

Digital Patriarchy: How Indonesian Islamic Preachers Construct Gender Asymmetry through YouTube Fatwas

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ABSTRACT

Social media has emerged as a new platform for religious figures to disseminate fatwas (Islamic legal opinions). These platforms undoubtedly facilitate public access to pragmatic answers regarding Islamic legal issues. However, the credibility of fatwas issued on social media is frequently contested, particularly concerning gender bias. This study examines religious figures' fatwas on YouTube about spousal relations through the lens of feminist theory. Employing a qualitative empirical approach, the research utilizes netnography as its data collection method. The findings reveal that most religious figures' fatwas on position the wife in a state of economic dependence on her husband, while relegating her to domestic roles with obligations centered on fulfilling spousal domestic needs, particularly sexual demands. Such narratives starkly contradict principles of gender equality and perpetuate bias by potentially disregarding wives' sexual agency. These fatwas stem from conservative interpretations of Q.S 4:34 by religious figures.

[Media sosial muncul sebagai platform baru bagi tokoh agama untuk menyebarkan fatwa (pendapat hukum Islam). Platform ini memudahkan akses publik terhadap jawaban-jawaban praktis terkait persoalan hukum Islam. Namun, kredibilitas fatwa yang dikeluarkan di media sosial sering kali diperdebatkan, terutama terkait dengan bias gender. Penelitian ini mengkaji fatwa para tokoh agama di YouTube mengenai relasi suami-istri melalui perspektif teori feminis. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dalam beberapa hal penelitian ini menerapkan bagian dari kerja netnography sebagai teknik pengumpulan data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sebagian besar fatwa yang disampaikan oleh para tokoh agama menempatkan istri dalam posisi ketergantungan ekonomi terhadap suaminya, sekaligus membatasi perannya pada ranah domestik dengan kewajiban yang berfokus pada pemenuhan kebutuhan rumah tangga suami, khususnya kebutuhan seksual. Narasi semacam ini secara jelas bertentangan dengan prinsip kesetaraan gender dan memperkuat bias dengan berpotensi mengabaikan agensi seksual istri. Fatwa-fatwa tersebut berakar pada tafsir konservatif terhadap Q.S. 4:34 oleh para tokoh agama.]

KEYWORDS

Fatwa, gender bias, spousal relation, marital authority, family law, Islamic preacher

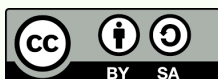
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Introduction

The digitalization of all sectors in the modern era has a profound impact on the foundations of human life, both politically and economically, as well as religiously. In the religious sphere, the emergence of new digital religious practices has given rise to the term "digital Islam." A tangible manifestation of digital Islam can be observed in the Muslim Brotherhood's (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) use of social media in Egypt to propagate its religious movement.¹ Similarly, in Indonesia, groups like Hizbut Tahrir strategically employ social media as an effective tool to advance their caliphate propaganda.² However, digital Islam does not invariably yield negative outcomes; its utility remains contingent upon application methods and underlying objectives.

Within this digital Islamic landscape, Indonesian religious figures have adeptly capitalized on virtual spaces. Popular platforms such as YouTube, X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, and Instagram serve as efficient channels for disseminating religious edicts (*fatwas*). Notably, the authority to issue fatwas in digital spaces operates without stringent competency requirements, enabling participants from diverse social, political, and educational backgrounds to assume the role of fatwa-givers.³ This reality underscores a broader shift from traditional religious authority, which mandates specialized scholarly credentials, toward an

¹ Peter G Mandaville, "Digital Islam: Changing the Boundaries of Religious Knowledge?," *Isim Newsletter*, no. 2 (1999).

² Paelani Setia, "Membumikan Khilafah Di Indonesia: Strategi Mobilisasi Opini Publik Oleh Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Di Media Sosial," *Journal of Society and Development* 1, no. 2 (2021): 33-45, <https://doi.org/10.57032/jsd.v1i2.40>.

³ Ahmad Muttaqin, "Women's Identity in the Digital Islam Age: Social Media, New Religious Authority, and Gender Bias," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 2 (2020): 253-388, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i2.7095>.

unrestricted new religious authority.⁴ Such unchecked liberty risks detrimental consequences for Muslim communities, as fatwas circulated online may lack rigorous sharia-based knowledge or exhibit discriminatory tendencies toward particular groups.

Muttaqin has identified this tendency. Employing Mansour Faki's framework of gender inequities, his research exposes the prevalence of gender-discriminatory sermons across social media platforms.⁵ However, Muttaqin's analysis does not trace the epistemological roots of these inequities, thus giving rise to a critical lacuna given the necessity of identifying structural origins of gender bias. This study aims to address this gap through feminist theoretical lenses,⁶ specifically examining spousal relations through a causality paradigm. Its foundational premise holds that relational asymmetries engender systemic discrimination, including the oppression of biological needs (e.g., sexual agency).

Such gender discrimination manifests vividly in the teachings of Khalid Basalamah, a prominent Indonesian cleric with hundreds of millions of YouTube views. Basalamah asserts that wives incur divine condemnation (*laknat*) for refusing marital intercourse, while husbands face no equivalent sanction for reciprocal refusal.⁷ This doctrinal position carries significant societal implications given its mass dissemination through digital platforms. Basalamah represents merely one node in a network of influential religious figures, including Buya Yahya and others, whose interpretations of spousal dynamics require urgent feminist scrutiny.

