

A Comparative Study on the Legal Protection of Women and Children as Victims of Domestic Violence: Maqashid Shariah and Positive Law Perspectives in Indonesia

Narju Rizqillah¹, Husnul Hotimah²

^{1,2}Darunnajah University

Correspondence: narjumedina@gmail.com

Article Info	Abstract
Article history: Received: 2026-09-06 Revised: 2026-09-20 Accepted: 2026-10-14 Keywords: comparative study, domestic violence, maqashid shariah, legal protection, women and children	This research aims to conduct a comparative analysis of the legal protection of women and children who are victims of domestic violence (KDRT) from the perspective of Maqashid Shariah and positive law in Indonesia. This study employs a normative legal research method with a normative juridical approach through library research. Data were obtained from legal literature, tafsir (Qur'anic exegesis), hadith, statutes, and official documents related to the protection of domestic violence victims. The results of the research show: 1) In Islamic law, the protection of women and children is grounded in the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith, emphasizing the principle of mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf (kind treatment in relationships), the prohibition of causing harm, and the obligation to protect vulnerable groups. Islamic law emphasizes a moral and spiritual approach through the principles of islah (reconciliation) and tadrij (gradual sanctions). 2) In Indonesian positive law, protection is regulated under Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT) and Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, which provide legal guarantees through criminal mechanisms, rehabilitation, and institutional support for victims. 3) Both legal systems share common ground in rejecting violence and protecting human dignity, yet differ in their approaches and sources of law. The integration of Islamic values into positive law is considered capable of strengthening holistic protection for domestic violence victims in Indonesia.

To cite this article: Author. (2026). Al-Hukm: Journal of Islamic Legal Studies

A. Introduction

Marriage is a fundamental sacred institution for shaping a harmonious, peaceful, and civilized society. In Islamic teachings, marriage is seen not merely as a secular, contractual civil commitment but as a grand act of worship (mithaqan ghalizhan) aimed at realizing a family that is sakinah, mawaddah, wa rahmah (tranquil, loving, and compassionate). Through a healthy marital relationship, it is hoped that a righteous and pious next generation will be born, alongside a family environment full of devotion to Allah SWT. However, in sociological reality, the marital journey does not always run smoothly according to this normative ideal. Domestic interaction dynamics are often plagued by disputes, power relation conflicts, and criminal acts in the form of Domestic Violence (KDRT), which

***Corresponding Author: Narju Rizqillah**

Narju Rizqillah, Universitas Darunnajah, Indonesia, Email: narjumedina@gmail.com

Copyright ©2025 Al-Hukm: Journal of Islamic Legal Studies

in the majority of cases places vulnerable groups such as women (wives) and children as the primary victims.

Domestic violence brings massive, destructive impacts, not only directly destroying the physical and psychological integrity of the victims but also damaging the social order of the family and hindering the psychological development of children. Sociologically, domestic violence cases in Indonesia continue to experience a very concerning escalation. Based on official data released by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), reports of domestic violence cases experienced a sharp increase of 32.15%, jumping drastically from 11,783 cases in 2019 to 17,366 cases in 2023. Ironically, legal sociology experts view these statistical figures as merely the tip of the iceberg (iceberg phenomenon) because many victims remain reluctant, fearful, or ashamed to report due to structural obstacles, patriarchal culture, and deep economic dependence.

Islamic law explicitly and uncompromisingly prohibits all forms of domestic violence because it diametrically contradicts the principles of justice, compassion (*rahmah*), and human dignity upheld by sharia. Islam establishes the concept of *mu'asyarah bil ma'ruf* (treating each other with kindness and propriety) as the main pillar of husband-wife relations, as imperatively outlined in the Qur'an, Surah an-Nisa, verse 19, which commands: "And live with them in kindness." This Qur'anic provision is concretely reinforced by the historical example of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, who never committed physical or verbal violence within his household and even strongly condemned husbands who acted harshly, as narrated in the Hadith of Sahih al-Bukhari No. 5204: "None of you should whip his wife like whipping a slave, and then have intercourse with her at the end of the day." Marital relations must be built on the principles of protecting life (*hifdz al-nafs*) and honor.

