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Dialectics of Text and Reality: Interpretation of the Verses of the Qur'an on Husband and Wife Relations from the Perspective of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in the Cities of Salatiga and Surakarta

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Abstract
The fact that in society there are married women who work and have careers outside the home, raises debates in the interpretation of verses related to husband-wife relations. The purpose of this research is to reveal how NU and Muhammadiyah theologians interpret verses about husband-wife relations and the factors that influence these interpretations. The approach used in this research is a normative-sociological approach to highlight the views and ideas of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians about husband-wife relations. The use of a normative approach is to examine husband-wife relations in the verses of the Qur'an about husband-wife relations. Meanwhile, the sociological approach is used to see the views of theologians from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah circles about husband-wife relations as an interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an about husband-wife relations. For the purposes of analysis, the theory of Sociology of interpretation is used which refers to the view of Peter L Berger who states that the reality and knowledge that a person obtains are not given for free but are a dialect process between that person and the social reality that surrounds him which is then constructed into a text (interpretation). The research found that the interpretation of the NU and Muhammadiyah theologians of Salatiga and Surakarta regarding the shurah an-Nisa'[4];34 and al-Ahzab [33];33 did not have a problem with wives working and having careers outside the home as long as they obtained permission from their husbands.
Keywords: Interpretation, Surah al-Nisa' verse 34, husband-wife relations.

Abstrak
Kenyataan bahwa di masyarakat terdapat wanita bersuami yang bekerja dan berkarir di luar rumah, menimbulkan perdebatan dalam penafsiran ayat-ayat terkait hubungan suami-istri. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkap bagaimana para teolog NU dan Muhammadiyah memaknai ayat-ayat tentang hubungan suami-istri dan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi penafsiran tersebut. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan normatif-sosiologis untuk menyoroti pandangan dan pemikiran para teolog NU dan Muhammadiyah tentang hubungan suami-istri. Penggunaan pendekatan normatif adalah untuk mengkaji hubungan suami-istri dalam ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an tentang hubungan suami-istri. Sementara itu, pendekatan sosiologis digunakan untuk melihat pandangan para teolog dari kalangan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah tentang hubungan suami-istri sebagai penafsiran atas ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an tentang hubungan suami-istri. Untuk keperluan analisis digunakan teori Sosiologi Tafsir yang mengacu pada pandangan Peter L Berger yang menyatakan bahwa realitas dan pengetahuan yang diperoleh seseorang bukanlah sesuatu yang diberikan begitu saja melainkan merupakan proses dialektis antara orang tersebut dengan realitas sosial yang melingkupinya yang kemudian dikonstruksi menjadi sebuah teks (tafsir). Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa tafsir ulama NU dan Muhammadiyah Salatiga dan Surakarta tentang surah an-Nisa'[4];34 dan al-Ahzab[33];33 tidak mempermasalahkan istri bekerja dan berkarier di luar rumah asalkan memperoleh izin dari suami.
Kata Kunci: Penafsiran, Surah Al-Nisa ayat 34, Relasi Suami Istri

INTRODUCTION

Marriage Law number 1 of 1974 article 31 paragraph 3 and 4 emphasizes the role of the husband as the head of the family and the wife as the housewife. Both must love, respect, be faithful and provide physical and spiritual assistance.[1] The husband as the head of the household is obliged to protect, educate and provide for his wife and children. The rights and position of the wife are balanced with the rights and position of the husband in the household and social life together in society.[2] In line with Law number 1 of 1974, many theologians argue that the wife's duties in the household are to provide services to the husband, take care of the children and other domestic household affairs. Thus, the benchmark for a good wife (*shalihah*) is a wife who is in the house taking care of her husband, children and doing other housework. Because the wife is positioned in the area of domestic affairs while the husband is positioned in the area of public affairs.[3]

On the other hand, in the context of Indonesian society which is predominantly Muslim, many career women are found in various aspects of life. From here arises the dilemma between taking care of the household and career. In addition, this fact also raises debates on the interpretation of the sources of Islamic teachings, namely the Qur'an and Hadith, including verses related to husband and wife relations.

Contextual interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an about husband and wife relations is often found among Muslim reformists in order to find meanings that are in accordance with the development of the times. The majority of them reject textual interpretation. Jawād Mughniyyah stated that what is meant by QS. al-Nisā' [4]: 34 is not to create differences that consider women to be inferior to men, but they are the same.[4] According to Husain Muhammad, shurah al-Nisa' [4]: 34 must be understood sociologically and contextually.[5] Syahrur stated that leadership between husband and wife

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[1] Republic of Indonesia, Law on Marriage, Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 26 of 1985 Concerning Roads, vol. 2003, 1974, https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/47406/uu-no-1-tahun-1974.

[2] Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance, Compilation of Islamic Law in Indonesia, n.d., https://simbi.kemenag.go.id/eliterasi/storage/perpustakaan/slims/repository/b5c07c0ce34195adb3cd15ad059b33f2.pdf.

[3] Durotun Nafisah, "Politisasi Relasi Suami-Istri: Telaah KHI Perspektif Gender," *Yin Yang* 3, no. 2 (2008).

[4] Muhammad Jawad Mughniyyah, *Tafsīr Al-Kāsyif*, vol. II, I (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li alMalāyīn, n.d.).

