



Qur'anic Condemnation of Femicide: A Feminist-Hermeneutical Analysis of Verses Addressing Gender-Based Violence

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ABSTRACT

The rising phenomenon of femicide across various countries, including Indonesia, reflects a humanitarian crisis rooted in patriarchal social structures and gender-biased religious interpretations. This study is driven by the need to connect feminist readings of Qur'anic verses with the real and urgent problem of gender-based violence, an issue that remains underexplored in Qur'anic exegesis. The research aims to explain the Qur'an's condemnation of femicide and to examine how feminist exegesis interprets verses often used to legitimize the subordination of women. Employing a thematic (*maudu'i*) method combined with historical, critical, and contextual approaches, the analysis draws on Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement theory to uncover the Qur'an's universal moral message and its relevance to contemporary social realities. The findings reveal that the Qur'an firmly rejects all forms of *zulm* (oppression) and affirms *karamah insaniyyah* (human dignity) as a foundational principle, making violence against women—including femicide—fundamentally incompatible with divine justice. Feminist interpretations of gender-related verses offer a more equitable, humanistic, and context-sensitive reading of the Qur'an, thereby reinforcing principles of equality and the protection of women's lives. This study underscores the urgency of developing feminist exegesis as a transformative hermeneutical paradigm that strengthens the Qur'an's commitment to social justice in contemporary discourse.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Interpretation is the result of a *mufassir's* analysis and thinking in examining the meaning of verses in the Qur'an. The process of interpretation is not merely explaining the text literally, but also reflecting the mufassir's understanding, which is influenced by scientific insight, life experience, socio-cultural conditions, and specific objectives in interpreting the Qur'an. Each work of *tafsir* usually has a *hadaf*, or interpretive goal, which serves as the main guide for the mufassir in formulating explanations of verses. This *hadaf* functions as a strategic direction that determines the focus and approach of interpretation (Hidayah & Zulfadli, 2024). In addition, interpretation is influenced by the *tsaqafah al-mufassir*, the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual background of the interpreter, which shapes their perspective and the methods they use. This background is very important because it helps readers

understand the reasons behind the choice of methods, the analytical structure, and the interpretations presented. Thus, interpretation is not merely a commentary on the text, but also a manifestation of the interaction between the sacred text and the context of the mufassir's life. Understanding interpretation requires awareness of the depth of the mufassir's experience, knowledge, and vision, so that readers can grasp the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an in a more comprehensive and contextual manner (Hidayat & Sajili, 2025).

The phenomenon of femicide, the killing of women based on their gender identity, is the most extreme form of gender-based violence rooted in patriarchal social structures. A 2023 report by UN Women indicates that more than 48,000 women worldwide are murdered by intimate partners or family members each year, making the domestic sphere the riskiest place for women. In Indonesia, the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) recorded a 50 percent increase in cases of violence against women in the past decade, some of which have characteristics of femicide. This fact not only illustrates a social crisis but also raises important academic questions about how religious interpretations play a role in shaping gender relations and legitimizing violence (Komnas Perempuan, 2023).

In a religious society like Indonesia, religious texts, particularly the Quran, serve as a normative source for constructing relations between men and women. However, a number of classical interpretations contain a patriarchal bias (Zulaiha, 2018) which, according to Amina Wadud (2021), arises from interpretive constructions that position women as objects of law, rather than subjects of interpretation. Previous studies, such as those by Zulaiha (2018), Aksin Wijaya (2025), and Siregar & Zein (2025), have examined the contribution of feminist interpretations in correcting this bias. However, the focus of these studies remains theoretical and has not yet directly linked the feminist interpretation paradigm to contemporary social phenomena such as femicide. This research gap provides an important foundation for efforts to connect feminist interpretations of Quranic texts with the reality of violence against women in modern society.

Based on this concern, this study addresses the central question: how can the Qur'an, a holy book that affirms justice and human dignity, serve as a basis for criticizing the practice of femicide that persists in Muslim societies? This study not only explains the social phenomenon of femicide but also examines the contribution of feminist interpretations in recontextualizing Qur'anic values on gender justice.

To answer these questions, this research focuses on two problem formulations: (1) how the Qur'an condemns the practice of femicide, and (2) how gender-just analysis is used in interpreting Qur'anic verses related to femicide. This formulation emphasizes the research's position as an effort to present a transformative reading that links the text with social reality.

This research uses the *maudhu'i* (thematic) interpretation method, combined with historical, critical, and contextual approaches to comprehensively understand the relevant verses, particularly through the *asbab al-nuzul* (the causes of revelation), linguistic analysis, and their relevance to the modern context. Furthermore, Fazlur Rahman's (1982) Double Movement theory is used as an analytical framework to explore the universal moral principles of the Qur'an and return them to the contemporary social context. This framework was chosen because it allows for a more responsive interpretation of the issue of gender-based violence, including femicide.

By combining a feminist exegetical approach and Double Movement theory, this study offers a new, more gender-just perspective and is able to correct patriarchal biases in some exegetical traditions. The contribution of this study is theoretical, namely developing a humanistic and contextual horizon for contemporary exegetical studies, and practical, namely building a religious ethic that rejects all forms of violence against women (femicide) and strengthens the Qur'an's commitment to gender justice.