Table 1. Religious Figures on YouTube⁸

No.	Religious Figures Name	Channel Name	Number of Subscribers	Number of Viewers
1.	Buya Yahya	Al-Bahjah TV	5,44 M	952,218,786
2.	Adi Hidayat	Adi Hidayat Official	4,6 M	397,895,242
3.	Khalid Basalamah	Khalid Basalamah Official	2,76 M	243,519,472
4.	Syafiq Riza Basalamah	Syafiq Riza Basalamaf Official	1,39 M	156,656,875

Table 1 demonstrates the substantial audience engagement of religious influencers on YouTube, with channels such as al-Bahjah TV, Adi Hidayat Official,

⁴ Mutohharun Jinan, "New Media Dan Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan Islam Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 10, no. 1 (2012): 181–208, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v10i1.178>.

⁵ Muttaqin, "Women's Identity in the Digital Islam Age: Social Media, New Religious Authority, and Gender Bias."

⁶ Marx developed this theoretical construct in response to the socioeconomic realities of his era. The systemic oppression of women emerges from their economic dependence on male wage-earners. When men dominate the public sphere as primary breadwinners, they inherently consolidate economic power within domestic relations. This dynamic mirrors Marx's broader class analysis, where husbands assume the bourgeois role as capital-controllers while wives occupy a proletarian position of economic dependence. Marx formalized this gendered power imbalance through his theory of materialist determinism. Collins Randall, *Sociology of Marriage and the Family: Gender Love and Property* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1987).

⁷ "(303) APAKAH MALAIKAT JUGA MELAKNAT SUAMI YANG MENOLAK AJAKAN ISTRI | Ustadz Dr. Khalid Basalamah MA - YouTube," accessed July 27, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1aqm6ARQLF8>.

⁸ "YouTube, Twitch, Twitter, & Instagram Statistics - SocialBlade.Com," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://socialblade.com/>.

Khalid Basalamah Official, and Syafiq Riza Basalamah Official amassing millions of subscribers and views. The selection criteria for these channels centered on their frequent dissemination of fatwas concerning spousal relations. For instance, Khalid Basalamah Official maintains a dedicated playlist titled "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia," comprising 39 videos systematically addressing familial roles, statuses, rights, and obligations. Similarly, Buya Yahya's al-Bahjah TV recurrently addresses Islamic spousal norms, notably in videos like "Hak-hak Suami atas Istri." This patterned content distribution informed the channel selection process.

Concerns regarding gender-biased discourse in Islamic digital spaces are not novel. Hayat's research previously identified such tendencies, demonstrating how Islamic legal opinions featured in the Mama dan AA program perpetuate gender-discriminatory interpretations.⁹ Handayani's findings reveal that Instagram-based Islamic family law discourse predominantly reinforces conservative *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and gender bias.¹⁰ These concerns are substantiated; the persistent circulation of gender-biased Islamic narratives by religious authorities risks institutionalizing discrimination within Muslim communities.

Methodologically, this netnographic study initiates with targeted searches for spousal-relation content across the specified channels. The analysis focuses on two dimensions: (1) constructed spousal roles, and (2) corresponding rights and obligations. By first delineating the roles prescribed by religious figures, researcher subsequently examine their cascading effects on sexual relations. Then, the researcher looks for the causes of such relations with the theory of feminism. This analytical approach enables systematic identification of discriminatory patterns emerging from structurally imbalanced relational frameworks. Ultimately, this research aims to empirically map manifestations of discrimination resultant from asymmetrically constructed spousal hierarchies.

Digital Islam and the New Religious Authority: YouTube as an Effective Tool

The digital era is fundamentally intertwined with the proliferation of digital technologies that have significantly transformed multiple sectors. The religious domain has not remained insulated from this digital transformation. The intersection of Islam with digitalization has engendered what scholars term "digital Islam." This phenomenon facilitates public access to Islamic legal knowledge; for instance, inheritance calculation applications now simplify complex Islamic inheritance law matters for lay Muslims.¹¹ However, digital Islam has simultaneously evolved into an unfiltered informational space. As Akmaliah

⁹ Muhammad Jihadul Hayat, "Preaching Islamic Legal Rules on Screen: Conservatism on Islamic Family Law in Digital-Based Dakwah Program Mamah Dan Aa Beraksi," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 60, no. 2 (2022): 427–66, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.427-466>.

¹⁰ Yulmitra Handayani, "HUKUM PERKAWINAN ISLAM DI RUANG DIGITAL: Bias Gender Dalam Wacana Hukum Perkawinan Di Instagram," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 14, no. 2 (February 18, 2022): 112, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2021.14201>.