[5] Husein Muhammad, *Fiqh Perempuan; Refleksi Kiai Atas Tafsir Wacana Agama Dan Gender* (Yogyakarta: Ircisod, 2019).

is not only in the household but includes all aspects of life such as in the fields of work, politics, law, trade and so on in the public sphere.[6]

On the other hand, Ibn Kathir firmly stated that men are leaders for women.[7] Ar-Razi stated that men have advantages over women in various ways.[8] Imam Nawawi al-Bantani in his *Marāh Labīd* interpretation tends to follow the salaf theologians.[9]

Many previous articles have also discussed the relationship between husband and wife in the Qur'an. Some of them are articles written by Intan Afriati,[10] Eko Prayetno[11], Althaf Husein Muzakky[12], Mhd Yazid[13], Fahmi Basyar[14], Faisal Haitomi[15], Khotimatul Husna[16], Umi Khusnul Khotimal[17], Dewi Putri, et al.[18], Wilnan Fatahillah and Muhammad Hariyadi[19], Nur Fitria Primastuti[20], Zahrotus Saidah[21].

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[6] Muhammad Syahrur, *Naḥwa Uṣūl Jadidah li al-Fiqh al-Islāmī (Metodologi Fiqih Islam Kontemporer)* (Yogyakarta: eLSAQ, 2004).

[7] Ibn Katsir, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Adzim* (Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr, 1920).

[8] Fakhruddin Ar-Razi, *Mafatih Al-Ghaib* (Beirut: Dar Al-Fikr, 1977).

[9] Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Marah Labid Li Kashf Ma'na al-Qur'an al-Majid* (Surabaya: Dar al-Nasyr al Miṣriyyah, n.d.).

[10] Intan Afriati, "Relasi Suami Isteri Dalam Al-Qur'an Ditinjau Dari Dimensi Pendidikan (Metode Tafsir Maudhu'i)," *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 5, no. 2 (November 26, 2019): 83–94, https://doi.org/10.22373/equality.v5i2.5599.

[11] Eko Prayetno, "Relasi Suami Istri: Studi Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shidieqy, Hamka, Dan M. Quraish Shihab Dalam Q.S Al-Nisa' | Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat" 3, no. 2 (2019), https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/pusat/panangkaran/article/view/0302-09.

[12] Althaf Husein Muzakky, "Interpretasi Ma'nā Cum Maghzā Terhadap Relasi Suami-Istri Dalam QS. al-Mujādalah [58]: 1-4," *Hermenutik; Jurnal Ilmu AL-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 14, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.21043/hermeneutik.v14i1.6569.

[13] Mhd Yazid, "Relasi Suami Istri dan Pelanggengan Patriarki (Nikah Misyar dalam Perspektif Gender)," *Ijtihad* 36, no. 1 (October 3, 2020), https://journals.fasya.uinib.org/index.php/ijtihad/article/view/11.

[14] Fahmi Basyar, "Relasi Suami Istri Dalam Keluarga Menurut Hukum Islam Dan Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974," *Istidlal: Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Hukum Islam* 4, no. 2 (October 15, 2020): 138–50, https://doi.org/10.35316/istidlal.v4i2.269.

[15] Faisal Haitomi, "Relasi Suami Istri dalam Tinjauan Mubadalah (Telaah atas Hadis Anjuran Istri Mencari Ridho Suami)," *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara* 3, no. 2 (December 28, 2021): 138–52, https://doi.org/10.24235/jshn.v3i2.9700.

[16] Khotimatul Husna, "Kajian Dalalah Dalam Perspektif Relasi Kesalingan Suami Istri Menurut Konsep Keluarga Maslahah Nahdlatul Ulama," *Diktum: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 20, no. 2 (2022): 323–36, https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v20i2.3633.

[17] Umi Khusnul Khotimal, "Membangun Kesetaran Relasi Suami Isteri Dalam Keluarga Menurut Al-Qur'an," *Misykat: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Quran Hadits Syari'ah Dan Tarbiyah* 7, no. 2 (December 30, 2022): 235–48.

[18] Putri Dewi et al., "Reinterpretasi Relasi Suami Istri Dalam Membangun Keharmonisan Rumah Tangga (Sebuah Pendekatan Kontekstual Terhadap QS. an-Nisaa' (4): 34) | Islamika : Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman" 24, no. 02 (2024), https://ejournal.iainkerinci.ac.id/index.php/islamika/article/view/4499.

[19] Wilnan Fatahillah and Muhammad Hariyadi, "Konsep Self Management Pasangan Suami Istri Dalam Mencegah KDRT Menurut Psikologi Dan Perspektif Al-Quran," *Coution: Journal Counseling and Education* 5, no. 2 (November 15, 2024): 16–47, https://doi.org/10.47453/coution.v5i2.2736.

[20] Nur Fitria Primastuti, "Telaah Hubungan Suami Dan Istri Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an Dan Hadits," *Jurnal Lentera : Kajian Keagamaan, Keilmuan Dan Teknologi* 24, no. 1 (March 24, 2025): 70–82, https://doi.org/10.29138/lentera.v24i1.1482.

[21] Zahrotus Saidah, "Relasi Kehidupan Suami-Istri Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an," *El 'Aailah: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Keluarga* 4, no. 1 (January 31, 2025): 49–61, https://doi.org/10.59270/aailah.v4i1.271.

Of the many articles that write about the relationship between husband and wife in the Qur'an, none of them discuss the understanding of NU and Muhammadiyah figures about this. Therefore, this research is important to do. This research focuses on the understanding of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in understanding the relationship between husband and wife in the Qur'an in the cities of Salatiga and Surakarta.

