic law, some of which prohibited women from accessing strategic fields, such as economics and politics. Since, after all, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is most felt by women since they are increasingly being discriminated against, double burdened, and becoming second humans.

This paper will discuss several verses that are often understood in a biased manner, particularly in perpetuating patriarchal culture in the political and economic sphere. Is it true that religion supports discriminatory relations against women? Are there other interpretation models in reading these verses so that they can support gender justice? Moreover, what is the theologically correct way to read the Covid-19 pandemic? This paper is intended to serve as a resource for those interested in learning more about the interpretation of verses in the Qur'an concerning the gender perspective.

Given this background, the writer is interested in expanding the Qur'anic perspective on gender relations, particularly in the political and economic spheres, through the

ideas of Nasaruddin Umar. Nasaruddin Umar, based on his character, is an Indonesian Muslim scholar whose thoughts can carefully explore the power of law by pouring out his interpretive ideas based on fundamental Islamic sciences such as sufism, hadith, fiqh, ushul fiqh, and others. Nasaruddin Umar consistently demonstrates his quality and competence in interpreting Qur'anic verses and understanding hadith, particularly in gender studies. Nasaruddin Umar has an offer based on his methodology in reading and understanding verses with special causes (*asbab an-nuzul*), one of which is verses about faith. Nasaruddin Umar's principal capital in rereading the Qur'an verses of gender 'violence' will later be the methodology.

Furthermore, Nasaruddin Umar is a very persistent figure in the Qur'an in fighting for women's rights, as evidenced by the numerous follow-up studies that began with his works. M. Quraish Shihab also stated that Nasaruddin Umar dared to add colour to Islamic gender studies where no other work with a comprehensive understanding could be found.

2 Methodology of Research

Regarding data sources, this type of research falls under the library research category, a collection of activities related to methods of collecting library data, taking notes, and processing research materials [19]. In the meantime, the data analysis approach employs an interpretive science approach. This procedure is required to obtain a helpful picture of the overall data obtained. As a result, the approach that is operationally relevant to the research is used.

Primary and secondary data sources are classified into two categories [20]. Primary data sources are primary data that researchers collect directly from the research object. As a result, the primary sources used in this study are Nasaruddin Umar's book *Approaching God with Feminine Quality* (2014) and the *Deradicalization of Understanding the Qur'an and Hadith*. These two books, however, do not represent general representations of all of Nasaruddin Umar's interpretations since other relevant concepts and designs of understanding may be found in various scientific works, whether in journals, articles, or lecture documentation delivered via social media. As a result, this research is supplemented by secondary data sources, which are auxiliary data derived from primary data and include all books, books, journals, the internet, and others that are still relevant and related to the research theme.

Meanwhile, in terms of analysis, this research is of the qualitative variety, employing a content analysis model, a research technique for developing a set of conclusions that can be replicated or imitated and correcting data by paying attention to context. The goal is to gain a more comprehensive, strong, and in-depth understanding of the problem under consideration [21]. In this case, the construction of Nasaruddin Umar's thought will be sought from the perspective of the Al-Qur'an on the proper gender relation. The study is restricted to verses about gender "violence" in political and economic contexts.

The author's hermeneutical theory of Musahadi HAM is used to achieve this goal. Musahadi HAM provides three awareness (criticisms) as the foundation of a systematic

methodology. It aims to capture the meaning of texts that are more relevant and functional in responding to social problems. Among the three (critiques) are [22]:

- *Historical* (criticism) *awareness* is a methodological attempt to test a religious text's authenticity.
- *Awareness* (criticism) *eidetic*, criticism that improves understanding through three steps: content analysis, historical reality analysis, and generalisation analysis.
- *Awareness* (criticism) *of praxis*, attempting to 'embody' the universal meaning that has been found in the previous step can then be re-presented into the conditions and realities of today's life.

3 Nasaruddin Umar's Interpretation Methodology: A Dialogue Between Hermeneutics, Asbab An-Nuzul, and Social Science

Among Nasaruddin Umar's suggestions for reading the verses' gender is:

3.1 The Urgency of *Asbabun Nuzul*'s Meaning in Understanding the Qur'an

According to Amin Suma, asbab an-nuzul is a type of idhofah derived from two syllables: asbab, which means causes. In the meantime, an-nuzul is commonly defined as alighting, descending, occurring, and attacking [23]. As a result, from a linguistic standpoint, the term asbab an-nuzul refers to the reasons for the revelation of a verse, group of verses, or letter in the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad.