¹¹ Mu'tashim Billah and Mu'tashim Billah, "COMPLETE AND INCOMPLETE CALCULATION: Expert Systems Apps on the Special Cases of Islamic Inheritance Law," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 2 (October 12, 2023): 180–210, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16201>.

demonstrates, social media platforms are increasingly weaponized by hardline Islamist groups to disseminate ideological legal interpretations, sometimes in the form of a fatwa.¹²

The epistemological status of fatwas remains contested in scholarly discourse. Technically, a fatwa is a jurist's response (*jawāb*) to specific legal queries, thereby representing a particularized form of legal opinion. Contemporary usage often conflates fatwas with general Islamic legal pronouncements.¹³ Hasyim contends this lexical expansion poses no substantive issue.¹⁴ Nevertheless, digitalization has radically reconfigured fatwa production and dissemination. Traditional fatwa institutions (like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah) once held a monopoly over authoritative rulings, but digital platforms now enable religious figures of questionable juristic competence to issue rulings. This democratization contravenes classical requirements that fatwa-givers (*muftīs*) possess rigorously verified scholarly credentials.¹⁵

The phenomenon of religious digitalization has been critically examined by Jinan, whose research reveals how digitalization fosters "new media religious authority." Where religious authority was traditionally vested in recognized Islamic scholars (*ulama*), preachers (*ustaz*), spiritual guides (*mursyid*), and Javanese clerics (*kiai*), it has now shifted toward impersonal platforms like religious blogs, websites, and digital publications.¹⁶ This transition aligns with Cheong's findings on the adaptation of religious practices to digital spaces, though she contends digital platforms primarily complement rather than replace traditional authority structures.¹⁷

The very concept of religious authority proves theoretically problematic in this context. Classical Islamic epistemology construes authority as the legitimate right to implement divine law (*sharī'a*) under Allah's will. In contemporary contexts, this divine will becomes mediated through human interpretive efforts (*ijtihad*).¹⁸ Thus, religious authority might be more productively reconceptualized as the discursive branding of certain figures as legitimate transmitters of religious messages.

¹² Wahyudi Akmaliah, "The Demise of Moderate Islam: New Media, Contestation, and Reclaiming Religious Authorities," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 10, no. 1 (May 29, 2020): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i1.1-24>.

¹³ Andi Muh. Taqiyuddin BN and Abdul Syatar, "PERBEDAAN FATWA DAN QADA SERTA IMPLEMENTASINYA DI INDONESIA," *Comparativa: Jurnal Ilmiah Perbandingan Mazhab Dan Hukum* 3, no. 1 (October 23, 2022): 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.24239/comparativa.v3i1.23>.

¹⁴ Syafiq Hasyim, "Fatwas and Democracy: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Ulema Council) and Rising Conservatism in Indonesian Islam," *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, no. 1 (May 8, 2020): 21–35, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2019.13>.

¹⁵ Soleh Hasan Wahid, "Research Insights on Online Fatwas. A Comprehensive Systematic Literature Review," *Journal of Fatwa Management and Research* 29, no. 1 (January 15, 2024): 23–46, <https://doi.org/10.33102/JFATWA.VOL29NO1.570>.

¹⁶ Jinan, "New Media Dan Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan Islam Di Indonesia."

¹⁷ Pauline Hope Cheong, "The Vitality of New Media and Religion: Communicative Perspectives, Practices, and Changing Authority in Spiritual Organization," *New Media & Society* 19, no. 1 (2017): 25–33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816649913>.

¹⁸ Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi Di Indonesia: Pengalaman Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

Within digital Islam, media platforms play a pivotal role in fatwa dissemination. As Kaptein demonstrates, fatwas achieve maximal societal penetration when circulated through mass media, whether print, broadcast, or digital.¹⁹ While this underscores new media's capacity to operationalize Islamic norms, Akmaliah offers a more critical assessment. He argues that the current fragmentation of religious authority undermines moderate Islamic discourse, with traditional institutions of moderate Islam being increasingly supplanted by digital actors promoting radical ideologies or anti-pluralist agendas. Though Akmaliah stops short of predicting moderate Islam's obsolescence, he maintains its survival depends on successful competition within digital religious markets.²⁰ Platforms like YouTube, Instagram, X (Twitter), and religious websites thus become crucial battlegrounds for moderate Islamic narratives.

Zaid et al.'s research demonstrates YouTube and Instagram's distinctive influence in shaping digital Islamic discourse. Their findings reveal how Middle Eastern religious influencers with an established presence on these platforms significantly impact local religious practices.²¹ Visual-based digital platforms particularly enable persuasive religious communication, where effectively packaged theological content demonstrates greater potential for audience engagement.²² The platforms' sharing functionalities further facilitate viral dissemination of religious ideas, with YouTube's streamlined sharing mechanism proving especially effective for content proliferation.

As of October 2023, Indonesia ranks as the fourth-largest YouTube user base globally, with approximately 139 million users,²³ representing nearly half the national population based on contemporaneous demographic data.²⁴ Prominent Indonesian clerics like Buya Yahya, Adi Hidayat, Khalid Basalamah, and Syafiq Riza Basalamah have capitalized on this infrastructure, amassing millions of subscribers for their *da'wa* (Islamic proselytization) content. This ecosystem enables personalized religious content consumption based on individual or group preferences, raising significant concerns about algorithmic reinforcement of ideological bubbles.²⁵

¹⁹ Nico J G Kaptein, *The Voice of Theulamâ': Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia* (Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.1038>.

²⁰ Akmaliah, "The Demise of Moderate Islam: New Media, Contestation, and Reclaiming Religious Authorities."

²¹ Bouziane Zaid et al., "Digital Islam and Muslim Millennials: How Social Media Influencers Reimagine Religious Authority and Islamic Practices," *Religions* 13, no. 4 (April 8, 2022): 335, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040335>.

²² Mhd Yazid, "NEGLECTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS: Indonesian YouTube Preachers' Legal Opinion on Polygamy," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (April 25, 2023): 69, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16104>.