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as the largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia, have quite a strong influence in society. With the large mass base of both organizations, the views of their figures, including their interpretations of verses related to husband and wife relations will become religious doctrines in their respective mass organizations and have an impact on society at large. Efforts to find the relationship between the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an and social life by explaining the meaning and intent of the verses are an offer of solutions to the problems of the community faced by society and nations, especially those related to husband and wife relations in the contemporary era based on the universal guidance and teachings of the Qur'an.[22] In the perspective of reciprocal hermeneutics, the text can be read with a moderate side.[23]

Based on this background, this research will try to see the views of the figures of the two organizations about their interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an related to husband and wife relations. This research limits its subjects to NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in the cities of Salatiga and Surakarta. This researcher will focus on the surah al-Nisa' [4]; 34 and surah al-Ahzab [33]; 33 with the focus of the problem how do NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in Salatiga and Surakarta interpret the Qur'an surah al-Nisa: 35 and surah al-Ahzab: 33 regarding husband and wife relations? What is the background to the interpretation of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in Salatiga and Surakarta regarding the verses of the Qur'an surah al-Nisa verse 35 and surah al-Ahzab verse 33 regarding husband and wife relations? and How do the contributions of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in Salatiga and Surakarta influence the surah al-Nisa: 35 and surah al-Ahzab: 33 on understanding the relationship between husband and wife?

THEORETICAL BASIS

As an analytical tool in this research, the researcher uses the theory of Sociology of interpretation which refers to the view of Peter L Berger who states that the reality and

[22] Muhammad Husain Adz-Dzahabi, *At-Tafsir Wa Al-Mufassirun* (Kairo: Maktabah Wahdah, 1976).

[23] Alfi Qonita and Hamim Ilyas, "Domestication of Women: A Reciprocal Hermeneutic Study of Faqihuddin Abdul Kodir and Huzaimah Tahido Yanggo," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 9, no. 1 (August 29, 2024): 103–19, https://doi.org/10.18326/millati.v9i1.2283.

knowledge obtained by someone is not given for free but is a dialect process between the person and the social reality that surrounds him which is then constructed into a text (interpretation). The construction process goes through three moments, namely externalization, objectivity and internalization.[24] **Externalization** is the process of ideas emerging from the human mind becoming something that exists outside the individual. In other words, the existence of the idea is already in the social structure. **Objectification** is the process of these ideas becoming objects and beginning to be perceived as reality. Objectification involves consensus, interaction, and habituation. These ideas are agreed upon, take place through a process of social interaction, and are carried out repeatedly. The objectification process can last in a very long time, across generations, so that it is possible that the new generation accepts something as a reality, but the earlier generation does not see it that way. **Internalization** is the process by which objective reality or something that has been objectified is absorbed into the human self as knowledge. At this stage, individuals or actors see reality as objective reality, even though it is actually formed from subjective ideas.

In the process of dialect between the interpreter and the social reality, they are faced with two realities, namely objective reality and subjective reality. In Berger's view, objective reality exists at the moment of externalization and objectivity. While subjective reality is experienced at the moment of internalization. The use of the theory of Sociology of interpretation in this research is intended to study the statements of interpretation of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians as a product with a sociological approach so that the context that influences it is revealed and the products resulting from the process of internalization and their reflection on socio-cultural which is their contribution in providing solutions to problems of husband and wife relations in the era of globalization.

METHODS

This research is a field research conducted in Salatiga and Surakarta, precisely on theologians affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah mass organizations. Each of them was chosen as respondents by the theologians who are involved in Islamic studies. As a research on the views and ideas of figures, the approach that will be used in this research is the normative-sociological approach to highlight the views and ideas of the figures about husband and wife relations. The use of a normative approach is to examine husband and wife relations in the verses of the Qur'an about husband and wife relations.

[24] Ferry Dharma, "Konstruksi Realitas Sosial:Pemikiran Peter L. Berger Tentang Kenyataan Sosial," *Kanal Ilmu Jurnal Komunikasi* 7, no. 1 (2018), https://doi.org/10.21070/kanal.v6i2.101.

While the sociological approach is used to see the views of theologians from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah circles about husband and wife relations as an interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an about husband and wife relations. The results of in-depth interviews with selected informants, namely NU and Muhammadiyah theologians are positioned as primary data. While various literatures in the form of books of interpretation and documents about husband and wife relations are positioned as secondary data.

DISCUSSION

Household Leadership

In Law Number 10 of 1992 concerning Population and Family Welfare, Chapter on General Provisions, it is explained that the family is the smallest unit (Institution) in society consisting of husband and wife, or husband, wife and child, or father and child, or mother and father.[25] In a community, a leader is needed who will determine the direction of the community. Textually, the Qur'an and the Marriage Law have positioned the husband as the leader of the household. However, the reality in society speaks differently. There are three patterns of leadership in the household. First, the husband holds full control of the household. Second, household leadership is carried out collegially, namely the husband and wife both hold control of the household. Third, the wife, because of the various advantages she has, is the one who holds control of the household. Data in the field shows that theologians among NU and Muhammadiyah vary in understanding the verses of the Qur'an related to husband-wife relations in the household when faced with the realities that exist in society.

Informants IS admit that sociologically, men are more positioned as leaders in their community life compared to women. Because men have advantages in terms of physical aspects compared to women. Naturally, men are physically stronger than women. Men's physical aspects are a symbol of strength and responsibility.[26] According to him, QS al-Nisa' [4]; 35 suggests that men are in a superior position than women.

However, in various other verses such as QS an-Nahl [16]; 97, and QS. Al-Ahzab [33]; 35 suggests that there is equality between men and women. However, according to

[25] "Law No. 10 of 1992," Database of Law Regulations | JDIH BPK, accessed June 11, 2025, http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/46602/uu-no-10-tahun-1992.

[26] Interview on Husband and Wife Relationship in the Family, September 6, 2021.

IS, the application of QS al-Nisa' [4]; 35 must be linked to the environmental context, including Indonesian society.[27]

The same view was expressed by Informant MY, a caregiver at a Quranic Interpretation Study. According to him, household responsibilities, including the responsibility for family support, are entirely the responsibility of the husband. However, on the other hand, according to MY, QS al-Nisa' [4];35 is not intended to create differences between men and women. The verse does not deny the existence of differences between men and women. It I s just that the difference is in the meaning of the biological role as a mother who conceives, gives birth to and breastfeeds her children.