On the other hand, positive law in Indonesia has seriously endeavored to respond to the problem of domestic violence through the enactment of specific regulations. The state's progressive step was marked by the passage of Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT), which shifted domestic violence from a purely private domestic domain to the public legal sphere. Furthermore, for child victims, the state strengthened the legal protection system through Law No. 35 of 2014 concerning the Amendment to Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection. Through these two national regulations, the positive legal system attempts to provide physical protection guarantees, medical-psychological rehabilitation, restitution rights, and certain criminal sanctions against domestic perpetrators.

Although both legal systems—Islamic Law and Positive Law—share a common vision in opposing violence, they stand on different paradigms, epistemological bases, and operational procedures. Islamic law prioritizes a moral-spiritual-transcendental approach with an emphasis on inner awareness, reconciliation (*islah*), and gradual sanctions (*tadrij*). Meanwhile, positive law relies on written legal certainty, formal-bureaucratic procedures, and rigid retributive penal sanctions.

Sociological-practical tensions often occur where victims face double trauma (revictimization) due to rigid institutional divisions and sectoral ego among law enforcement officers in the field.

A number of previous studies have examined the issue of protecting domestic violence victims from various perspectives. Fauzhiah Putri Ikhwan (2025) analyzed the legal protection of domestic violence victims through a case study of local court decisions partially. Zani Aziza (2025) focused on the formal juridical analysis of the UU PKDRT from an Islamic law perspective but limited the subject to wives. Laila Khoirunnisa (2022) examined the protection of child victims of domestic violence with the analytical lens of *hifdz al-nasl* separately. Yara Shafa Alcika et al. (2023) reviewed the macro-penal policy of the UU PKDRT descriptively without dissecting the dynamics of new regulatory conflicts after the enactment of the Sexual Violence Crime Act (UU TPKS No. 12/2022). Lastly, Qudsiyatut Diana et al. (2025) offered Jasser Auda's conceptual model for the protection of women but did not address the comprehensive protection of children. Based on this literature mapping, there is a clear research gap: the absence of a comparative-integrative study discussing the legal protection of women and children simultaneously after the enactment of the UU TPKS using a contemporary Maqashid Shariah framework to formulate a holistic protection regulatory reform in Indonesia. This study aims to fill this gap.

B. Methods

This study is qualitative normative legal research utilizing a normative-juridical and comparative approach. The focus of the study is placed on the analysis of legal texts, legal principles, legal doctrines, and the synchronization of written regulations, sourced from both the treasury of Islamic Law and Positive Law in Indonesia. Library research was selected as the primary method to explore, understand, describe, and compare the concept of legal protection for women and children as victims of domestic violence in depth.

The data source in this study entirely utilizes secondary data consisting of primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. Primary legal materials in the perspective of Islamic Law include verses from the Qur'an (such as QS. an-Nisa verses 19 & 34, QS. al-Baqarah verses 229, 231, & 233, QS. al-Maidah verse 32, and QS. al-Isra verse 31), primary hadith compilations (such as Sahih al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, and Sunan Ibn Majah), and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). Primary legal materials in the positive law perspective include the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection, and Supreme Court Regulation (PERMA) No. 3 of 2017 on Guidelines for Adjudicating Women in Conflict with the Law.

Secondary legal materials consist of scientific works of contemporary Islamic law scholars, such as Jasser Auda's book *Maqashid al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach*

(2008), Wahbah al-Zuhaili's works on jurisprudence, M. Quraish Shihab's exegesis explanations, Maidin Gultom's books on victimology and child protection, and national scientific journals accredited by SINTA (such as *Al-Ihkam*, *Mazahib*, *Samarah*, and *Al-Ahwal*). Tertiary legal materials include the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI) and legal dictionaries. The data collection technique was carried out through document study with a system of selection, recording, classification, and critical review based on scientific relevance.