²³ "Indonesia Peringkat Keempat Pengguna YouTube Terbanyak Dunia," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/11/24/indonesia-peringkat-keempat-pengguna-youtube-terbanyak-dunia>.

²⁴ "10 Negara Asia Dengan Penduduk Terbanyak Oktober 2023, Indonesia Juara Tiga," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/10/03/10-negara-asia-dengan-penduduk-terbanyak-oktober-2023-indonesia-juara-tiga>.

²⁵ Ansori Ansori and Muhammad Iqbal Juliansyahzen, "The Contestation of the Family Law Discourse in the Digital Age: Islam, State, and Gender," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2022): 244–72, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i1.9128>.

The particular concern of that reality is the potential real-world implementation of gender-biased concepts identified by Muttaqin in YouTube content.²⁶ The platform's capacity to shape everyday religious practices suggests these problematic interpretations may transition from digital discourse to tangible social norms. This phenomenon exemplifies what scholars term the digitalization of religion, where digital architectures actively mediate religious understanding and practice.²⁷

Challenging Discrimination Foundations: A Feminist Analysis of Gender Bias in Islamic Family Law

Any substantive discussion of progressive family law necessarily engages with gender justice as its foundational paradigm. As articulated by Hadi, Indonesia's Marriage Law No. 1/1974 and its accompanying Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) institutionalize gendered biases through entrenched patriarchal structures that systematically erode women's rights.²⁸ The central challenge of Indonesian family law reform lies precisely in deconstructing these patriarchal formations.

The project of legal reform confronts persistent patriarchal doctrines rooted in historical contexts. During the Quranic revelation, Arabian society operated within rigid patriarchal frameworks. This cultural paradigm manifested linguistically through Arabic's grammatical gender system, where morphological distinctions (*mufradāt*) based on biological sex inadvertently reinforced gender differentiation.²⁹ Contemporary gender theory crucially distinguishes between biological sex (encompassing reproductive functions) and gender as socially constructed roles shaped by normative values. Wadud's groundbreaking work demonstrates why Quranic gender concepts require contextual reinterpretation beyond patriarchal frameworks to achieve substantive justice.³⁰

Patriarchy constitutes the primary architect of gender discrimination by establishing hierarchical structures that privilege male superiority and create spousal asymmetries. Within familial contexts, this manifests as male marital supremacy (*qiwāma*), particularly through traditionalist interpretations of Q.S. 4:34 that allegedly sanctify patriarchal norms. Such exegetical approaches conflate historically contingent social arrangements with divine will, thereby legitimizing systemic gender discrimination.³¹

²⁶ Muttaqin, "Women's Identity in the Digital Islam Age: Social Media, New Religious Authority, and Gender Bias."

²⁷ Moch Khafidz Fuad Raya, "Digital Islam: New Space for Authority and Religious Commodification among Islamic Preachers in Contemporary Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 19, no. 1 (April 1, 2025): 161–94, <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11562-024-00570-Z/METRICS>.

²⁸ Solikul Hadi, "Bias Gender Dalam Konstruksi Hukum Islam Di Indonesia," *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* 7, no. 1 (2016): 25–46, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v7i1.997>.

²⁹ Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Women: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³⁰ Wadud.

³¹ Naili Rosa Urbah Rusydiana and Hadiana Trendi Azami, "Interpretation QS. an-Nisa': 34 Perspectives of Amina Wadud Muhsin and The Implication of Her Thinking In Indonesia," *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 29, no. 1 (July 30, 2021): 87, <https://doi.org/10.24014/jush.v29i1.11931>.

The discourse on gender equality in Islam remains inextricably linked to patriarchal modes of interpretation (*tafsīr*) prevalent among Muslim communities. Yet the Qur'an, as the primary source of Islamic jurisprudence, fundamentally embodies egalitarian principles. Q.S. 9:71 explicitly positions believing men and women as equal stakeholders within the communal faithful (*al-mu'minūn wa al-mu'mināt*). While patriarchal practices surface in other verses, these instances must be contextualized as responsive measures to 7th-century Arabian patriarchal norms.³²

The Qur'an's gradual revelation reflects its dialectical engagement with socio-historical reforms.³³ Its underlying moral framework consistently advances justice, though its linguistic formulations, shaped by the patriarchal lexicon of classical Arabic, may superficially suggest otherwise. This linguistic contingency does not signify theological validation of patriarchy, but rather demonstrates the scripture's adaptive engagement with its historical milieu.³⁴ This adaptation should not be interpreted as the Qur'an degrading women's rights in an absolute way.

Women have been systematically discriminated against for centuries. Men, on the other hand, could easily gain privileges in the social system. After this realisation, a social resistance movement emerged that sought equality between men and women in all fields: all human beings have the right to contribute to a field, regardless of sex. The movement was called feminism, which spearheaded the change in social constructs.³⁵

Societal constructs can be rebuilt by changing perspectives. Likewise, gender as a result of social construction fluctuates depending on the perspective and needs of society. Gender struggles are always accompanied by a feminist approach, as Sue Morgan argues, feminist approaches in religious studies will always be accompanied by gender analysis.³⁶

The feminist approach in gender analysis is intended to continue the struggle for equality initiated by the Prophet Muhammad. The operationalization of the feminist approach in Islamic studies targets verses related to patriarchal practices, then the verse is deconstructed according to its context, and connected with other verses.³⁷ This approach encourages the implementation of gender equality and eliminates all forms of discrimination against women.