Meanwhile, the social obligation, the husband is obliged to work to earn a living for the family, while the wife has the right to receive it. If the wife works, it is as a self-development of the wife's social role and to help find additional income for the family, not something that is obligatory or basic. As IS, MY also relates to the environmental context in the application of QS al-Nisa'[4]; 35. Because the verse is a family and social issue, so its understanding and implementation need to pay attention contextually to the local socio-cultural conditions, for example in Java, husbands usually work with their wives in the fields, markets, shops, offices, etc. Therefore, the leadership of the husband and wife is not limited to household matters but also outside the home by considering that the field of work is still in accordance with the nature of men and women. Like becoming a warlord, as long as there are still qualified men, it is better to leave it to men. Being an ideal obstetrician is a woman, because it concerns the ethics of seeing the organs of women who are not her mahram.[28]

Informant NK, a Kyai who memorizes the Qur'an and is a caretaker at one of the Islamic Boarding Schools in Salatiga also has the same understanding as IS and MY. According to NK, the position of men is stronger than women because it is indeed a gift from Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala where Allah gives advantages to men in terms of physical, knowledge, reason, power, etc. NK understands that QS. al-Nisa' [4]; 35 is not intended to create differences between men and women, because by referring to QS Ali Imron [3]; 195, Allah created humans to be different from each other in degree except in their practices.

[27] Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family.

[28] MY Semarang, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationship in the Family, September 26, 2021.

However, according to NK, the position of men is stronger than women as indicated in QS al-Nisa' [4]; 35 must be treated in society, because Allah's regulations must be applied on this earth.[29]

In agreement with NK, AF, the administrators of Muhammadiyah and MUI Surakarta also said that the absolute leadership of the household is on the husband even though the wife has various advantages and strengths compared to her husband in terms of knowledge, social status, finances, etc., but the leadership in the household remains on the husband. AF mentioned a case of a wife who has a doctoral education background abroad, while her husband is a driver. Even though he is only a driver, he as a husband still occupies the position as the leader of the household.[30]

FB, an activist in the study of interpretation and academics, in understanding the verses related to the relationship between husband and wife, although he admits that men have advantages over women, the advantages possessed by men are not absolute. Because between men and women each has advantages and disadvantages, men and women were created to complement and fill each other. According to him, the advantages of men over women are caused by three things, first; men have advantages that women do not have. Second; men are obliged to provide a living. Third; men have advantages in making decisions.[31]

Meanwhile, the informant AS, a young intellectual, academic, caretaker of an Islamic boarding school and activist of Islamic studies, understands the verse that the leadership of men over women because of their advantages and superiority is natural, and it is a religious rule that must be obeyed. The leadership of men over women is accompanied by greater responsibility. The advantages and superiority of men over women are proven by the fact that the majority of expertise in various fields come from men. According to him, QS al-Nisa' [4]; 35 clearly distinguishes between men and women in terms of psychology, position and role. Justice for women is not by equating men with women, but justice for women lies in the greater responsibility of men compared to women. Men are given more and are superior by the Qur'an, but accompanied by greater responsibility, that is justice.

In the tradition of interpreting the Qur'an, there are two schools of thought, namely the textual interpretation school and the contextual interpretation school. The textual interpretation school includes Ibn Kathir, al-Rāzi and Imam Nawawi. In interpreting QS. Al-Nisā' [4];34 they firmly state that the leadership of the household lies with the husband. Meanwhile, Jawād Mughniyyah, Syahrul, Husain Muhammad reject textual interpretation.

[29] NK, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, November 10, 2021.
[30] AF, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, November 10, 2021.
[31] FB, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationships in the Family, November 17, 2021

They state that QS. Al-Nisā' [4];34 must be understood contextually, paying attention to sociological aspects.[32] If referring to the two schools of interpretation, related to the meaning of QS. Al-Nisā' [4];34 NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in Salatiga City and Surakarta City tend to be more inclined towards the textualist school. However, it is not entirely textual, because in certain cases, in abnormal situations, such as a husband who is sick, unable to carry out his leadership function in the household, then in this case some of the informants in understanding the verse, especially QS. Al-Nisā' [4];34 leave the textual understanding and move towards a contextual understanding in order to solve household problems based on the Qur'an. Meanwhile, some informants, regardless of their condition, remain fixated on adhering to textual understanding.

Referring to Peter L Berger's view that states that a person's reality and knowledge is a dialect process between that person and the social reality that surrounds them which is then constructed into a text, it can be understood that the thoughts and ideas of IS and SA are constructions of the results of the dialect between the thoughts of IS and SA and the social reality that they witness in society's life where culturally in life in society, men are placed in a more superior position than women. Men tend to be positioned as leaders, for example in the context of community leadership, the position of head of Neighbourhood Unit and head of Neighbourhood Association is always held by men where the leadership area includes all members of society, both men and women. Meanwhile, women only get leadership jobs that are specifically for women such as Family Welfare and Empowerment Organization, group of Family Welfare and Empowerment Organization. From this side alone, it can be understood that men are in a superior position. This reality is what gave birth to the thoughts and ideas of SI and SA.

In the Context of Indonesian

According to Peter L Berger, the reality and knowledge that a person obtains are not given for free but rather a dialect process between the person and the social reality that surrounds him which is then constructed into a text (interpretation). The construction process goes through three moments, namely externalization, objectivity and internalization. **Externalization** is the process of ideas that emerge from the human mind into something that exists outside the individual. In other words, the existence of the idea is already in the social structure. **Objectification** is the process of these ideas becoming objects and beginning to be perceived as reality.