Scholars disagree on how to define asbab an-nuzul in terms of terminology. Al-Zarqani (d. 1367H) defines asbab an-nuzul as "something that causes a verse or several verses of the Qur'an to come down on the day of its appearance to speak about it or explain its law" [24]. Meanwhile, Nasaruddin Umar interpreted asbab an-nuzul as a simple event, case, or question posed to the Messenger of Allah by his companions. All of this occurred shortly after or before the revelation of the Qur'anic verse, in which the Qur'anic verses were revealed. It all boils down to responding to the events and questions raised earlier [25].

As with other branches of science, asbab an-nuzul has several debates in which different points of view are expressed. Despite these differences, Nasaruddin Umar developed the concept of asbab an-nuzul, which has its personality and can read verses thoroughly, particularly those concerning gender relations. Asbab an-nuzul Nasaruddin Umar's concepts include the following:

Concerning the Origin of Asbab An-Nuzul. According to Nasaruddin Umar, not all *hadiths* from the Prophet Muhammad can be considered a history of *asbab an-nuzul*. So, at this point, it is critical to classify the history of *asbab an-nuzul* as a *hadith*, explicitly considering the *hadith* typology based on quality and quantity. In light of this, Nasaruddin Umar restricted using the most significant *asbab an-nuzul* source, namely the *hadith* with a valid (*shahih*) degree. Nasaruddin Umar, on the other hand, accepts the *mursal hadith* as part of the history of *asbab an-nuzul* on the condition that it has a chain of sanad that can be traced back to the *tabi'in* (*thabaqah*) level [26].

Nasaruddin Umar's criteria for the history of asbab an-nuzul were generally more tolerant than other scholars. Since most commentators only present *hadith* with the

qualifications of authenticity (*shahih*), a verse may be considered to have no history of *asbab an-nuzul*. This impacts the interpretation mechanism based on word analysis without considering the context of the verse's derivation (textual). According to Zulham Alam, the level of *mursal* *hadith* is relatively light, but it can become intense when followed by other narrations of the same level or better in *sanad* [27].

Concerning the Shape of *Asbab An-Nuzul*. Nasaruddin Umar divided the form of *asbab an-nuzul* into two categories:

First, The group of verses that cannot be recognised the history (*riwayah*) of *asbab an-nuzul*. That is, the cause of the revelation of a verse of the Qur'an is Allah will to provide guidance and guidelines for human life, even if the historical context of the incident is uncertain. Nasaruddin Umar was well aware of the existence of this first group, in addition to his awareness of the importance of verse context knowledge. Nasaruddin Umar believes that a group of verses that lack a specific history of *asbab an-nuzul* should not be released from their surrounding context. As an alternative, Nasaruddin Umar takes a novel approach to this first group of verses, combining sociological, anthropological, and historical research [26].

Second, The group of Qur'anic verses about the history (*riwayah*) of *asbab an-nuzul*. This division includes every verse revealed by Allah in response to an urgent and critical necessity to know the legal decision. The verses of the Qur'an that discuss the concept of war (*qital*) and gender, for example, almost entirely have a history (*riwayah*) of the causes of their descent. This means that the Qur'anic verses that discuss.

Concerning the Rules Governing the Meaning of the Qur'an. The rules for the general meaning of the Qur'an are divided into three categories:

First, the rule of *al-'ibratu bi-'umum al-lafzi la bi khusus al-sabab*. In general, this rule assumes that the principle that guides the formulation of the content of a Qur'an verse is the 'am (general) nature of a sentence rather than the underlying causes [26]. Including Imam Jalaluddin al-Suyuti supports this rule, as stated in various statements in the book *al-Itqan fi 'ulum Al-Qur'an*.

Meanwhile, Nasaruddin Umar believes this rule is acceptable when used as a mechanism for the meaning of a verse since the details of events and the editorials used by the verse are both general in nature. No texts require the verse to be expressly understood. However, this rule cannot be applied to all verses of the Qur'an. According to Nasaruddin Umar, the textual approach, which is at the heart of this rule, produces a biased interpretation when applied to verses with a specific cause of decline rather than making the verse valid universally [3]. Gender-related verses, *qital* (war), and *jihad* are examples of special causes [26].