2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

• The Phenomenon of Femicide

The term femicide is derived from a combination of two words: "femi," which is derived from the word female, and "cide," which comes from the Latin word *caedere*, meaning to kill. In English, the term is also derived from two loanwords: the prefix "fem," which refers to a woman, and the suffix "icide," which means murder, as used in the word's insecticide (insect killer), suicide (suicide), and homicide (human killing). Thus, femicide is defined as the act of taking the life of a woman or girl because of her gender identity or due to gender-based violence (Russell, D. E. H., & Radford, 1992). According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), femicide is defined as the act of murdering a woman by a man motivated by hatred of women (Alya Andini Charimsa Putri, 2025). This understanding is in line with the definition put forward by Russell, femicide is the murder committed by a man against a woman solely because of the victim's gender identity (Russell, D. E. H., & Radford, 1992). If the victim's

gender has no relevance to the perpetrator's motive, then the act is classified as a crime that does not fall into the category of femicide. Russell uses the term "female" instead of "woman" to emphasize that the definition also includes female infants and older girls. However, the concept of femicide does not include the practice of abortion of female fetuses, which is common in countries such as India and China (Tarman, Al-Faiz Muhammad Rabbany, Tri Wulandari & Abror, 2024). This phenomenon is more accurately described as female feticide, which is a form of gender-based discrimination in the prenatal stage. The phenomenon of murder involving female victims may at first glance seem similar to femicide, but femicide has a more specific analysis, highlighting aspects of gender inequality, domination, and systematic violence against women. Femicide is an act of murder against women motivated by gender inequality, domination, and systematic forms of violence against female victims (Fatima Gita Elhasni dan Naila Rizqi Zakiah, 2023). Based on the various definitions that have been put forward, the authors can conclude that femicide is an act of murder against women or girls motivated by hatred, discrimination, and gender inequality, where the victim's gender identity is the main reason for the crime.

The phenomenon of femicide is historically rooted in social structures that oppress women since pre-Islamic times. The practice of killing women, who were viewed as weak and helpless, emerged. At that time, men viewed women as untrustworthy, and even innocent baby girls became victims of femicide, as was the case during the Jahiliyah era. Before the 7th century AD, women lacked a safe space to live and engage in decent activities. The lack of scientific and legal development in the Arab world at that time led society to simply follow traditions and the dictates of leaders who were on the wrong path (Fakhry, 2004). In Jahiliyah Arab society, the practice of wa'd al-banat, the live burial of baby girls, was an extreme manifestation of a patriarchal culture that viewed women as a family disgrace and an economic burden (Badran, 2009). This tradition arose from a social construct that linked honor ('irdh) with control over women's bodies. When baby girls were perceived as threatening the family's dignity, killing them was perceived as a form of "protection of honor." In a hermeneutic framework, this tradition is not merely a barbaric custom, but an ideological expression of a value system that defines women's existence based on their relational function towards men ((Nasr, 2002).

According to Ibrahim Fayumi, Arab society during the Jahiliyah era experienced two forms of fear for the future: fear of family disgrace and fear of poverty and misery. To avoid bankruptcy, they often sought guidance from shamans and believed in prophecies. Meanwhile, to erase family shame, some chose to kill baby girls. Femicide at that time was based on three main factors: first, fear of present or future poverty. Second, the shame of having a daughter, which was considered to tarnish the family's honor. Third, the practice of offering sacrifices to their idols.

In the Jahiliyah society, women were perceived as having no economic value because they spent most of their lives on reproductive functions—pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. A social system that valued honor based on having numerous male offspring reinforced the view that daughters provided no economic benefit and were merely a burden on the family (Bannan Naelin Najihah, 2020).

Globally, the issue of femicide has become a serious problem but still receives little attention, including in Indonesia. This is evident in the data collection process, which tends to equate femicide with ordinary murder cases. In fact, there are various causal factors specific to femicide, such as offended masculinity, anger due to pressure to take responsibility for a pregnancy, reluctance to fulfill economic responsibilities, disappointment due to rejection of love, jealousy, forced service or sexual relations, domestic conflict, refusal to divorce, and victim resistance when being raped, among others. (Tarman, Al-Faiz, Tri Wulandari & Abror 2024)

The Qur'an strongly opposes the tradition of wa'd al-banat, not only through moral condemnation, but also by deconstructing the value paradigm that gave birth to it. Allah's word in QS. at-Takwir [81]: 8–9;

وَإِذَا الْمَوْءَدَةُ سُئِلَتْ ۙ ۘ بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ قُتِلَتْ ۙ ۙ

"And if a baby girl who was buried alive is asked, for what sin was she killed?"

This constitutes a form of upholding theological justice for victims of gender-based violence. This verse not only blames the perpetrator but also positions the victim as a moral subject deserving of defense (Roded, 2008). From a hermeneutic perspective, this verse serves as a counter-discourse to the patriarchal system, shifting the center of morality from family honor to individual dignity (*karamah insaniyyah*) (Fazlur Rahman, 1982).