[32] Syahrur, *Naḥwa Uṣūl Jadīdah li al-Fiqh al-Islāmī (Metodologi Fiqih Islam Kontemporer).*

In the perspective of sociology-anthropology, there are three concrete forms of kinship systems that exist in society, which include patrilineal, matrilineal and bilateral structures.[33]

In the patrilineal kinship system, the lineage is only from one party, namely the father. Children will be connected to the father's relatives based on the male lineage unilaterally. Adherents of this system include the Batak, Balinese, Ambon, Asmat, and Dani communities. The consequences of the patrilineal kinship system are that descendants from the father's side (men) have a higher position. The rights received are also greater. In the structure of this patrilineal system society, the husband usually occupies a leadership position in the household.

Meanwhile, the matrilineal kinship system draws lineage from the mother's side only. The child will be connected to his mother, including connected to the mother's relatives, based on the female line unilaterally. The consequence of this kinship system is that the descendants from the mother's line are considered very important. In inheritance matters, for example, people from the mother's line get more than the father's line. This kinship system can be found in the Minangkabau and Semando communities. Households in this matrilineal system society usually have the wife occupying a determining position in household affairs. The bilateral system will draw lineage or descent from both parties, namely from the husband and wife. Adherents of this kinship system include the Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, Bugis, and Makassar communities. A child will be connected to both parents and at the same time the relatives of his father and mother bilaterally. The consequence of the parental kinship system is that the same rules apply regarding marriage, the obligation to provide a living, respect, and inheritance. A person will receive a dowry from the path of marriage, either direct marriage or marriage of his biological relatives.

However, Indonesian society in determining household leadership does not always refer to the three systems, but rather is more due to the personal conditions of each husband and wife. If the husband is in a stronger condition in terms of earning a living, knowledge and social status, then the husband is the one who occupies the leadership in the household, and vice versa. Likewise, if the husband and wife have balanced capacities, household leadership is carried out together, both in earning a living and other matters, including children's education. Related to this, the following are the views of NU and Muhammadiyah theologians in the cities of Salatiga and Surakarta.

[33] Amir Syarifuddin, *Pembaharuan Pemikiran Hukum Islam* (Padang: Angkasa Raya, 1993).

Husband Domination

Textually, both based on the text of the Qur'an, especially QS al-Nisa' [4];35 and QS al-Ahzab [33];33 and Marriage Law Number 1 of 1974, family leadership lies with the husband. According to Informant FB, a figure and activist of Islamic studies from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Salatiga City, the dominant leadership of the husband can be applied in a household if in normal conditions. This means that the husband is in good health and able to take the position as leader of the household.[34] A similar view was also expressed by AB, a figure and activist of Islamic studies from NU. According to him, the dominant leadership of the husband in the household is ideal if the wife has no activities, the husband has the capacity for knowledge and earns a living adequately. However, if the wife has activities and can assist her husband, then the ideal is joint responsibility.[35] A similar view was also expressed by informant 2 with the initials SA, a Muhammadiyah figure and caretaker at an Al-Qur'an Tafsir council. According to him, in principle, the leadership of the household is in the hands of the husband. However, if the husband is less capable (limited income, very minimal) then synergy with the role of the wife working to earn additional income for the family is a good thing, especially if the wife has more adequate and professional skills.[36] Informant ZA, an activist of Al-Qur'an studies from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Surakarta states that the husband as the leader of the household is a must because it is already a provision from Allah. The origin of women was born from a man, namely Adam who gave birth to Eve, not the other way around, so that the attribution of descent to the father is not to the mother. That is why in mentioning someone the name of the father is included, not the mother, such as Muhammad bin Abdullah, not Muhammad bin Aminah.[37]

Different views were expressed by AS and NK. AS, an Islamic studies figure and activist who is also an academic and chairman of the MUI of Salatiga City, regardless of the condition of the husband and wife, the husband must be fully responsible for the family.[38] The same thought was also expressed by NK, an NU elder and a caregiver at one of the Islamic Boarding Schools in Salatiga. According to him, based on the *qowwāmūna* editorial, a husband must take the position of leader of the household.

[34] FB, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationships in the Family.
[35] AB, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, September 8, 2021.
[36] SA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, September 20, 2021.
[37] ZA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationship in the Family, November 20, 2021.
[38] AS, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, Oktober 2021.

The husband must work hard to provide for the family, meet the needs of food, drink and clothing properly. If the husband is unable to realize this, then according to him he has the right to receive zakat as *fuqarā'* or *masākīn*.

In the case of a wife working to earn a living, then it is not an obligation, but rather it is in the category of a gift or voluntary gift.[39] According to AF, a Muhammadiyah elder and Islamic studies activist, who is also the administrator of the MUI of Surakarta City, emphasized that the dominance of the husband's leadership in the household is a mandate from the Qur'an. The word *al-rijāl* in the surah al-Nisā': 34 means a figure, the leader must be a figure. The husband's leadership in the household as mandated in the surah *al-Nisā'*: 34 cannot be shifted and negotiated.[40] A more extreme view was expressed by YH, the manager of the Majlis Tarjih and Tajdid of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership of Salatiga City. According to him, Allah knows the condition of humans from A-Z so that what Allah has scripted is very appropriate. The Qur'an was revealed as *rahmatan lil 'alamin* for all including the Indonesian nation. As an ideal norm, humans must submit to the Qur'an and hadith (sharia). Humans from the past until now and even in the future, their 'humanity' will never change. It is a human obligation to live an ideal life even though it has not reached the ideal level.[41]

Several findings related to respondents' insights and attitudes regarding husband-dominated leadership can be broadly grouped into two understandings. First, husband dominance in household leadership must be carried out without considering the conditions of the husband and wife. Those who have this understanding are informants AS, NK from the Nahdlatul Ulama community (NU Salatiga), informant ZA (NU Surakarta), informant AA, a Muhammadiyah activist and Islamic studies in the Surakarta city and informant YH, an Islamic studies activist from the Muhammadiyah environment group of Salatiga City.