Second, the rule of *al-'ibratu bi khusus al-sabab la bi 'umum al-lafzi's*. In general, the importance of the context of descent (*asbab an-nuzul*) in attempting to formulate a law is emphasised in this rule. Scholars who follow this rule include al-Malik, al-Shafi'i, Ahmad, Abu Thaur, and al-Mazini [28]. However, the consequences of applying this second rule, according to Nasaruddin Umar, necessitate an analogy process (*qiyas*). The process aims to use the meaning of Qur'anic verses with a specific chronology of events to another entirely different occurrence with the same 'illat (cause).

Third, the rule of *al-'ibratu bi maqasid al-shari'ah* (general *al-lafzi* and specific *al-sabab*). According to Nasaruddin Umar, this rule can accommodate aspects of the nature

(substantial, hakikat) of human necessities and is not always formally bound by textual or contextual meaning [26]. Imam al-Syathibi was one of the figures who greatly influenced Nasaruddin Umar's thinking in developing the basis for this rule (w.790H). According to Nasaruddin Umar, al-theory Syathibi's of *maqasid al-shari'ah* is an alternative worth considering, which essentially assumes a concept to see the meaning of a verse based on God's purpose, which is illustrated in a text (*nash*).

Based on this principle, Nasaruddin Umar then formulated the steps of applied-based operationalisation, including: (a) The identification stage, aimed at analysing the purpose of a verse of the Qur'an, based on various components that might help complete the information, including micro and macro *asbab an-nuzul* is, (b) The confirmation stage aims to dialogue the framework of supporting verses (*mu'ayad*) to universal verses, (c) The contextualisation stage aims to transform the information that has been obtained into the current context [26].

3.2 Historical, Sociological, and Anthropological Approaches to Social Sciences

In fact, this social science approach has been incorporated into the concept of *asbab an-nuzul*—Nasaruddin Umar, specifically in the discussion of *asbab an-nuzul* forms. According to Nasaruddin Umar, the absence of a specific and strong history of *asbab an-nuzul* does not imply that it can be released in this manner solely from the surrounding context. Nasaruddin Umar, as an alternative, proposes a unique approach to this first group of verses, namely the use of social science integration; sociology, anthropology, and history.

Each of the three approaches has roles and responsibilities in its function. The sociological approach, for example, is intended to highlight a human-centred event that led to the incident. On the other hand, the anthropological course focuses on efforts to form patterns of behaviour in the order of values adopted in people's lives. Finally, the historical approach seeks to elucidate the meaning of Qur'anic verses by examining empirical historical facts concerning the time when Allah's word was revealed [26].

3.3 Hermeneutics as a Mode of Interpretation

There is a growing trend in the usage of hermeneutics in the study of the Qur'an, particularly in the discourse of Indonesian Islamic thought, stemming from a large number of important works by contemporary Arab writers who began to introduce hermeneutics as a method of interpretation of the Qur'an [26]. This influence is not as strong in its history, even though hermeneutics as a science has been around for a long time, specifically in ancient Greece, as Aristotle called it in his writings, *de interpretation* [29]. This is because the knowledge that constitutes the concept of hermeneutics emerged only after *Muhammad Syahrur*, *Nash Hamid Abu Zaid*, *Hassan Hanafi*, and others.

Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek word *hermeneutic*, which means interpreting, interpreting, and acting as an interpreter. As a result, a distinction must be made between hermeneutics and hermeneutics. Since hermeneutics is synonymous with and refers to some Greek texts that emerged a century after Christ, more specific texts are based on *Hermes Trismegistus* [30]. Due to their relationship, the emergence of hermeneutics has sparked a debate among Indonesian Muslim scholars in the world of

Islamic thought. According to Nasaruddin Umar, this is due to the products' liberal style and daring to revise various fields, particularly at the epistemological and methodological levels [26].

In practice, however, there is a close relationship between hermeneutics as a method and approach in studying Islamic Studies, not just in interpreting the Qur'an. This is due to the hermeneutic orientation being a method of comprehending linguistics. As a result, it is said that hermeneutics has advanced rapidly in its development, namely not only in attempting to understand the text but also reality, namely understanding the historical conditions surrounding the emergence of a text [31].

There are facts that hermeneutics has become a subject in various state universities, a trend in reading Qur'an verses, and various other admissions. However, this does not necessarily imply that hermeneutics is capable and appropriate for independently reading the Qur'an. This occurred at the end of the modern period when Muslim intellectuals flocked to replace the methodology of interpreting the Qur'an inherited from the *salaf* scholars with more sophisticated hermeneutics. Nasaruddin Umar gave the example of Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid's *Mafhum an-Naas* [26].