When interpreted through the Double Movement theory, the Qur'an's message about the elimination of wa'd al-banat can be understood as a moral movement that rejects all forms of violence rooted in gender oppression. The first movement reveals the Qur'an's universal values of the sanctity of life and human equality, while the second movement actualizes them in a modern social context, including in addressing the phenomenon of femicide (Rahman, 1982). Thus, femicide can be seen as a contemporary form of wa'd al-banat. Both depart from the same patriarchal logic: male control over women's bodies and biased moral judgments regarding women's roles in the social structure. The difference lies only in the form of manifestation. While in the Jahiliyah era violence was direct and ritualistic, in modern times it is present systematically, through domestic violence, discriminatory law enforcement, or the social legitimacy of "honor killings".

From a feminist hermeneutic perspective, the structural similarities between wa'd al-banat and femicide underscore the importance of rereading Qur'anic texts that defend women's lives. An interpretation sensitive to women's experiences will demonstrate that the Qur'an's moral mission is not simply to prohibit murder, but also to reject the entire social system that enables gender-based violence (Wadud, 1999). In other words, modern femicide is not new, but rather a continuation of a patriarchal epistemology that has been fundamentally critiqued by revelation. In this context, Qur'anic hermeneutics functions not only as a method of interpretation but also as an emancipatory praxis that upholds the values of 'adl (justice) and rahmah (compassion) in social relations between men and women.

By understanding femicide through the perspective of Qur'anic hermeneutics, we can see that resistance to gender-based violence is not merely a modern social project, but part of the ethical continuity of the prophetic mission itself to liberate humanity from all forms of oppression. Verses that reject violence against women, both explicitly and implicitly, reflect the Islamic theological vision of the ontological equality of human beings before God (Ali, 2007). Therefore, rereading Qur'anic texts in the context of femicide not only revitalizes the moral message of revelation but also confirms the Qur'an's relevance as a universal and transformative source of humanitarian ethics.

- **Femicide from the Perspectives of the Qur'an and Human Rights**

The phenomenon of femicide, the killing of women based on their gender identity, is an extreme form of gender-based violence that violates universal humanitarian principles. From the perspective of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), the right to life is one of four non-derogable rights, along with the right not to be tortured, the right to freedom of thought and religion, and the right not to be enslaved (Sa'id, 2022).

This concept has long been at the core of the teachings of the Qur'an, especially through the principle of *hifz al-nafs* (protection of the soul) in the *maqasid al-shari'ah*. The Qur'an emphasizes that every human soul is sacred and should not be taken without a legitimate reason:

وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا النَّفْسَ الَّتِي حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَمَنْ قُتِلَ مَظْلُومًا فَقَدْ جَعَلْنَا لَوْلِيهِ سُلْطٰنًا فَلَا يَسْرِفُ فِي الْقَتْلِ إِنَّهُ كَانَ مَنْصُورًا

"And do not kill the soul which Allah has forbidden (to kill), except for a just cause" (QS. al-Isra' [17]: 33).

In the context of classical interpretation, al-Tabari provides the initial foundation for understanding the Qur'an regarding the prohibition of murder. Al-Tabari in *Jami' al-Bayan 'an Ta'wal Ay al-Qur'an*, interprets the verse as a strict prohibition against killing a soul without right and as an affirmation of the principle of protection of life in Islam. Before the arrival of Islam, the Arab society of Jahiliyah had been accustomed to killing for revenge, honor, or tribal tradition, as explained above (Benington & Rai, 2019). Therefore, this verse is present to eradicate this practice and uphold justice by emphasizing that life may only be taken "bi al-haqq" that is, for a legitimate reason according to sharia, such as *qishas*, *hudud* punishment, or legitimate *jihad* (Syahrur, 1990). Al-Tabari also explains that the victim's guardian (*waliyy al-maqtul*) is given the legal right to seek revenge or forgive by accepting a blood payment, as a form of regulation so that justice is upheld without causing chaos. Thus, this verse not only prohibits arbitrary killing, but also corrects the social order of Jahiliyah by upholding the principles of justice, equal rights to life, and the supremacy of divine law. (Athabari, 2001)

This verse is the meeting point between Qur'anic ethics and modern human rights principles, where both are based on the awareness that the right to life is the foundation of all other human rights (Rahman, 1982).

It should be emphasized that the harmony between the Qur'an and human rights principles is not merely a coincidence but rather the meeting of two mutually reinforcing normative foundations (Cook & Cusack, 2010). The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) positions the right to life as an inalienable right because it is a prerequisite for the fulfillment of rights. In parallel, *maqasid al-syari'ah*, based on the principle of *hifdz al-nafs*, positions the protection of life as the primary normative goal of sharia, therefore any act that takes a life without a sharia or legal reason clearly contradicts both of these frameworks. This comparative approach demonstrates that moral legitimacy to oppose femicide can be built simultaneously from the realm of human rights law and from the ethical theological basis of the Qur'an, so that anti-femicide arguments gain dual strength: juridical and religio-moral.