Second, the husband's dominance in household leadership is situational. If the husband is healthy and has the ability, while the wife has no activities, then the husband's leadership dominance in the household is ideal. However, if the wife has activities that have an impact on financial gain, then the ideal is joint responsibility and leadership. Those who have this understanding are informants FB, NK from the Nahdlatul Ulama Salatiga community, informants MT, NU Surakarta, informants IS and SA from the Muhammadiyah community. It is interesting to explore further related to this

[39] NK, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

[40] AF, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

[41] YH, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, November 3, 2021.

understanding that theologians from NU circles give birth to different interpretations. Likewise, the differences in understanding that occur in Muhammadiyah circles. In Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) circles, those who have different understandings are Informants AS and NK, which are different from the understanding of informants IS and YH. From Muhammadiyah circles, those who have different circles are the understanding of informants IS and SA, which is different from the understanding of informant AF. The understanding of informants AS and NK from the Nahdlatul Ulama community and informant AF from Muhammadiyah circles tend not to pay attention to the Indonesian context. So that informants AS, NK and AF in understanding QS al-Nisa' [4];35 and QS al-Ahzab [33]: 33 tend to the literal school. Meanwhile, the understanding of informants IS, SA, AB, FB, and MT pay more attention to the Indonesian context and tend to the contextual interpretation understanding.

Referring to Peter L Berger's view that states that reality and knowledge are a dialect process between a person and the social reality that surrounds him which is then constructed into a text (interpretation), then the family and the Islamic boarding school situation and condition where NK and AS participate in coloring the narrative of their understanding. AS also struggles in an academic situation and condition, it seems that the family where his father is a cleric of Islamic boarding school lives and plays a role in the Islamic boarding school situation and condition. This experience is more dominant as a factor that forms the narrative of AS's understanding of the verses about husband-wife relations, namely QS al-Nisa' [4]; 35 and QS al-Ahzab [33]; 33 so that it tends to ignore the reality that occurs in Indonesian society, including Central Javanese society. Informant AS's academic insight is evident in the arguments he puts forward regarding the understanding of the verses about husband-wife relations, where this is not apparent in Informant NK.

Wife Domination

The fact of life in this millennial era is that household leadership is more dominated by wives. Not a few women work in the banking, economic, and educational sectors, and it is even easy to find women who lead an institution. At first it was just to relieve boredom due to routine activities at home. However, it later changed into a principle to help the family economy. In the end, it shifted again to become a substitute for the husband's role in earning a living and taking over all the husband's responsibilities.

While the husband takes turns doing the housework that is usually carried out by the wife. A wife who has a higher income than her husband's income, or even the wife is the

only source of income in the household, usually the wife has a negative effect and tends to dominate in household leadership.[42]

Related to this case, IS, a Muhammadiyah elder and Islamic studies activist stated that wives are also responsible for the family, so wives who work is good to support the family's economy in certain emergency situations, for example, when the husband is sick and cannot carry out his duties as head of the household. So the wife's initiative to take over responsibility in the household is a good thing.[43] The same view was expressed by SA, a Muhammadiyah figure from Salatiga and the caretaker of the Al-Qur'an Tafsir Council. He stated that wives are not obliged to be the leader and backbone of the family's economy (living) except in emergency situations, for example, when the husband is chronically ill and cannot work productively. The wife has a leadership role in the sense of educating children together with her husband to be a role model for the children.[44] The same opinion was also expressed by FB, a figure and Islamic studies activist from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). According to him, the wife's dominance in leadership and household living can be justified if the husband is not healthy and is unable to meet household needs. NK, a cleric and elders of Nahdlatul Ulama and the caretaker of one of the Islamic Boarding Schools in Salatiga emphasized that the wife's role in leadership and meeting household needs when the husband is unable to do so is not at all contrary to the Qur'an.[45] The same opinion was also expressed by AB, an Islamic studies activist from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Meanwhile, AS, a figure and activist of Islamic studies from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) argued that QS al-Nisa' [4]: 35 and QS al-Ahzab [33]: 33 do not prohibit wives from becoming the backbone of the household, so that it is permissible as long as it does not conflict with religion.[46] Meanwhile, AF, a figure from Muhammadiyah Surakarta and an activist of Islamic studies argued that it is permissible for a wife, because of her various advantages, to be the backbone of the family, the breadwinner, but the position of head of the household remains with the husband. The wife may have a career outside as long as she does not occupy a central position.[47]

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[42] Fajriah Rachmayani and Anisia Kumala, "Pengaruh Perilaku Dominan Dan Komitmen Perkawinan Terhadap Kebahagiaan Perkawinan Pada Istri Bekerja Yang Memiliki Penghasilan Lebih Tinggi Dari Suami," *Jurnal Ilmiah Penelitian Psikologi* 2, no. 2 (August 30, 2016): 1–13, https://doi.org/10.22236/jippuhamka.v2i2.9213.

[43] IS, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, Oktober 2021.

[44] SA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

[45] SA.

[46] AF, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

[47] AF.