Therefore, Nasaruddin Umar does not fully accept the hermeneutical approach as the only approach to interpreting the Qur'an but rather as a tool to support the *salaf* scholars' methodology of interpreting the Qur'an in perfecting the understanding of the verses from the Quran. So it is not surprising that the portion of hermeneutics in some of his interpretations is relatively minor compared to the interpretation methodology, which, according to Nasaruddin Umar, has spent hundreds or even thousands of pages over a long period discussing the method of interpretation and *takwil* as analytical tools in interpreting the Qur'an.

Even when using it, Nasaruddin Umar does not always decide which hermeneutic model to use as the foundation for his approach to interpreting the Qur'an. However, Nasaruddin Umar mentions the characteristics, methodology, and benefits of *Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic model*, *Derrida's Deconstruction Paradigm*, and *Mohamed Arkoun's* hermeneutics in his explanation [26].

4 Re-reading the Qur'an's Meaning of Gender 'Violence'

Although gender discourse is one of the most widely debated topics, the meaning of gender remains ambiguous, and misunderstandings are common, particularly when the gender perspective is associated with the text of the Qur'an as the primary source of law in Islam [4]. This is due, at least in part, to a scarcity of writings on the relationship between gender and the Qur'an, as well as a lack of socialisation opportunities.

In this regard, Nasaruddin Umar stated that the Qur'an is known to recognise gender differences in rights, obligations, and roles. The difference, however, is intended to create harmony and perfection between the two, not as a justification to support (benefit) or denigrate (harm) one of them [3]. As a result, if an interpretation of the Qur'an indicates that there are elements of injustice, inequality, and discrimination, it is necessary to reread it thoroughly [12].

This is because several Qur'anic verses have the potential to be interpreted in a biased manner, which Nasaruddin Umar later referred to as gender 'violence' verses.

These verses are further divided into categories based on gender issues such as physical, sexual, polygamy, divorce, politics, and economic violence [8]. The following are the limitations of this study's discussion of political and economic violence:

4.1 Political 'Violence'

The discourse on women in Islam has been extensively discussed by scholars from numerous perspectives, including the standpoint of Islamic political jurisprudence (*al-fiqh al-siyasah*). In the construction of Islamic politics (*al-fiqh al-siyasah*) during the classical period, it is nearly impossible to obtain references to women's engagement as political objects and subjects. In his book, *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyah*, the founder of political science, Abu Hasan al-Mawardi (d.1058), does not mention women's participation in the Islamic political system. Two factors can explain this occurrence. Initially, the ulemas and jurists of the time were dominated by men; therefore, women's political discourse was not translated into classical books. Second, classical *al-fiqh al-siyasah* does not provide women entry into the political field, as evidenced by several indicators established as criteria for the possibility of making a man a political leader [17].

This debate becomes significant because, in practice, women frequently experience "obstacles" when preparing to run for leadership positions [12]. Various hurdles and constraints on the participation of women in various social spaces are, in general, more tied to biological sex than to the qualities of men and women as individuals. As a result of the projection of a person's sex characteristics, a gendered weight is also linked to him through the division of status, function, and role in people's lives [3]. Ironically, these impediments also exist for women in the home (private) arena, such as being the head of the household or simply as decision-makers, and not just in the public sphere (as government leaders or members of the legislature, for example). Gender disparities and discrimination against women in attaining leadership are inextricably linked to the notion that women who attain leadership positions violate norms [32].

According to Lestyoningsih, women are the most vulnerable and at-risk population, specifically since entering the Covid-19 Pandemic era. Such crises result from increasing rates of inequality, discrimination, exploitation, violence, and injustice [33]. This argument is corroborated by data indicating that more women experienced Domestic Violence (KDRT) during the Covid-19 pandemic than before it [34]. This is compounded by families' numerous uncertain economic conditions and government policies that encourage staying house.

Nonetheless, numerous earlier research has demonstrated a correlation between the Covid-19 pandemic and an increase in domestic violence. In this instance, domestic violence might take the form of sexual, physical, material, psychological, or verbal violence. During the Pandemic, complaints of violence against women's protection organisations increased not just in underdeveloped nations but also Australia, Spain, the United States, and Brazil, among others [35]. Vora stated that men who lose their jobs would experience a loss of self-esteem, allowing them to exert more potential control over their spouses. This position is bolstered by a culture of patriarchy that has formed in society [36]. In domestic discourse, this is referred to as political violence.