At the conceptual level, there is a methodological correspondence between human rights claims and Qur'anic hermeneutics when both are read through the lens of universal values. Fazlur Rahman shows how the universal moral meaning of the text can be extracted from its historical context and then reapplied to contemporary situations (Rahman, 1982). Using this framework, the verses prohibiting murder in the context of ignorance are not merely read as historical corrections to specific practices, but as sources of transhistorical norms affirming the dignity and right to life of every individual. This allows for the formulation of Qur'anic arguments that align with the principle of non-derogability of the right to life in human rights doctrine, namely, that gender-based murder is an ethical violation that must be rejected by both the rule of law and the community of faith.

Empirical data reinforces the urgency of this normative synergy. International and national reports demonstrate the large scale of femicide and its increasing trend in many contexts, including Indonesia. Sociological studies confirm that femicide is often fueled by patriarchal structures, the normalization of domestic violence, and the lack of legal recognition of gender-based motives (Engineer, 2004). This combination of empirical evidence demonstrates that an effective response must be multidimensional: strengthening the law and upholding human rights, while simultaneously transforming cultural values and religious interpretations that have traditionally allowed for the subordination of women.

From a research design perspective, the immediate implication is the need for contextual interpretations that are normatively practical, not merely reinterpretations of texts for academic discourse, but rather formulations of operational Quranic ethics that can inform protection policies, religious education, and judicial practice. This is where Double Movement theory becomes a crucial methodological tool. It justifies a hermeneutic step: first extracting Quranic moral principles from their historical context, then translating those principles into contemporary policies and practices that concretely oppose femicide. In this way, your research can position feminist interpretations not only as textual criticism but also as a source of normative legitimacy for efforts to prevent and address femicide.

- **Classification of the Qur'anic Values and Human Rights Principles**

The first movement in Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement theory serves to explore the universal moral meaning of the Qur'anic text through its historical context. In this stage, the reader starts from an understanding of the social situation of Arab society during the time of revelation to discover a timeless ethical message. Rahman (1982) emphasized that Qur'anic morality must be read not as a narrow legalistic response, but as a universal ethical formulation that can be contextualized across eras (Zainuddin, 2021). Thus, the prohibition against the killing of female infants during the period of ignorance as recorded in QS. at-Takwir [81]: 8-9 is not merely a critique of barbaric practices, but a representation of basic values about the right to life and universal human dignity.

The phenomenon of female infanticide, which is the context in which this verse was revealed, illustrates the systemic dehumanization of women, who are viewed as socially and economically inferior. It is in this context that the Qur'an presents a radical moral correction by affirming that every soul, regardless of gender, has an equal right to life and ontological dignity (Fakih, 2016). This principle is emphasized in QS. al-Isra' [17]: 33 and QS. al-An'am [6]: 151, which explicitly prohibit killing without a valid reason. A moral reading of these verses demonstrates that justice and respect for life are the foundation of Islamic teachings, as well as a form of protection for vulnerable groups, including women (Abdullah, 2020).

According to Amina Wadud, the practice of female infanticide is a concrete manifestation of the revelation's commitment to human rights, particularly the right to life and human dignity. Wadud asserts that the Quran morally and theologically rejects all forms of degrading behavior toward women, including the Jahiliyah tradition of burying baby girls alive. For her, these prohibitive verses are not merely moral prohibitions, but theological

affirmations that every human being, regardless of gender, has the same right to life and dignity before God. Using a contextual hermeneutic approach, Wadud interprets these verses as the Quran's attempt to dismantle the patriarchal structures rooted in pre-Islamic Arab culture, and affirms that the values of divine justice (*al-'adl*) and equality (*al-musawah*) are the foundation of Quranic ethics. Therefore, every form of modern femicide, whether physical murder or structural violence against women, violates the universal principles of the right to life and justice in Islam (Majidah & Firmansyah, 2021).

From the perspective of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), these Quranic values align with the classification of non-derogable human rights, particularly the right to life, the right to human dignity, and the right to be free from torture. Komnas HAM (2022) states that the right to life is the foundation of all other rights, because without a secure life, social and political rights cannot be realized. In this regard, Quranic values and human rights values converge on a common normative point: the rejection of gender-based violence, oppression, and murder. Femicide is thus not only a violation of positive law but also a form of opposition to religious ethical principles.

Human rights from an Islamic perspective are firmly grounded in the teachings of the Qur'an. Every human right has a Quranic equivalent, not only moral but also a legal and social principle in the lives of Muslims. The right to life is guaranteed in Islam through the principle of *hifdz al-nafs*, or protection of the soul. The Qur'an strictly prohibits murder without justification. This verse serves as a correction to the pre-Islamic practices of killing female children or taking lives for economic or social reasons. Islam upholds the sanctity of life and makes the protection of human life a primary goal of sharia. Furthermore, within human rights, there is the concept of "the right to human dignity," affirmed through the concept of *karamah insaniyyah*, as stated in the Qur'an, which states that Allah has honored all the children of Adam. This principle implies that every human being has equal value before God, regardless of race, gender, or social status. Historically, this teaching emerged to challenge the pre-Islamic social system that discriminated against and oppressed certain groups, particularly women and slaves. Thus, Islam instills the awareness that human dignity is universal and cannot be revoked by anyone.