Meanwhile, according to YH, the administrator of the Tarjih Council and the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership of Salatiga City, within certain limits, working wives are allowed, but it must be remembered that by nature, wives play a large role at home and this is equivalent to the work of their husbands. If a wife works, then it is to help her husband in meeting the family's needs, then it is permissible. So the nature is only to help, not the main task. It is even better if the work location is at home.[48]

Based on the above description, the facts show that theologians from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah circles, both from the Salatiga and Surakarta regions, allow wives to take on the role of household leadership if the husband is in an emergency and this does not contradict the meaning of QS an-Nisa [4]: 34. It is viewed from the perspective of Peter L Berger's theory, the social facts of Indonesian society, especially Javanese society, where there are many cases of wives working and having careers outside the home, even becoming the economic backbone of the family, are factors in the birth of the interpretive narrative.

Collegial Leadership

IS, a figure and activist in Islamic studies, believes that the application of a text must be linked to the context of the situation and condition, including Indonesian society. According to him, a wife does not have to be at home. The division of tasks between husband and wife is a private area for each family. The distribution of tasks and obligations in the household is the absolute right of the husband and wife to determine it, no other people or institutions. The needs and leadership of the household are a shared responsibility between husband and wife according to the agreement and abilities of each. Likewise, regarding children's education, it must be a shared responsibility between husband and wife. Household management is an area of family autonomy. There is a family where the husband only works, while financial matters and household management are left to the wife. On the other hand, there are households where everything is dominated by the husband.

Personally, there are unique characteristics possessed by husbands or wives that help determine the management of their respective households, so it is very possible that the husband gives in because the wife has unique characteristics. It is also possible that the husband takes on the role of taking care of everything because the wife is not careful in the financial sector. This gives meaning that communication between husband and wife is not the same between one and the other. The principle of justice agreed upon by each

[48] FB, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationships in the Family.

family is absolutely necessary; there is no need for interference from others. However, local culture also influences the way husband and wife view sustenance.

The idea of collegial leadership in the household was also explained by MT, a young theologians from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Surakarta and caretaker of the Ta'lim council and Imam of the Surakata Grand Mosque. According to him, the word *qawwāmūna* in QS an-Nisā' [4];34 in the form of *nakirah* which shows leadership in the household is general, not specifically for the husband. The husband as the leader of the household is managerial in its implementation, so the husband needs to ask for input from the wife. Husbands can even entrust their wives to carry out household leadership tasks such as taking part in earning a living and taking care of children's education. Thus, the ideal in household leadership is joint or collegial leadership. The same opinion was also expressed by ZA, an Al-Qur'an study activist from the Nahdlatul Ulama of Surakarta. According to him, the word *Qawwāmūna* in QS an-Nisa' [4]: 34 is not always a husband, but a wife with the advantages she has both in terms of knowledge and finances can function as *Qawwāmūna*, can be a leader in the household. ZA refers to the surah al-Furqan: 74 which emphasize that *dzurriah* be appointed as a leader for pious people. The word *dzurriah* which means children and grandchildren is general, can be male or female.[49]

Meanwhile, according to SA, a Muhammadiyah figure in Salatiga and the caretaker of the Quranic interpretation study council for family education, husbands and wives are more role models and motivators for children with their advice. According to him, families in Indonesian society are informal, harmonious, supple and flexible. Husband and wife can take turns in housework and social work. Almost all light physical work can be carried out by husband and wife.[50]

The opinions of the two Muhammadiyah figures from Salatiga (IS and SA) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Surakarta (MT) figures show the need for a collegial leadership pattern between husband and wife in the household. Between husband and wife, they complement each other and share tasks in managing the household; there is no dominance between husband and wife. In the perspective of Peter L Berger, who states that reality and knowledge are a dialect process between a person and the social reality that surrounds them which is then constructed into a text (interpretation), then the emergence of the interpretive narrative from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah figures from Salatiga and Surakarta is the result of a dialect with the social facts of Indonesian society

[49] ZA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationship in the Family.
[50] SA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

which are factually between husband and wife together involved in managing the household.

According to Nanda Hikmatul Ulya, the tendency towards collegial leadership in a household is ideal leadership in a household, because it was practiced in the household of the Prophet Muhammad, where in between taking care of public affairs as Head of State, the Prophet Muhammad was willing to help his wives in meeting household needs.[51]

Findings in the field show that the dogma of the organizations they follow, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulam (NU) as explained above, is not so binding for them, both from Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). This is proven by the data found in the field which shows differences of opinion among fellow Muhammadiyah theologians and fellow NU theologians. For example, in terms of household leadership, Cleric NK, AS from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) has a different opinion from FB and AB who are also from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Likewise, from the Muhammadiyah theologians, IS and SA have different opinions from YH.

Career Woman

Although normatively, wives have domestic duties in the home, the facts on the ground show that many married women have careers in various fields of expertise so they have to leave the home. According to Informant IS, a figure and caregiver of the study of Al-Qur'an Interpretation from Muhammadiyah circles, the most important thing for wives who have careers and work outside the home is the environmental conditions and the agreement of the husband and wife themselves. In certain areas, the wives usually work in the fields, markets, schools, etc. by agreement of the husband and wife.[52]

Meanwhile, according to Informant SA, the caregiver of the Interpretation Council of Al-Qur'an study from Muhammadiyah circles, it is not justified if it brings harm to oneself and one's family, for example becoming a dancer or singer in a place of sin. It can be justified if it is beneficial to oneself, one's family and society. For example, becoming a preacher, teacher with the consideration that the time is arranged so as not to interfere with family duties.[53]

[51] Nanda Himmatul Ulya, "Pola Relasi Suami-Istri Yang Memiliki Perbedaan Status Sosial di Kota Malang," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar'iah* 9, no. 1 (June 30, 2017), https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v9i1.4854.