The data analysis technique uses a descriptive-comparative-analytical method. The obtained data were qualitatively analyzed by integrating the Maqashid Shariah theory (particularly the core pillars of *hifdz al-nafs* and *hifdz al-nasl*) and the theory of legal protection (preventive-repressive). The analytical steps involve identifying forms of protection, exploring sociological-philosophical common grounds, unraveling epistemological-penological distinctions, and formulating a new legal integration concept. To ensure scientific validity, this qualitative normative study applies four parameters of library data triangulation: credibility through cross-triangulation of various law books and statutes; transferability by presenting a thick description of the sociological case context; dependability by auditing the consistency of referential logic; and confirmability by minimizing researcher subjectivity through an objective and balanced presentation of expert views.

C. Result and Discussion

LEGAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: MAQASHID SHARIAH PERSPECTIVE

In the lens of Maqashid Shariah, Islamic law is designed not merely as a dry, dogmatic-normative instrument but possesses a noble moral and social dimension to manifest true welfare (*mashlahah*) for all humanity in this world and the hereafter. The five basic principles of protection (*al-daruriyyat al-khamsah*) formulated by earlier scholars such as Imam al-Ghazali and al-Shatibi namely *hifdz al-din* (protection of religion), *hifdz al-nafs* (protection of life), *hifdz al-'aql* (protection of intellect), *hifdz al-nasl* (protection of progeny), and *hifdz al-mal* (protection of wealth) serve as the absolute foundation for creating a family relationship system that is just, equal, harmonious, and free from all forms of domestic tyranny.

The principle of *hifdz al-nafs* (protection of life/soul) occupies a vital position in prohibiting all forms of physical and psychological violence in the household. Islam transcendently places the value of human life at the highest degree. Violence that injures the body or endangers the victim's life is a severe crime, analogized in Surah al-Maidah, verse 32, that killing one soul unjustly is akin to killing all of humanity. The prohibition against harming physical safety is fully backed by the universal Islamic legal maxim "*lā dlarara wa lā dliṛāra*" (there should be neither harming nor reciprocating harm), sourced from the Hadith of Sunan Ibn Majah No. 2340. All forms of beating, torture, and harsh

actions by a husband against his wife are clearly classified as ta'zir crimes (jarimah) because they violate human boundaries and damage the psychological peace of the family. If the violence results in severe injury or permanent physical organ disability, Islamic Law imposes a sanction in the form of diyat (financial compensation) that the perpetrator must pay to the victim, while allowing the judge to impose prison sentences for deterrent effects.

Furthermore, the principle of hifdz al-nasl (protection of progeny) provides robust protection for children and the integrity of future generations from the negative impacts of domestic violence. Children in Islam are viewed as a sacred trust (fitrah) from Allah and possess transcendental human rights to be nurtured, educated, and protected in a friendly and conducive family environment. Exposing children to the terror of domestic violence, committing physical violence against them, or neglecting their physical and spiritual maintenance represents a severe violation of the trust of hifdz al-nasl. To break the cycle of violence that threatens the safety of wives and children, Islamic Law provides a legal emergency exit (emergency exit) through the mechanism of divorce petition (fasakh), redemption divorce (khulu'), or utilizing the breach of marriage contract clauses (ta'lik talak) through Religious Court rulings as accommodated in Article 76 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). This step emphasizes that the marriage bond must not be maintained absolutely if tyranny continuously occurs within it, threatening the existence of life and progeny.

LEGAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: POSITIVE LAW PERSPECTIVE IN INDONESIA

Positive Law in Indonesia places the protection of domestic violence victims as an integral part of the state's constitutional responsibility to guarantee the human rights of its citizens. This constitutional basis is strongly laid out in the 1945 Constitution, especially Article 28A concerning the right to life, Article 28B Paragraph (2) on guaranteeing child protection from violence and discrimination, and Article 28G Paragraph (1) regarding the right to a sense of security and protection of personal dignity. To concretely realize this constitutional mandate in the domestic sphere, the state has enacted Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT) and Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection.