The "Right Not to Be Tortured" is rooted in the value of mercy or compassion. Allah affirms that the Prophet Muhammad was sent as a mercy to all creation. This verse forms the basis for rejecting all forms of physical and psychological violence, as Islam encourages humane treatment of all living beings. The Prophet Muhammad exemplified compassion, even toward enemies and slaves, as a manifestation of Islam's humanitarian mission, which rejects torture and oppression. This principle then became a moral foundation that fostered the principle of respect for the integrity of the human body and soul. And the "Right to Justice" is a central pillar of the Islamic value system. The Qur'an commands humanity to uphold justice without discrimination, even towards oneself or one's family (Ali, 2007). This principle rejects all forms of social, gender, and economic discrimination. In a historical context, this verse serves as a correction to the unjust and biased Arab social system against certain groups. Islam introduces justice as a universal value that must be upheld in all aspects of life, including legal, social, and economic aspects. Therefore, justice in Islam is not only a moral virtue, but also a social obligation that must be realized for the common good.

The correspondence between Qur'anic values and human rights principles can be classified in the following table:

Human Rights Category (National Commission on Human Rights, 2022)	Relevant Quranic Values	Representative Verse	Historical Meaning (Movement I)
The right to life	<i>hifdz al-nafs</i> (protection of the soul)	QS. al-Isra' [17]:33; al-An'am [6]:151	Correction of the practice of killing female infants and prohibition of taking life without right.
The right to human dignity	<i>karamah insaniyyah</i> (human dignity)	QS. al-Isra' [17]:70	Affirmation of the equal human values of men and women as God's creations.
The right not to be tortured	<i>raamah</i> (love)	QS. al-Anbiya' [21]:107	Islam is a religion of love that rejects violence against the human body and soul.
The right to justice	<i>'adl</i> (universal justice)	QS. an-Nisa' [4]:135	The demand for every individual to uphold justice without social and gender discrimination.

Overall, Qur'anic values such as *hifdz al-nafs*, *karamah insaniyyah*, *rahmah*, and *'adl* demonstrate that Islam laid the foundations of human rights long before the modern concept of human rights emerged. These teachings are not merely spiritual norms, but practical guidelines that govern human relations with God and with each other within a universal humanitarian framework. The correlation between the two demonstrates that the basic principles of modern human rights are inherently contained in the Quranic message. Islam inherently rejects all forms of *zulm* (oppression), including in patriarchal social relations. Therefore, when femicide occurs in modern Muslim societies, it is not a reflection of Islamic teachings, but rather a distortion of Quranic values of justice and humanity. An examination of the first movement in the Double Movement theory confirms that these values are eternal and serve as the basis for the second movement, namely recontextualizing the reality of gender-based violence today (Wadud, 2021; Ramdani, 2023).

- **Reactualization of the Qur'anic Values against Modern Femicide**

The second movement in Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement theory emphasizes the process of recontextualizing moral values identified from the Quranic text so they can be applied to contemporary social realities. At this stage, an interpreter does not simply repeat the literal meaning of the verses but also derives them in the form of social and legal principles relevant to the needs of the times (Hidayat, 2020). In the context of the issue of femicide, this approach enables Quranic interpretation to become an ethical and transformational instrument to combat gender-based violence. Basic values such as *ashifz* The concepts of *al-nafs*, *karamah insaniyyah*, and *'adl* do not stop at the normative level, but are drawn into social structures that still contain patriarchal inequalities. Thus, *tafsir* functions not only as a moral discourse but also as an emancipatory movement that affirms women's rights to life in modern social spaces (Wadud, 2021).

Practically, the reactualization of Qur'anic values against femicide can be done through rereading verses that have been misunderstood within a patriarchal framework. For example, QS. *an-Nisa'* [4]: 34 is often used as legitimacy to justify the superiority of men over women. However, with Fazlur Rahman's contextual approach, this verse actually contains a message of men's moral responsibility for the protection and welfare of the family, not domination or violence (Barlas, 2002; F Rahman, 1980). Feminist interpretations such as those developed by Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas emphasize that *qiwamah* is not a form of biological superiority, but a social mandate that demands an ethic of justice and compassion. In this context, the second movement functions to dismantle discriminatory interpretative structures, while at the same time upholding the ethical meaning of the Qur'an that supports gender justice and the protection of women's lives.

Furthermore, the double movement approach also fosters socio-religious awareness that femicide is not merely a criminal issue, but a cultural phenomenon rooted in gender-biased interpretations and social practices. Progressive readings of the Quran position women as moral subjects with equal spiritual and social agency to men. This aligns with the principles of *maqasid al-shari'ah*, which prioritize the protection of life and dignity as the goal of Islamic law (Abdullah, 2020).