[52] IS, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

[53] SA, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

Meanwhile, according to Informant YH, an Islamic study activist from Muhammadiyah circles in Salatiga City who is also an academic, it is not her nature for a wife to work and have a career. In a condition where the husband is able to provide for his family, then the wife plays a sufficient role as in the hadith *kullukum roo'in*. In a condition that requires the wife to work, then working is not a basic obligation, but merely helping. Therefore, work should not neglect the obligations as a wife.[54]

Meanwhile, according to informant SP, a figure and activist of Islamic studies in the Muhammadiyah Surakarta circle, leaving the house with the intention and purpose of pursuing popularity and for the sake of a career is not right, because it will cause a lot of slander and harm. A wife is allowed to leave the house only within certain time limits in the interests of earning a living.[55]

In line with SP's opinion, informant NK, an NU elder and caregiver of a Islamic boarding school in Salatiga, stated that if it causes harm and slander and does not get approval from the husband.[56] Meanwhile, according to informant AB, a cleric and caregiver of an Islamic boarding school in Salatiga, as long as work and career do not conflict with sharia and can improve the welfare of the family, then it is permissible for a wife to leave the house for her work and career.[57] In line with informant AS, he states that as long as the husband allows it, the wife is allowed to leave the house for her work and career.[58]

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that both theologians from Muhammadiyah and NU circles, from the Salatiga and Surakarta regions, in principle, wives can be allowed to leave the house for work and careers as long as they obtain permission from their husbands and can provide for the welfare of their families. The conditions of Indonesian society in which in reality many women work and have careers outside the home have led and inspired the ideas and thoughts of the Muhammadiyah and NU theologians in Salatiga and Surakarta, thus giving birth to a narrative interpretation of QS. An-Nisā' [4]: 34 which allows wives to work and have careers outside the home.

[54] YH, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.
[55] SP, Interview on Husband and Wife Relationship in the Family, November 21, 2021.
[56] NK, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.
[57] AB, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.
[58] AS, Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household.

CONTRIBUTION

Social facts of Indonesian society related to household life, when faced with Law on Marriage number 1 of 1974 which emphasizes that the husband acts as the head of the family and the wife as a housewife. The husband as the head of the household is obliged to protect, educate and provide for his wife and children. The wife as a housewife is obliged to obey and be devoted to her husband, educate the children, organize and manage household needs.[59] The interpretation of some theologians regarding the letter al-Ahzab [33]: 33, which emphasizes that the wife's duties in the household are to provide services to the husband, take care of the children and other domestic household affairs. If these two references are used as a benchmark, a good wife (a pious wife) is a wife who is in the house taking care of her husband, children and doing other housework. This is where the dilemma occurs between having a career outside the home or being a pious wife and having to always be at home taking care of household affairs. Of course this raises confusion in the midst of society, especially Muslim women.

There is a tendency of the majority of theologians of Salatiga and Surakarta, both from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah circles that the role of the husband as the leader of the household is not absolute. In emergency situations where the husband does not have the ability to play the role of household leadership, both economically and managerially, the wife is allowed to take over the leadership of the household whereas in normal conditions, namely the husband and wife both have adequate capacity, from the managerial aspect and the aspect of earning a living. The tendency of the theologians of Salatiga and Surakarta, both from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah circles is towards collegial leadership. So in this case the wife has the opportunity to participate in household leadership, earn a living, have a career and work outside the home. According to them, this does not contradict QS al-Nisa' [4]: 34 and al-Ahzab [33]: 33. The two tendencies of the theologians can be used as a reference and guideline for women/wives who work and have careers outside the home. In line with the stance of NU and Muhammadiyah, Huzaimah stated that the main requirement to become a leader is not determined by gender, but by the ability and capability of the nature and attitude that must be possessed to form the strong leafership.[60]

[59] Indonesia, *Law on Marriage.*

[60] Huzaimah, *Fikih Perempuan Kontemporer* (Penerbit Ghalia Indah, 2010).

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis of the data found in the field in this research, it shows that the tendency of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah Salatiga and Surakarta theologians in understanding the surah an-Nisa' [4]: 34 and the surah al-Ahzab [33]: 33 does not have a problem with wives who work and have careers outside the home as long as they get permission from their husbands. Even if they leave the house to work and have careers, as long as they get permission from their husbands and continue to carry out their obligations as stated in the surah an-Nisa' [4]: 34, they are still within the corridor of a pious wife. Collegial leadership between husband and wife in the household is the most ideal leadership.

The social and environmental facts surrounding the NU and Muhammadiyah theologians are dominant factors that color the narrative of the interpretation of the surah an-Nisa' [4];34 and the surah al-Ahzab [33]: 33 regarding husband-wife relations. The religious study method in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah apparently does not bind the NU and Muhammadiyah theologians of Salatiga and Surakarta in their understanding of the surah an-Nisa' [4];34 and the surah al-Ahzab [33];33 regarding husband-wife relations.

The narrative interpretation of the NU and Muhammadiyah theologians of Salatiga and Surakarta regarding the surah an-Nisa'[4]: 34 and the surah al-Ahzab [33]: 33 regarding husband-wife relations is a contribution to answering the dilemma experienced by wives who work and have careers outside the home, between working and having a career outside the home or staying at home to take care of household affairs.

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Interview

AB. Interview of Husband and Wife Relations in Household, September 8, 2021.

AF. Interview of Husband and Wife Relations in Household, November 10, 2021.

AS. Interview of Husband and Wife Relations in Household, October 2021.

FB. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family, November 17, 2021.

IS. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, October 2021.

---Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family, September 6, 2021.

MY. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family, September 26, 2021.

NK. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, November 10, 2021.

SA. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, September 20, 2021.

SP. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family, November 21, 2021.

YH. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Household, November 3, 2021.

ZA. Interview on Husband and Wife Relations in the Family, November 20, 2021.