This theoretical proposition derives partly from an alternative exegesis of Q.S. 4:1, where the term "*nafs*" inherently affirms feminine ontology. However, complementary verses, Q.S. 16:97 and 40:40, further establish gender parity through their explicit promise of equal spiritual recompense for righteous deeds,

³² Asma Barlas, *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of The* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

³³ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).

³⁴ Farid Esack, "Islam and Gender Justice: Beyond Simplistic Apologia," in *What Men Own to Women: Men's Voices from World Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 187–210.

³⁵ Ansori and Juliansyahzen, "The Contestation of the Family Law Discourse in the Digital Age: Islam, State, and Gender."

³⁶ Peter Connolly, "Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama, Terj.," *Imam Khoiri. Yogyakarta: LKiS*, 2011.

³⁷ Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, "The Status of Women between Qur'an and Fiqh," in *Gender Equality in Muslim Family Law: Justice and Ethics in Islamic Legal Tradition* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 153–68.

regardless of sex. Collectively, these verses demonstrate that a holistic Quranic hermeneutic substantively supports gender egalitarianism. Unfortunately, the textuality of Quranic verses is often monopolized by classical interpreters to perpetuate patriarchal constructions.³⁸ Therefore, the operationalization of the feminist approach in this research is used to break down discrimination in the fatwas of religious figures through gender analysis.

The main cause of gender discrimination is the unequal relationship between men and women. Women who are economically dependent on their husbands are prone to be oppressed, while social reality enforces this culture. Marx likened men to the bourgeoisie, while women to the proletariat. The bourgeoisie in the realm of socialist ideology refers to the financiers who control the economy of a region, so that they can be arbitrary towards the proletariat (people who depend on the capital of the bourgeoisie). The reflection of this reality is formulated in the concept of materialist-determinism.³⁹ It seems that the social construction described by Marx is still relevant to the norms echoed by religious figures today.

YouTube as a Gendered Space: The Construction of Marital Authority and Wifely Submission in Indonesian Islamic Fatwas

The evolution of new media in tandem with technological progress has fundamentally altered the dynamics of religious authority. The traditional dominance of Ulama, Ustaz, Mursyid, and Kiai as representatives of religious authority is being increasingly supplanted by new, impersonal forms of authority facilitated by digital platforms such as websites, books, and social media. These new media spaces foster more open spiritual interactions while simultaneously legitimizing specific ideological groups. This openness accelerates the phenomenon of "Ulama rejuvenation," wherein religious figures derive legitimacy through digital recognition from online communities.⁴⁰

YouTube, as a video-based social media platform, has emerged as a novel medium for disseminating Islamic legal rulings (*fatwas*). Its modernity complements, rather than replaces, traditional religious authority as noted by Jinan.⁴¹ This development does not signify a complete shift toward modern religious authority but rather reflects an expansion of individual fatwa transmission, leveraging YouTube's accessibility.⁴² While channels associated with credible religious figures provide valuable, easily accessible knowledge, the platform lacks robust mechanisms to vet fatwas. Consequently, any individual can issue religious edicts, provided their content is appealing and digestible, without formal endorsement or scholarly validation from peers in the field.

³⁸ Yoyo Yoyo, "Neo-Patriarchy and the Problem of the Arab Crisis: A Critical Study on Hisham Sharabi's Works," *QJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 6, no. 2 (August 24, 2018): 251, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qjis.v6i2.3808>.

³⁹ Randall, *Sociology of Marriage and the Family: Gender Love and Property*.

⁴⁰ Jinan, "New Media Dan Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan Islam Di Indonesia."

⁴¹ Jinan.

⁴² Cheong, "The Vitality of New Media and Religion: Communicative Perspectives, Practices, and Changing Authority in Spiritual Organization."

The fatwas circulating on YouTube concerning spousal relations predominantly reference the stipulations of Q.S 4:34. Classical *fiqh* interpretations remain conspicuously textualist in this regard, with *ar-rijāl* understood exclusively as "men" and *an-nisā* defined biologically as "women." Consequently, familial authority is rigidly vested in men, while women are systematically excluded from active leadership roles. As Khalid Basalamah asserts:

All married men (are) leaders in their households. And that leader must be listened to, obeyed, respected, (and) honoured as long as it is not an offence (against) Allah SWT.⁴³

A similar patriarchal framing is evident in Adi Hidayat's teachings. He analogizes the husband's role as the "sun," symbolizing strength and dominance, while the wife is relegated to the "moon", a passive entity:⁴⁴

What does the Sun do? It shines. If there are wet clothes, the rays (become) dry. (Its character is) warm, (and) protects, so protect (women)...So men are likened to the sun... Whereas the woman is the moon. What is the function of the moon? The moon is to be seen for its beauty...So women look beautiful. Don't reverse it, women take the function of the sun...⁴⁵

This inflexible framework fundamentally shapes familial roles. As the designated head of household, the husband is obligated to serve as the sole breadwinner, providing for his wife and children's material needs, including food, clothing, shelter, healthcare, and transportation, within the limits of his financial capacity.⁴⁶ Khalid Basalamah explicitly asserts that wives may not demand provisions exceeding their husbands' means, provided the latter have exerted maximal effort.⁴⁷ This economic imperative entrenches the husband's authority to regulate the wife's conduct, reducing her to a domestic entity whose primary obligation is spousal *mu'āmalah*. Adi Hidayat further narrows the wife's role to seeking her husband's *riḍā* (pleasure), contingent upon religious compliance.⁴⁸