The UU PKDRT divides domestic violence into four comprehensive typologies: 1) Physical violence (Article 6) in the form of beatings, slapping, or physical injury; 2) Psychological violence (Article 7) in the form of insults, threats, or social isolation causing deep mental suffering; 3) Sexual violence (Article 8) in the form of marital rape or forced sexual relations; and 4) Economic violence/neglect (Article 9) in the form of intentional failure to provide financial support. To handle these violations, the positive legal system establishes crucial victim rights, such as the right to obtain a Temporary Protection Order (SPPT) from the court in accordance with Article 29 of the UU PKDRT to prohibit the perpetrator from approaching the victim, the right to medical-psychological

assistance for trauma recovery, the right to legal aid from advocates, and the right to restitution for material and immaterial losses under Article 37.

Institutionally, positive law enforcement is supported by an integrated network of state and non-governmental protection agencies. The Women and Children Service Unit (UPPA) of the National Police serves as the front line in receiving 24-hour complaints and conducting gender-sensitive investigations. The Integrated Service Center for Women and Children Empowerment (P2TP2A or UPTD PPA) provides medical rehabilitation, psychological counseling, and confidential safe houses (shelter) for victims under serious physical threat. The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) and the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) supervise and provide physical security guarantees to victims during the judicial process. Criminal sanctions regulated in Articles 44 to 49 of the UU PKDRT and Article 80 of the Child Protection Act threaten perpetrators with strict imprisonment (up to 15 years in prison if the child victim suffers severe injury or death) to enforce the state's retributive justice.

ANALYSIS/DISCUSSION

Common Grounds of Maqashid Shariah and Positive Law in Indonesia

Comparative normative-juridical analysis demonstrates a profound axiological convergence between Maqashid Shariah and Positive Law in Indonesia regarding the protection of domestic violence victims. The deepest philosophical common ground is rooted in the absolute recognition of human dignity. The sublime value of human dignity (*karamah insaniyyah*) in Islam sourced from Surah al-Hujurat, verse 13, meets precisely with the constitutional human rights guarantee of citizens to be free from torture in Article 28G of the 1945 Constitution. Both legal systems agree that domestic violence must not be viewed as an ordinary private domestic matter but must be classified as a crime against humanity that must be prosecuted by legal authorities.

Furthermore, emergency physical protection under *hifdz al-nafs* synergetically aligns with the right to a sense of security in the UU PKDRT through Temporary Protection Orders (SPPT) and repressive criminal sanctions. In child protection, the principle of *hifdz al-nasl* integrates harmoniously with the modern legal principle of the best interest of the child in Law No. 35 of 2014. Both legal systems prioritize the mental and physical safety of children over the parental ego rights of parents. Additionally, the responsibility of social-religious supervision, *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding evil), harmonizes legally with the public's legal obligation to report under Article 27 of the UU PKDRT, breaking the "silent wall" of patriarchal culture that hides domestic crimes. Lastly, the shift in sanctions from pure punishment toward theological recovery under *islah* aligns with the development of restorative justice mechanisms and integrated victim rehabilitation systems in modern positive law.

Epistemological, Methodological, and Penological Distinctions of Both Legal Systems

Despite having aligned ultimate goals, both legal systems stand on fundamentally different paradigm pillars. This sharp distinction spans three main dimensions: epistemological, methodological, and penological. Epistemologically, Maqashid Shariah originates from divine transcendental revelation (the Qur'an and Hadith), where victim protection is dual-dimensional (worldly and otherworldly) and triggers religious consequences of sin. In contrast, Indonesian Positive Law is a product of secular-rational, dynamic human legislative consensus, worldly-oriented, and influenced by international conventions. These differences are systematically summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Epistemological Comparison between Maqashid Shariah and Positive Law

Dimension of Comparison	Maqashid Shariah	Positive Law in Indonesia
Source of Authority	Transcendental Revelation (Qur'an & Hadith) which is absolute	Legislative Socio-Political Consensus (1945 Constitution & Laws)
Nature of Norms	Sacred, theological, permanent (al-ushul), and flexible in details (al-furu')	Secular, rational, dynamic, and alterable according to time
Dimension of Protection	Dual-dimensional: Worldly welfare & hereafter (Transcendental)	Single-dimensional: Worldly empirical-juridical certainty
Focus of Resolution	Inner moral-spiritual and family integrity (islah)	Formal-procedural external and individual victim rights