Nasaruddin Umar explains that the tradition of female infanticide in pre-Islamic times was not only a barbaric act, but also a reflection of a social structure that oppresses women. Through his emancipatory interpretation, Umar asserts that the Qur'an revolutionarily abolished this practice and established the principle of human equality based on the values of monotheism and social justice. He interprets verses such as QS. *al-Takwir* (81): 8–9 and *al-Nahl* (16): 58 as evidence that revelation came to glorify human life and reject all forms of gender-based oppression. Within the framework of human rights, Nasaruddin Umar places the right to life as the primary foundation for achieving other rights such as the right to dignity, the right not to be tortured, and the right to justice. He emphasizes that the Qur'an never tolerates violence, discrimination, or patriarchal domination, because the entire message of revelation is oriented towards the welfare, equality, and respect for universal humanity (Lucky, 2013, pp. 170–172).

Contextualizing these values is crucial amidst the rise in gender-based violence in Indonesia. The National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) report (2024) notes that femicide often occurs due to erroneous social and religious justifications for women's roles and positions. In this situation, a double movement approach can provide an epistemological bridge between sacred texts and empirical reality. Quranic values such as compassion, justice, and equality must be translated into public policies and education that emphasize the protection of women. Thus, the Quran functions not only as a normative text but also as a transformative resource for eliminating gender-based violence and upholding human justice in the modern era (Ramdani, 2023; Komnas HAM, 2022).

The modern phenomenon of femicide reflects the culmination of patriarchal structures that normalize violence against women, both in the domestic and public spheres. As found in a study by Setiyawan and Ramadhani in the *Journal of Feminism and Gender Studies*, femicide is often rooted in unequal power relations and a culture of toxic masculinity that objectifies women (Setiyawan & Ramadhani, 2025). From a Qur'anic perspective, this act clearly violates the principles of *hifz al-nafs* and *karamah insaniyyah*, as it eliminates women's right to life and dignity as creatures honored by Allah. Therefore, the reactualization movement seeks to make these Qur'anic values the theological and ethical basis for the fight against femicide through contextual interpretation, legal reform, and social empowerment.

Femicide must be interpreted as a serious violation of Islamic teachings, and therefore the values of mercy and justice must be translated into concrete social and legal movements (Abror, Tarman, & Wulandari, 2024). Practical approaches through education, media, and public policy ensure that the Qur'anic values of compassion and justice do not stop at the normative level but become a deeply rooted social awareness. In the realm of law and policy, the value of universal justice demands equal treatment before the law and effective protection for victims of gender-based violence. Islamic law, which places women on an equal footing before God, can serve as a normative basis for strengthening anti-femicide legislation in Indonesia. This reactualization is not only interpreted as an interpretation of Qur'anic law in a modern context, but also as a liberation movement that rejects violence and discrimination against women in the name of religion (Putra, Ma'arif, Yahya, & Pangestu, 2023, p. 56).

Meanwhile, media and culture play a crucial role in the reactualization process. Media coverage in Indonesia often reproduces patriarchal bias, portraying femicide victims in stereotypical and gender-insensitive ways (Nahdliyah, 2023, p. 60). Therefore, the Qur'anic value reactualization movement also demands a transformation of the public narrative to favor the values of human virtue and the divine. *h*mah, who respects the dignity of women and rejects all forms of violence.

Thus, the Second Movement of the Double Movement aims to actively uphold Qur'anic values in response to modern social challenges. Islam, through its universal moral principles, not only offers a critique of patriarchal culture and violence against women, but also provides an ethical foundation for the formation of a just, compassionate, and respectful society (Abu Zayd, 2000). This reactualization is an important step so that the message of the Qur'an does not stop at the text of the past, but is present as a real spiritual, moral, and social solution to the tragedy of femicide that continues to occur in the modern world.

- **Femicide and the Deconstruction of Patriarchal Interpretation: From Critique to Condemnation of the Qur'an**

The Qur'an firmly condemns all forms of violence and oppression against women, whether physical, symbolic, or structural. The Qur'anic critique of practices that demean women is rooted in the principles of justice and humanity, which are the ethical foundations of the entire Islamic value system (Kusmana, 2015). In this regard, femicide can be understood as a contemporary form of gender oppression that is strongly criticized by the Qur'an because it contradicts the mission of *tahrir al-insan* (liberation of humanity) from all forms of oppression (Mahmood, 2012). Verses such as QS. *an-Nisa'* [4]:1 and QS. *al-Isra'* [17]:70 emphasize that all humans were created from one soul and endowed with glory by Allah without gender differences. This principle of ontological equality forms the normative basis for rejecting all forms of gender-based violence, including femicide (Mernissi, 1991).

However, the history of classical interpretation shows that some interpretations of verses on gender relations actually reinforce the legitimacy of patriarchy. For example, the interpretation of QS. *an-Nisa'* [4]:34 concerning the concept of *qawwamun* is often understood hierarchically, that men have full authority over women. This interpretation creates an ideological basis for the justification of domestic violence, including femicide, because it assumes women are under the control of men (Barlas, 2002). In a hermeneutic context, this patriarchal bias stems not only from the text, but also from the cultural horizon of interpreters who live in a masculine social system (Barlas, 2002). Therefore, rereading these verses is important to return the moral message of the Qur'an to its ethical context, rather than to the patriarchal social structure that conditions the emergence of gender-biased interpretations.