According to Nasaruddin Umar, one frequently used argument to support and perpetuate a patriarchal culture in the political sphere is Q.S. an-Nisa [4] verse 34, which reads:

الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ ۚ

“Men are the caretakers of women, as men have been provisioned by Allah over women and tasked with supporting them financially.”

According to Buya Hamka in the book *Tafsir al-Azhar*, the meaning in verse affirms men’s absolute preeminence over women. According to Buya Hamka, one of the reasons Allah gave men leadership was their excess energy and power. As a result, in addition to providing information, Q.S. an-Nisa [4] verse 34 instructs women to submit to and obey their husband’s orders [37].

In line with Buya Hamka, Imam Abu Fida Muhammad Ibn Kasir (d.1373M) asserted the superiority of men in his *Tafsir Al-Qur’an al-’Azim*. Imam Ibn Kathir says men have more virtue and goodness than women. As a result, men serve as women’s leaders, authorities, and judges. Since the portion of prophethood reinforces the assumption that prophethood is only applicable to men, the king, as a political leader, is only appropriate for men [38].

The two interpretations share the same characteristics; Buya Hamka and Ibn Kasir assign gender roles to men based on sex. This influences the interpretation results, which appear discriminatory. Furthermore, such meanings have consciously closed the door to women becoming leaders in the domestic and public spheres [39]. As a result, such meaning must be reread to produce a more relevant interpretation and accommodate the interests of women. One of the interpretations that leads to this goal is Nasaruddin Umar’s gender interpretation, which attempts to see Q.S. an-Nisa [4] verse 34 through the eyes of *asbab an-nuzul*. This will be explained in more detail below;

Historical Criticism. At first glance, the verse suggests an ‘excess’ of men over women [40]. To clarify things in this case, Nasaruddin Umar quotes the history of *asbab an-nuzul*, which is based on al-Wahidi’s (468H) book *Asbab an-Nuzul*, as follows:

رسول الله (ص.م) : القصص فأنزل جاءت امرأة الى النبي (ص.م) تسدعي على زوجها انه لطمه, فقال الله : (الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ)

“A woman (Habibah bint Zaid came to the Prophet Muhammad Saw to complain about her husband (Saind bin Abi Rabi’) slapping her in the face. Then Rasulullah Saw said, “Qishash him!” Until that time, Allah Swt sent down the verse: (Men are the caretakers of women, as men have been provisioned by Allah over women) ... Q.S. an-Nisa [4] verse 34)” [3].

After learning about the history of *asbab an-nuzul*, the next step is performing takhrij hadith by presenting several keywords to find 10 similar hadith narrations in various primary or secondary books. In terms of quality, none of the hadiths mentioned meets the definition of authentic hadiths (shahih). The hadith was Hasan according to Al-Suyut’i in Jami’ al-Saghir, munqoti’ according to Imam Baihaqi, and dha’if according

to Shaykh Albani. Even though this hadith is said to have the lowest degree of dha'if (weakness), it is supported by other narrations.

As a result, Nasaruddin Umar regarded the hadith as a history of *asbab an-nuzul* of Q.S An-Nisa verse 34. After verifying the verse with the history of *asbab an-nuzul*, Nasaruddin Umar concluded that Allah gives men primacy as a qualification of a leader based on their responsibilities (gender), not their gender attribute (sex) (Umar, 2001, p. 150). As a result, the male leadership mentioned in Q.S An-Nisa [4] verse 34 is relative rather than absolute.

Eiditis Critic

Content Analysis. In Q.S. An-Nisa [4] verse 34, the Qur'an employs the term (الزَّجَالَ) which is the plural form of *lafaz* (الرجل) and the term (النِّسَاءَ) which is the plural form of *lafaz* (الامرأة) (Umar, 2014c, p. 190). According to Nasaruddin Umar, the Qur'an frequently uses these four terms to describe the form of non-biological attributes (gender), namely feminine (female nature) and masculine (male nature) (male nature). Unlike when the Qur'an tries to mention the biological side (sex), the Qur'an consistently uses the term (الذكرى) to refer to men and the term (الانثى) to refer to women rather than the term-terms above [3].