Methodologically, Islamic Law prioritizes an educational-reconciliatory moral approach based on gradual islah (tadrij) to maintain family integrity for the continuity of child rearing. Conversely, Positive Law adopts a rigid normative-juridical approach focused on protecting individual victim rights (victim-centered) by directly intervening in the private space through state law enforcement apparatus. Penologically, sanctions in Maqashid Shariah are classified as jarimah ta'zir which is therapeutic (healing), flexible, and gradual based on the discretion of the judge (ulu al-amr). Conversely, positive law is dominated by deterrence theory, imposing rigid prison sentences that in sociological reality often trigger new economic vulnerability for the victim's family due to the imprisonment of the primary male breadwinner.

Construction of Integrating Maqashid Shariah Values into Indonesian Regulatory Reform

The construction of legal integration in Indonesia has a solid basis of legitimacy in the state philosophy of Pancasila (especially the First and Second Precepts) and Article 28G of the 1945 Constitution. This integration is not an effort toward formal Islamization of state law but rather the absorption of the substantive values of human dignity (substantivization) to yield national regulations that are responsive and grounded. Regulatory reform in Indonesia must construct three strategic integration pillars:

First, the reconstruction of mediation based on *islah* and restorative justice with a victim-centered perspective. *Ishlah* in Islam must not be narrowly interpreted as blind peace that forces victims back into an abusive environment, as this violates the fundamental legal maxim “*lā dlarara wa lā dliṛāra*”. Integrated mediation should only be carried out if the bargaining power of both parties is equal. If the power relation is still heavily skewed (e.g., due to deep economic dependency or severe trauma), mediation must be prohibited and pure criminal prosecution must be executed. Mediation must be led by certified mediators, psychologists, and gender-sensitive religious figures, and the peace agreement must be registered in court to be legally binding under strict post-reconciliation supervision.

Second, the synchronization of action sanctions based on the concept of educative-rehabilitative *ta’zir*. The reform of the UU PKDRT must incorporate action sanctions (*maatregel*) requiring domestic violence perpetrators to undergo psychological counseling and spiritual education programs for a *sakinah* family under the supervision of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) or official religious institutions periodically during criminal probation, to holistically reform the perpetrator’s inner character and break the cycle of domestic abuse.

Third, institutional integration to eliminate judicial sectoral ego. The rigid division of jurisdiction between District Courts (criminal domestic violence) and Religious Courts (divorce resulting from domestic violence/*fasakh*) causes double trauma (revictimization) and unnecessary costs for the victims. Through the expansion of the accessory (*accessoir*) jurisdiction of Religious Courts, Religious Court judges should be given the legal authority to simultaneously issue emergency protection orders for wives and children, determine absolute child custody for *hifdz al-nasl*, and impose emergency maintenance and medical compensation directly from the husband’s assets when adjudicating divorce cases resulting from domestic violence.

D. Conclusion

This comparative study draws three main conclusions. First, the legal protection of women and children in Islamic Law is based on transcendental sources (the Qur’an and Hadith) that uphold *karamah insaniyyah* and the maxim *lā dlarara wa lā dliṛāra*. Its operation protects life (*hifdz al-nafs*) and progeny (*hifdz al-nasl*) through educative-rehabilitative *ta’zir* sanctions, and provides a legal emergency exit (emergency exit) in the form of divorce petition (*fasakh*), *khulu’*, or *ta’lik talak* to release victims sharia-wise from marital tyranny.

Second, positive legal protection in Indonesia relies on constitutional guarantees of the 1945 Constitution and is implemented through formal instruments of Law No. 23 of 2004 (UU PKDRT) and Law No. 35 of 2014 (Child Protection Act). These regulations provide a structured instant formal protection system, including actions of the Police’s UPPA, court Temporary Protection Orders

(SPPT), safe houses (shelter), integrated assistance (P2TP2A/UPTD PPA), rights to restitution, and rigid prison sentences to enforce the state's retributive justice.