Deconstructing patriarchal interpretation means dismantling assumptions that place men as the center and women as moral objects. The feminist interpretation approach, as carried out by Amina Wadud and Riffat Hassan, reinterprets these verses by emphasizing the principles of *ta'dil* (justice) and *musawah* (equality) (Riffat, 2019; Wadud, 1999). QS. *an-Nisa'* [4]: 34, for example, is understood not as legitimizing male power, but rather

as social responsibility in the context of economics and protection, which today can be reciprocal. In this way, feminist interpretation not only rejects interpretations that legitimize violence but also emphasizes that the Qur'an has been on the side of women's lives and dignity from the beginning. This kind of interpretation is in line with the spirit of verses such as QS. al-Ma'idah [5]: 32, which states that killing one soul without justification is the same as killing all humanity—a universal moral principle that affirms the sanctity of life without distinction of gender.

Within Fazlur Rahman's hermeneutic framework, this deconstruction process is a concrete manifestation of the Double Movement. The first movement explores the universal principles of the Qur'an, namely justice and humanity, from its historical context, while the second movement reinterprets these principles in a modern social context, where the form of oppression against women has undergone a transformation from wa'd al-banat to structural femicide (Rahman, 1982). Thus, feminist interpretation functions as a hermeneutic movement that revitalizes the morality of revelation so that it remains alive in the context of contemporary humanity. It is not only interpretive, but also transformative, rejecting oppressive social structures and establishing a just value system for men and women.

The Quranic critique of femicide cannot be separated from the central idea of the revelation of tahrir al-insan (the liberation of humanity from oppression). In various verses, the Quran consistently elevates the dignity of marginalized groups, including women, children, and the weak. For example, Surah an-Nahl [16]:58–59 depicts the gloomy and degraded face of the Arab Jahiliyah society when blessed with a daughter. The Quranic critique of this phenomenon not only condemns the act of burying alive but also exposes its ideological roots, namely the assumption that women are a burden and a social disgrace. This kind of mindset, in the modern context, has transformed into structural femicide, violence against women legitimized by value systems, religious interpretations, or institutionalized patriarchal ideology (Wadud, 1999).

From a hermeneutic perspective, the Qur'anic text functions not merely as a moral document, but as a historical project that intervenes in patriarchal social realities. When revelation came down, it did not immediately overturn patriarchal structures completely, but rather instilled progressive and gradual moral values—a process Fazlur Rahman (1982) recognized as moral evolutionary ethics. Thus, verses that appear compromising with certain social structures need to be read as transitional steps toward a more just order. In this context, the first movement of the Double Movement explores the moral intention of the Qur'an to liberate humans from domination, while the second movement demands the actualization of this principle in the context of modern violence against women. Therefore, rereading verses on gender relations is not only a theological task, but also an ethical responsibility to uphold the universal justice that is the spirit of revelation.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that patriarchal interpretation relies not only on a literal understanding of the text, but also on masculine epistemological constructs. Classical commentators such as al-Tabari and al-Qurtubi, despite their significant contributions to the field of exegesis, lived in a social space that structurally marginalized women from religious authority. This situation gave rise to an unconscious epistemic bias, namely the assumption that men are the primary subjects of knowledge, while women are merely objects of law and morality (Barlas, 2002). Deconstructing this kind of interpretation does not mean rejecting the classical tradition, but rather proposing a corrective hermeneutic that returns interpretation to the egalitarian moral principles of revelation. Thus, feminist readings of the Qur'an are part of the dynamics of ittijah at-tafsiri, not a threat to orthodoxy, but rather a revitalization of divine ethics that have long been diminished by patriarchal structures.

Furthermore, the Qur'an views women not as separate entities from men, but as partners in humanity. This principle is clearly evident in Surah at-Taubah [9]:71, which refers to believing men and women as awliya' ba'dihim ba'da (mutual protectors of one another). This verse nullifies all forms of hierarchical relations that place one gender as superior to the other. Therefore, when femicide occurs, whether in the form of actual murder, symbolic violence, or structural marginalization, it is in fact a denial of the principle of spiritual and social alliance established by the Qur'an. The Qur'anic critique of femicide is thus not only moral but also existential: re-establishing the values of life that are at the heart of the message of tawhid. For tawhid is not only the oneness of God, but also the affirmation that all humans, regardless of gender, are part of a single moral unity before Him.

The Quran's condemnation of femicide perpetrators is multidimensional: moral, theological, and existential. In numerous verses, the Quran emphasizes that the unlawful killing of a human being is the most serious violation of the sanctity of life guaranteed by Allah. Surah al-Isra' [17]:33 states, "And do not kill the soul which

Allah has forbidden, except for a just cause." This verse contains the universal principle that every soul, both male and female, has intrinsic value that should not be degraded for social, cultural, or honor reasons (Ali, 2006). In the context of femicide, this verse serves as a moral declaration against all forms of gender-based violence driven by patriarchal ideology.