As a result, Nasaruddin Umar revealed that the verse does not have a meaning that leads to dysfunction and prevents women from gaining leadership, but rather the nature of maleness (masculinity), which is the qualification of a leader, even if a woman owns it. This is because the Qur'an reveals differences in roles in terms of gender (non-biological) rather than gender attributes (sex) in the editorial of Q.S An-Nisa [4] verse 34 [12].

Historical Reality. Nasaruddin Umar deduces from the history of *asbab an-nuzul* that the incident occurred in Mecca prior to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad. Historically, the people of Mecca demanded that men dominate leadership at the time. This means that male authority is compelling in the household sector and society's more comprehensive social structure [3].

Meanwhile, in terms of sociology, the context of Arab society at the time made men the most responsible authority for meeting life's necessities and ensuring the safety of family members. This has implications for men's ability to be leaders at all levels of society. So do not be surprised if the gender role was perceived based on sex (sex) attributes at the time.

Understanding the historical and sociological context of Arab society when Q.S An-Nisa [4] verse 34 was revealed, the concept of patriarchy that developed is a cultural product that is functionally limited by space and time, so similar understandings and meanings are no longer relevant when juxtaposed with today's social reality. The division of gender roles based on sex is no longer applicable, given that men and women have roughly equal potential regarding responsibility, mental maturity, education, and achievement.

Oversimplification. Nasaruddin Umar believes that gender verses are one of the themes in the Qur'an, where almost all of the verses have a history of *asbab an-nuzul* at the generalisation analysis stage. As a result, gender verses in the Qur'an must be interpreted through the lens of *al-'ibratu bi khusus al-sabab*. Nasaruddin Umar applies this rule when interpreting Q.S. An-Nisa [4] verse 34.

Nasaruddin Umar concluded that this verse could not be used to justify rejecting women as leaders based on the principle of *al-'ibratu bi khusus al-sabab*. This is since the derivation of Q.S. An-Nisa [4] verse 34 is intended to explain household problems, so it cannot be applied universally. According to Naqiyah, the verse is included in An-letter Nisa's expressly to guarantee and give attention to women (wives), not about the power of men or women, or even the husband's power over his wife, but about the husband's leadership in the household in order to guarantee and support his wife [41].

Criticism in Praxis. At the moment, massive efforts are being made to enable women to occupy public spaces, and the concept of gender justice is beginning to be recognised as a fundamental principle that must be followed. However, women's empowerment efforts frequently face significant obstacles and challenges. In response, Nasaruddin claims that the root of the problem is not the order of thought and ideas for women's empowerment but rather the mental and morals of the community. As a result, the theological approach becomes critical to shaping the character of a gender-just society [8].

It should be noted, however, that women's participation in political contestation or their accentuation in the domestic space is still considered under the principle of harmony, according to their respective portions [42], in the domestic space (household leadership and decision-making) and the public space (political leadership and decision-making). Consequently, in the framework of gender-equitable women's political development, it must be supported by two primary factors: First, internal factors, such as an increase in the number of females with qualities and qualifications in the political sphere, and a rising lack of confidence in working with males. Second, external forces leave patriarchal culture and open wide opportunities and places for women's participation.

4.2 Economic 'Violence'

Currently, economic violence is the most prevalent kind of violence against women. According to Nasaruddin, there is a feminisation of poverty phenomenon in the economic realm, in which women in strategic production domains face restrictions since it is considered that their reproductive function prevents them from functioning optimally. With the establishment of the concept that men are productive beings, men's engagement in gaining access to economic space becomes extremely prominent [8]. This gender-based division of labour based on reproductive capacity is more detrimental to women.

These various of discrimination have worsened since the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has not only increased health issues. In addition, the data indicates that the Coronavirus affects the economic sector, with women being the group most affected. Despite their low economic situation before the pandemic, it has exacerbated the inequality gap.

During the pandemic era, which produced the economic crisis, the notion that males are superior to women is increasingly prevalent. Numerous offices and enterprises have been compelled to reduce the number of employees to cut costs. The majority of workers who were terminated or laid off were women. Many of them are the family's pillars. This condition will increase women's workload, particularly in the domestic sphere. Continuously related functions of care, parenting, and the economy are among the most significant difficulties. Women are the ones that suffer the most due to the Pandemic's enhanced double burden.