While such interpretations may have aligned with the patriarchal norms of classical Arab society, contemporary realities demand reevaluation. Empirical research by Ramadhan demonstrates that women now actively participate in public labor markets, with many serving as primary breadwinners.⁴⁹ This socioeconomic shift necessitates a hermeneutic reengagement with Q.S 4:34. A progressive reading must transcend biological essentialism, redefining *ar-rijāl* and *an-nisā* as gender constructs rather than sex categories. The criterion for *qawwām*

⁴³ "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #31 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46SZ5-nJd3A>.

⁴⁴ "Suami Idaman Dimata Allah -Ustadz Adi Hidayat - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-O9NzKjot44>.

⁴⁵ "Suami Idaman Dimata Allah -Ustadz Adi Hidayat - YouTube."

⁴⁶ "(6) Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #30 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 1) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5I3m5sTQyY>.

⁴⁷ "(6) Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #30 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 1) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

⁴⁸ "Inilah Ciri-Ciri Istri Sholihah - Ustadz Adi Hidayat - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KSJqZV7WBCY>.

⁴⁹ Rafiki Ramadhan, "Upaya Wanita Karir Menjalankan Peran Ganda dalam Mewujudkan Keluarga Sakinah Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Sekolah Dasar 04 An-Namiroh Pekanbaru)" (UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI SULTAN SYARIF KASIM RIAU, 2022).

(leadership) should prioritize functional capacity, leadership competence, financial provision, or caregiving, not based on male identity.⁵⁰

The unequal distribution of roles between husbands and wives significantly curtails women's ability to express their desires as autonomous individuals. Adi Hidayat, for instance, asserts that wives must prioritize their husbands' "good" suggestions, even when these represent merely one permissible option among many rather than an unambiguous moral imperative. For example, if a husband proposes enrolling their child in a *tahfiz* (Quran memorization) school, the wife is expected to comply without objection:

Ma (nickname for wife)! The children (should) just go to tahfidz school. (Wife replies) Yes, inshallah. That (request) when responded to (granted by the wife), (then) the value (of the wife's reward before Allah) is high.⁵¹

Khalid Basalamah similarly emphasizes wifely obedience, stating:⁵²

(Wives must obey their husbands) whatever the nature (of the order). (For example, the husband) asks for company to eat, asks for company to sleep, asks for biological (intercourse), asks for a massage. Whatever the command (must be obeyed), as long as it is not a violation (of) religion.⁵³

Marriage, as a union of two autonomous individuals with distinct consciousnesses, inherently involves negotiating personal desires. Andjariah's research underscores that marital happiness correlates directly with the quality of spousal communication.⁵⁴ However, a dialectical process disproportionately favoring the husband's voice inevitably undermines this dynamic, fostering relational inequity.

Adi Hidayat's discourse further diminishes women's familial roles by asserting that wives engaged in external employment cannot be recognized as co-providers. He contends that the status of *nafaqah* (material provision) is exclusively fulfilled by the husband's income, framing this as a theological inevitability: a husband's earnings are divinely guaranteed to suffice for the entire family, whereas a wife's labor is purportedly designed by Allah to only meet her personal needs:

Allah said, "I have given the means of earning a living only to the husband, not to the wife." Earning a living is different from ordinary work. Can a wife work? You (husband, if) earn a living, then the (wealth) you earn, will be made by Allah sufficient for three people (husband, wife, children), regardless of the amount, even if it is only Rp. 50 thousand a day. But if the wife earns a living, then it will be made sufficient (by Allah) for her (wife) only. That's why if a woman (wife) earns (a living) it will always feel lacking.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Sahiron, *Hermeneutika Dan Pengembangan Ulumul Quran* (Yogyakarta: Nawasea Press, 2017).

⁵¹ "(6) Inilah Ciri-Ciri Istri Sholihah - Ustadz Adi Hidayat - YouTube."

⁵² "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #31 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

⁵³ "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #31 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

⁵⁴ Sri Andjariah, "Kebahagiaan Perkawinan Ditinjau Dari Faktor Komunikasi Pada Pasangan Suami Istri," *Jurnal Psikologi* 1, no. 1 (2016), <https://ejournal.up45.ac.id/index.php/psikologi/article/view/42>.

⁵⁵ "Suami Idaman Dimata Allah -Ustadz Adi Hidayat - YouTube."

This argument essentializes women as biologically destined for domesticity: a notion central to feminist critique. Dismantling such constructs necessitates societal re-education to challenge these normative gender paradigms.⁵⁶ The domestication of women is further sexualized in Syafiq Riza's rhetoric, which reductively labels wives as "sexual servants", obligated to fulfill their husbands' sexual demands unconditionally:

The wife is obliged to serve (the request for sexual intercourse) her husband well... Among the services emphasized by the Prophet is the issue of "bed (sex)"⁵⁷

He justifies this by invoking a hadith wherein the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) allegedly declared: "When a husband summons his wife to bed and she refuses, angels curse her until dawn."⁵⁸ Syafiq Riza interprets this as divine sanction for prioritizing male sexual gratification over wifely obedience.