Even more strongly, the Qur'an not only rejects the act of killing women, but also condemns the perpetrators with a shocking eschatological image. QS. at-Takwir [81]:8-9 "And when the female babies who are buried alive are asked, for what sin was she killed?" is not just a rhetorical question, but a form of divine judgment (divine judgment) against the perpetrators. In al-Razi's interpretation, the question shows a total moral reversal: the perpetrators who once felt they had full authority over their children's lives are now directly interrogated by the victim before God (al-Razi, 1999). This is not only a condemnation, but also a form of theological humiliation against the perpetrators because their actions negate the function of the human caliphate which should be the guardian of life (Rahman, 1982).

In addition, the Qur'an links the act of murder with moral corruption and social decay. QS. al-Ma'idah [5]:32 states, "Whoever kills a human being, not because that person killed another or caused corruption on earth, it is as if he had killed all mankind." In Qur'anic hermeneutics, this verse not only contains a prohibition on murder, but also emphasizes that every form of violence, including femicide, tears apart the universal moral order that is the basis of humanity (Nasr, 2002). This means that the act of killing a woman because of her gender is not only an individual sin, but also a form of social crime that shakes the balance of global humanitarian values. From the perspective of the Double Movement, the universal moral value of this verse must be reactualized in a modern context to reject the practice of gender-based violence that is still legitimized by conservative interpretations and local culture.

The Quran's condemnation of femicide perpetrators also has a spiritual dimension. In Surah at-Takathur [102]:8, Allah emphasizes that every human being will be held accountable for all the blessings and trusts of life bestowed upon them. A girl's life is a trust, not a burden, so her murder constitutes a betrayal of this divine trust. Theologically, femicide perpetrators deny the attributes of ar-Rahman and ar-Rahim, which are at the heart of Allah's relationship with His creatures. Therefore, this act is not only a violation of women's rights, but also a denial of God's own mercy (Wadud, 1999).

More deeply, when analyzed from Fazlur Rahman's moral hermeneutic perspective, the Quran's condemnation of femicide perpetrators reveals two layers of meaning. First, historically, the revelation was revealed to oppose the practice of wa'd al-banat as a symbol of the evil of patriarchy during the Jahiliyah era. Second, normatively, the values contained therein are eternal, namely the upholding of justice and respect for human life. Through the first movement of the Double Movement, we understand that the context of Jahiliyah is a structural symbol of gender-based violence. Meanwhile, through the second movement, these values are reactualized to criticize violence against women in the modern era, whether in the form of physical murder, domestic violence, or systemic discrimination. Thus, the Quranic condemnation of femicide perpetrators is not merely past history, but a moral principle that must be revived as a liberating social ethic.

3. CONCLUSION

This study aims to reveal how the Qur'an condemns femicide and how a hermeneutical approach, particularly the Double Movement theory and feminist interpretation, can be used to understand and respond to the phenomenon of gender-based violence. Based on the analysis conducted, this study confirms that the Qur'an provides moral, theological, and social condemnation of all forms of femicide. QS. at-Takwir (81): 8-9 presents a divine court that positions women as moral subjects, so that women's right to life is restored as part of inviolable human dignity. Verses such as QS. al-Isra' (17:33) and QS. al-Ma'idah (5:32) strengthen the values of *hifz al-nafs*, *karamah insaniyyah*, and *'adl* as universal principles that reject the practice of gender-based loss of life, while simultaneously correcting the roots of patriarchy that have emerged in history since the Jahiliyah era.

This study finds that feminist interpretation as developed by Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas is able to correct the patriarchal bias in classical interpretation and offers a hermeneutic framework that positions women as epistemic subjects. The reinterpretation of QS. an-Nisa' (4:34) as a mandate of social responsibility, not the legitimacy of male domination, shows that the Qur'an can be read more ethically, inclusively, and in accordance with the principles of gender justice. Through Fazlur Rahman's Double Movement approach, the moral values of the Qur'an move from historical context to contemporary reality, so that revelation does not remain a critique

of the past but becomes a source of transformative values capable of confronting femicide in physical, symbolic, and structural forms.

These findings have direct implications for the formulation of good governance. The government needs to make the values of equality, justice, and protection of life the primary principles in the regulation and enforcement of laws related to gender-based violence. For civil society, this research emphasizes the urgency of developing a social culture that recognizes women as dignified subjects, while simultaneously encouraging the strengthening of gender-based public education. Scientifically, this research contributes to contemporary interpretation studies by demonstrating that feminist hermeneutics and Double Movement theory can be effective methodologies for addressing interpretation biases that contribute to gender inequality.

This study opens up several possible directions for future research. First, contextual interpretation analysis can be deepened through interdisciplinary collaboration with psychology and law to map the social and psychological impacts of femicide in Muslim societies. Second, comparative research across Islamic schools of thought and traditions is needed to understand the variations in the construction of the meaning of gender-based violence in the history of interpretation. Third, research based on the living Qur'an can examine how the Qur'anic value of justice is internalized in everyday community practices. With this research direction, Qur'anic studies will not only produce academic discourse but also make a real contribution to dismantling the structures of patriarchal violence and strengthening a civilization that respects the dignity and lives of women in the contemporary Muslim world.

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