Therefore, it is crucial to pay attention to the discourse on women and the economy by analysing all possible causes of the issue. Nowadays, religion began to be discussed, bearing in mind that justifications for restricting women's access to the economy frequently invoked religion. Among the frequently quoted verses are Q.S. al-Ahzab [33] verse 33:

وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَىٰ وَأَقِمْنَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتِينَ الزَّكَاةَ وَأَطِعْنَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

“Settle in your homes, and do not display yourselves as women did in the days of ‘pre-Islamic’ ignorance. Establish prayer, pay alms-tax, and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah only intends to keep ‘the causes of evil away from you and purify you completely’”

When interpreting the verse, some commentators use text analysis without considering the context of the verse's derivation. This impacts the outcomes of interpretations that appear discriminatory by using the verse as the basis for denying women access to production fields. According to Buya Hamka (d.1981M) in his book *Tafsir al-Azhar* [37]:

“The meaning of lafaz (وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ) is a commandment, namely the basic guidance given by Allah and the Messenger of Allah to the mysteries of the Prophet and every believing woman, that they should look at their house (with her husband) as her safe and secure place to Although this verse is specifically addressed to the wives of the Prophet Muhammad at the beginning, the meaning does not imply that these orders and warnings are only addressed to them (but also to all Muslim women in general).”

A similar interpretation can be found in Imam Ibn Kasir's (d.1372M) book *Tafsir Al-Qur'an al-'Azhim*, which states [43]:

“This (verse) is an adab commanded by Allah to the wives of the Prophet Muhammad and all the wives of his followers who follow them. One is to be istiqomah at home and not leave the house unless necessary. Among the requirements tolerated by syar'i (for women) is the ability to pray in congregation in the mosque while still meeting the established conditions.”

Imam Ibn Kasir's order and warning to women to do all activities at home were similar to Buya Hamka's order and warning. Without exception, the law applies in general. It is just that Imam Ibn Kasir's position appears laxer, namely that Muslim women are permitted to engage in activities outside the home under certain conditions, albeit with few safeguards. As a result, rereading is required to understand the meaning of relevant verses and support a gender perspective. The interpretation of Q.S. al-Ahzab [33] verse 33 from the perspective of asbab an-nuzul follows. According to Nasaruddin Umar:

Historical Criticism. There is no syara' argument, according to Nasaruddin Umar, that prohibits men and women from participating in the economic sector. On the contrary,

several arguments imply that women can actively pursue a variety of professions [8]. *Abdullah bin 'Abbas* once said about the meaning of *Q.S. al-Ahzab* [33] verse 33, which relates explicitly to the Prophet Muhammad's wives, in an *Ikrimah* r.a narration [44]. Furthermore, *Nasaruddin Umar* presents several other non-*asbab an-nuzul* narrations that describe the condition of women during the Prophet Muhammad's time, explicitly having various professions in the fields of production (economics).

Following the knowledge of the history of *asbab an-nuzul* *Q.S. al-Ahzab* [33] verse 33, the next step is to perform *takhrij* hadith by presenting several keywords (keywords) so that three hadith narrations are explicitly found related to the verse. According to the quality of the hadith, the three narrations differ; one is authentic (*shahih*), and the other two are weak (*dhaif*). As a result, the hadith, according to *Nasaruddin Umar*, can be classified as a history of *asbab an-nuzul*. Verse 33 of *Q.S. al-Ahzab*. This is since other, stronger narrations back it up, and only one hadith stops at the *tabi'in* (*thabaqah*) level.

Nasaruddin Umar stated that the verse specifically addressed the *umm al-mukiminin* (the Prophet Muhammad's wives) and could not be used as a normative law by referring to the history of *asbab an-nuzul* above, as well as the social facts of women's lives at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. They are universally applied [12]. This is since the wives of the Prophet Muhammad SAW possess characteristics that other women do not. As a result, *Q.S. al-Ahzab* [33] verse 33 cannot be used to justify limiting women's roles in the (economic) workplace.

Eiditis Critic

Content Analysis. The key word to consider in interpreting *Q.S. al-Ahzab* [33] verse 33, according to *Nasaruddin*, is lafaz (وَقَرْنَ) [12]. Various scholars understand lafaz (وَقَرْنَ) linguistically. *Sayyid Quthub* (d. 1966M), for example, translated lafaz (وَقَرْنَ) as heavy, steady, and steady. Furthermore, some scholars believe that the word derives from the word (الوقر), which means calmly and respectfully. Some claim that term (وَقَرْنَ) is derived from the words وقِر – يقر – اوقِر which has the same meaning as (جلس) which means sitting or being heavy on something [8].