Wives as Sexual Servants: Patriarchal Framing of Marital Intimacy in Indonesian YouTube Fatwas

The dichotomous separation of roles between the domestic and public spheres, assigned to men and women, respectively, creates a paradox wherein men enjoy unrestricted access to public life while women remain confined to domestic domains. This division of labor designates men as breadwinners and women as homemakers, fostering an asymmetrical power dynamic between spouses. Consequently, women occupy a hierarchically subordinate position under male dominance due to their economic dependence. This framework aligns with Marx's theory of materialist-determinism, which critiques the socioeconomic structures perpetuating gendered oppression.⁵⁹

Marx observed the discriminatory social realities of his time, wherein male economic dominance entrenched women's reliance within the family unit. He analogized men to the bourgeoisie (owners of capital) and women to the proletariat (dependent laborers), illustrating how economic control reinforces patriarchal authority.⁶⁰ This theory reflects how the familial power structures espoused by religious figures on YouTube perpetuate discrimination and subordination, mirroring the very dynamics Marx delineated.

The discriminatory potential of such constructs is evident in the fatwas of Khalid Basalamah. In one instance, an attendee inquired about a hadith condemning wives who refuse their husbands' sexual advances. The attendee then posed a counterquestion: If a husband rejects his wife's request for intimacy, would he similarly be cursed until dawn? Basalamah responded:

⁵⁶ Yusuf Wibisono, "Konsep Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Perspektif Islam," *Al-Mabsut: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* 6, no. 1 (2013): 97–112, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56997/almabsut.v6i1.61>.

⁵⁷ "(297) Kewajiban Istri - Ustadz DR Syafiq Riza Basalamah MA - YouTube," accessed July 27, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nym08XDIAx4&t=2335s>.

⁵⁸ Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Shahih Al-Bukhari*, Jilid 1 (Damaskus: Dar Ibnu Katsir, n.d.).

⁵⁹ Randall, *Sociology of Marriage and the Family: Gender Love and Property*.

⁶⁰ Randall.

The answer is no, because that is the ruling of Allah. What is in the evidence is that only the wife is cursed. The first reason is that it is rare for a husband to refuse sex unless his wife smells of jengkol, has not bathed.... Another point is that men and women are different in terms of desire. Men are created by Allah to be outside the home (public activities), so the temptation (lust) is great, and can happen to them. Therefore, they need to fulfill their (biological) needs. While women are more at home.⁶¹

Basalamah's reply reinforces the notion that only wives incur divine wrath for denying conjugal relations, thereby institutionalizing their marginalization within marital dynamics. This framing reduces women's agency over their bodies, implying that sexual reciprocity is irrelevant and that men alone dictate the terms of intimacy. Such rhetoric contradicts the principles of mutual consent and shared pleasure that should underpin marital relations. Not all religious figures align with Khalid Basalamah's views. Buya Yahya, for instance, asserts that husbands incur sin if they reject their wives' requests for sexual intimacy, a position echoed by Syafiq Riza, who states:

Men do have a higher degree, but in terms of rights, women also have rights in that regard (sexual relations).⁶²

However, Buya Yahya delineates consequences across two spheres: worldly (*dunyāwī*) and otherworldly (*ukhrawī*). While husbands face no earthly penalties for refusal (beyond the wife's right to initiate divorce), wives forfeit their claim to financial maintenance (*nafaqa*) if they reject intimacy. In the eschatological realm, Buya Yahya emphasizes parity: both spouses incur divine punishment for denying their partner's biological needs.⁶³ Despite this nominal reciprocity, all examined clerics ultimately frame wives as "sexual servants" to their husbands. Buya Yahya critiques wives' perceived selfishness in sexual matters, remarking:

It turns out that many women are selfish and often reluctant when invited by their husbands to bed (having sex). If she knows that her husband wants to have sex, there are various reasons.⁶⁴

Khalid Basalamah similarly mandates wives to prioritize their husbands' biological needs,⁶⁵ reinforcing a paradigm where wives function as visual objects for male gratification. This objectification is further normalized through prescriptive aesthetics. Syafiq Riza, for example, demands that wives maintain an alluring appearance:

⁶¹ "(303) APAKAH MALAIKAT JUGA MELAKNAT SUAMI YANG MENOLAK AJAKAN ISTRI | Ustadz Dr. Khalid Basalamah MA - YouTube."

⁶² "(21) Menyikapi Suami Yang Sudah Lama Tidak Memberi Nafkah Batin - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=84f-OzSZjgM&t=280s>.

⁶³ "(25) Suami Menolak Ajakan Istri Berhubungan Suami-Istri, Apakah Dosa? - Buya Yahya Menjawab - YouTube," accessed January 9, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAt4rV8GDCg>.

⁶⁴ "(6) Larangan Egois Saat Berhubungan Suami Istri | Buya Yahya - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iiDoRbejUko>.