Third, the integration of both legal systems is built upon the foundation of Pancasila through the substantivization of Maqashid Shariah justice values into national legislation. This integrative construction is realized through three strategic formulations: reconstruction of islah-based mediation centered on victim safety (victim-centered); synchronization of mandatory social-spiritual rehabilitation action sanctions for perpetrators based on ta'zir flexibility; and institutional integration of expanding the accessory jurisdiction of Religious Courts to yield a robust, responsive judicial system with substantive justice free from institutional sectoral ego secluding.

REFERENCES

- Abbas, A. S. 2011. *Hukum Islam: Dinamika dan perkembangannya di Indonesia*. Prenadamedia Group.
- Abu Hanifah al-Nu'man. 2008. *Al-Mabsuth fi fiqh al-Hanafiyyah*. Darul Kutub al-Islamiyyah.
- Abu Zahrah, M. 2005. *Al-Jarimah wa al-'uqubah fi al-fiqh al-islami*. Dar al-Fikr.
- Al Rahman, H., Muslimin, J. M., & Adnan, M. (2025). Hibah (grants) and family conflict prevention: A case study of the Betawi community in Pondok Pinang. *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, 29(2), 393-402. <https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v29i2.8953>
- Al-Bukhari, I. 2010. *Sahih al-Bukhari, kitab an-nikah, bab al-washiyyah bil nisa*. Pustaka As-Sunnah.
- Al-Ghazali. 2017. *Al-Mustashfa min 'ilm al-usul*. Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Syafi'i, M. I. I. 2007. *Al-Umm*. Vol. 5. Pustaka Azzam.
- Al-Syatibi. 1997. *Al-Muwafaqat fi usul al-shari'ah*. Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Zuhaili, W. 1989. *Al-Fiqh al-islami wa adillatuhu*. Vol. 6. Dar al-Fikr.
- Anwar, A. 2021. "Perlindungan anak dalam perspektif Maqashid Syariah." *Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Sosial* 8(2):112–18.
- Arief, B. N. 2021. *Kebijakan legislatif dalam penanggulangan kejahatan*. Pustaka Magister.
- Auda, J. 2008. *Maqasid al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach*. International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).
- Ch, M. 2021. *Hukum perlindungan perempuan dan anak*. Prenada Media.
- Diani, R., Yuberti, and M. R. Syarlisjiiswan. 2018. "Web-Enhanced Course Based on Problem-Based Learning (PBL): Development of Interactive Learning Media for Basic Physics II." *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Fisika Al-BiRuNi* 7(1):105–16. doi:10.24042/jipfalbiruni.v7i1.2849.
- Fitriani. 2022. "Urgensi pembaharuan hukum perlindungan korban kekerasan dalam rumah tangga." *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia* 19(2):134–37.
- Gultom, M. 2021. *Perlindungan hukum terhadap anak dan perempuan*. Refika Aditama.
- Hotimah, H., Al Rahman, H., & Abdulghani, N. A. (2026). Beyond Human Rivals: Emotional Attachment to Artificial Intelligence as A Non-Human Third Party in Marriage Under Islamic Family Law. *Sahaja: Journal Sharia and Humanities*, 5(1), 67-83.
- Hadjon, P. M. 1987. *Perlindungan hukum bagi rakyat di Indonesia*. Bina Ilmu.
- Mulia, S. M. 2019. *Islam dan hak asasi manusia: Konsep dan implementasi*. Naufan Pustaka.
- Nasution, K. 2007. *Hukum perdata (keluarga) Islam Indonesia*. ACAdemia+TAZZAFA.
- Rofiah, N. 2018. "Keadilan gender dalam perspektif Maqashid Syariah." *Jurnal Al-Mawarid* 20:45–56.
- Rofiq, A. 2020. *Hukum perdata Islam di Indonesia*. Rajawali Pers.
- Shihab, M. Q. 2019. *Tafsir al-Mishbah: Pesan, kesan dan keserasian al-Qur'an*. Vol. 2. Lentera Hati.

Suryakusuma, J. 2021. *State Ibuism: The Social Construction of Womanhood in New Order Indonesia*. Komunitas Bambu.