Furthermore, these distinctions end at the definitive side and impact the outcomes of various interpretations. Some ban women from leaving the house, while others permit it under strict conditions. However, *Nasaruddin Umar* reminded us that linguistic analysis alone would not provide relevant legal conclusions unless the historical context of the Prophet Muhammad were confirmed. As a result, conceptually, term (وَقَرْنَ) only applies to the wives of the Prophet Muhammad.

Historical Reality. *Nasaruddin Umar* viewed numerous hadith narrations about the condition of women during the Prophet Muhammad's time when interpreting gender in *Q.S. al-Ahzab* [33] verse 33. Historically, the Prophet Muhammad permitted women to work in the production sector (economy). This can be seen in the numerous women who had strategic professions during the Prophet Muhammad's time, such as *al-Syifa*, a woman whom *Umar bin al-Khattab* entrusted with managing the market in Medina. *Raithah*, *Abdullah bin Mas'ud*'s wife, is a yarn spinner.

Meanwhile, according to *Husein Haekal*, from a sociological standpoint, women were only used as sexual objects, as an outlet for lust, and as enslaved people prior to the arrival of Islam [45]. Seeing this, the Prophet Muhammad began to advocate for women's rights and obligations to be equal to those of men. This fact contradicts the

interpretation that uses Q.S. al-Ahzab [33] verse 33 to justify limiting women's access to the production (economic) space.

Oversimplification. Nasaruddin Umar believes this verse cannot be used as a religious justification to limit women's participation in accessing production (economic) space based on the rule of *al-'ibratu bi special al-sabab la bi'umum al-lafz*. According to the history of *asbab an-nuzul*, the verse was explicitly revealed to the Prophet Muhammad's wives (*umm al-mu'minin*). They have several privileges, particularly concerning the concept of purification (وَيُطَهَّرُ كُمْ تَطَهُّرًا). As a result, the application of the law related to the paragraph is limited, and it cannot be used as a universally applicable normative law [12].

Criticism in Praxis. Some of Nasaruddin Umar's arguments have reached the stage of re-reading verse 33 of the Qur'an al-Ahzab. The existence of a disparity in the distribution of work based on gender is unjustifiable, particularly in light of the Islamic perspective's arguments. However, neither the Al-Qur'an nor the Hadith bans women from carrying out activities and devoting themselves to particular professions in an institution, either individually or collectively [12]. In addition, despite distinctions, the meaning to be accomplished in Islamic teachings tends to differentiate men's and women's functions without discriminatory elements.

Therefore, no party may discriminate based on ethnicity, race, religion, or gender through policies or acts. Unfortunately, several obstacles remain in its implementation [46]. Holistic efforts from various sides, including religion, are required since religion is the basis of national and state life and has a significant impact on social life to dissolve the profoundly ingrained beliefs of society. Women should not undervalue their household and societal roles [47]. Conversely, it is equally crucial to eliminate the negative stigma that gender equality is contrary to religious teachings, including Islam.

5 Conclusion

Using Nasaruddin Umar's rereading model, I discovered the following results when researching gender 'violence' verses in the Qur'an—particularly in the political and economic spheres—frequently used to justify perpetuating patriarchal culture:

First, the Qur'an views men's and women's relationships as one of Equality, fairness, and harmony (*mawaddah warahmah*). If there is a distinction, it is not meant to discredit one of the parties but rather to indicate that the two will not be equated.

Second, in general, there are verses in the Qur'an that have the potential to be misunderstood. However, when the results are detrimental to one party, rereading is required so that these verses are not later used to perpetuate patriarchal culture, specifically by making the Covid-19 pandemic one of Allah's affirmations to limit women's political and economic roles. On the other hand, women's participation in political contestation or accentuation in the economic space is still considered with the principle of harmony, according to their respective portions.

Third, since entering the pandemic era, the stereotype that males are superior to females has been more prevalent, which has expanded the gap between the sexes, particularly in the political and economic spheres. Two primary factors are required to carry out gender-only development initiatives in the aftermath of a pandemic: (a) *internal*

factors, an increase in the number of women with qualifying qualities and credentials in social fields and a rising lack of confidence to work alongside men. (b) *external factors*, meaning leaving the entrenched patriarchal culture, offering wide spaces and opportunities for women's participation in public space, and reducing through reinterpretation the lousy stigma society has built concerning religious viewpoints on women.

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