⁶⁵ "(6) Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #30: Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 1) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

The Prophet taught that the wife should be beautiful, so when her husband comes (to the house), she (the wife) should make up. After this meeting, no more husbands will ask their wives, if they dress up beautifully, "Where are you going?", because at home (wives) are never beautiful.⁶⁶

Khalid Basalamah's rhetoric parallels this. He idealizes wives who are "well-groomed, radiant, and perpetually smiling" for their husbands.⁶⁷ Khalid Basalamah explicitly attributes dysfunctional sexual relations to wives' deficiencies. He maintains that a husband would never refuse his wife's sexual advances unless her appearance requires "correction", whether through unattractive presentation or poor bodily hygiene.⁶⁸ This positions the husband as the divinely ordained regulator of familial sexual needs (Q.S. 4:34), a framing that fundamentally contradicts principles of equitable partnership. As Aeni argues, sexual intimacy must be negotiated mutually, with both partners' pleasure accorded equal importance. The wife's right to sexual fulfillment is thus systematically negated in this clerical discourse.⁶⁹

The stereotype of wives as biological servants stems directly from the husband's economic dominance. Basalamah asserts that wives must serve their husbands' needs because men, as primary breadwinners, face constant sexual temptation in public spheres.⁷⁰ Buya Yahya echoes this, insisting wives should prioritize understanding their husbands' biological needs:

In our reflection (about the Hadith of Abu Hurairah), why is it that the story is about a woman (who is cursed if she refuses to have intercourse). Finally, we conducted a survey, and I concluded that it seems that many women are selfish, often reluctant (to have intercourse).⁷¹

This paradigm reflects the core tenets of socialist feminist theory and materialist determinism: the husband, as capital owner (bourgeoisie), exercises control over the economically dependent wife (proletariat), with religious dogma legitimizing this hierarchy. The stereotype of wives as sexual servants systematically erodes women's marital rights, particularly regarding sexual fulfillment. This concern is empirically validated by Lanson's landmark study, which revealed significant disparities in female sexual satisfaction: Only 22-75% of women reported consistent orgasms during intercourse; 30-45% experienced orgasms infrequently; and 5-22% never achieved orgasm during sexual activity.⁷² More disturbingly, subsequent research demonstrated that 68% of women

⁶⁶ "(297) Kewajiban Istri - Ustadz DR Syafiq Riza Basalamah MA - YouTube."

⁶⁷ "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #31 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

⁶⁸ "(303) APAKAH MALAIKAT JUGA MELAKNAT SUAMI YANG MENOLAK AJAKAN ISTRI | Ustadz Dr. Khalid Basalamah MA - YouTube."

⁶⁹ Azmi Ro'yal Aeni and Maulana Ni'ma Alhizbi, "HAK ISTRI DALAM HUBUNGAN SEKSUAL MENURUT HUKUM KELUARGA ISLAM," *Usroh: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 7, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 27-40, <https://doi.org/10.19109/ujhki.v7i1.17743>.

⁷⁰ "Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #31 : Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) - Khalid Basalamah - YouTube."

⁷¹ "(6) Larangan Egois Saat Berhubungan Suami Istri | Buya Yahya - YouTube."

⁷² Lucienne Lanson, *Dari Wanita Untuk Wanita* (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1987).

admitted to feigning orgasms to please their partners.⁷³ These findings directly correlate with women's subordinate position in marital relationships. When women are exclusively framed as sexual servants, existing primarily to satisfy male desires, their fundamental needs as equal creations of Allah SWT remain systematically unfulfilled.

Economic Authority in Tafsīr: How Q.S. An-Nisā: 34 Fuels Gendered Sexual Hierarchies in Indonesian YouTube Fatwas

The struggle for equality in biological rights within gender relations presents a complex issue deeply intertwined with social constructions and fundamental human rights. In traditional Javanese culture, women were relegated to the role of *Konco Wingking* (literally "companion in the back"), positioning them as secondary members of society confined to domestic spheres.⁷⁴ The religious scholars examined in this study echo this paradigm, framing women primarily as bearers of domestic obligations, particularly in servicing their husbands' sexual needs. This subordinate status is justified through an economic lens: since husbands serve as breadwinners, wives are obligated to fulfill their sexual demands. Such arguments are rooted in interpretations of Q.S 4:34, which has been traditionally read as endorsing male authority. Buya Yahya explicitly defines *qawwām* as denoting leadership, asserting that leaders must be obeyed:

Qawwam is the leader in the household. What is a leader if he is not obeyed? Even though you are a woman who is more intelligent than your husband, you must position yourself as an advisor, a place for discussion with your husband. The meaning, this does not mean that a wife should not give orders in a household.⁷⁵

He further emphasizes that wives, as subordinates, are duty-bound to accommodate their husbands' biological needs, citing the "textual clarity" of Q.S 4:34 as the basis for male authority.⁷⁶ Syafiq Riza Basalamah elaborates on this hierarchy, attributing male leadership to two factors: innate human nature (*fitrah*) and economic provision (*kasbī*):

Allah made men rulers for two reasons: one, by birth or divine gift (*fitrah*). The other (reason) is because of effort (giving dowry and maintenance), so it is as if there is a command here (in this verse). Allah made men (as) leaders because there are advantages that Allah gave to men. The man is in charge of protecting, nurturing, and providing for his wife, just as the leader of a country is in charge.⁷⁷

⁷³ "Survei: 68 Persen Wanita Melakukan Orgasme Palsu - Medcom.Id," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.medcom.id/rona/kesehatan/5b2VvErb-survei-68-persen-wanita-melakukan-orgasme-palsu>.

⁷⁴ Rahma Aulia and Nani Solihati, "Ketidakadilan Gender Terhadap Tokoh Perempuan Dalam Kumpulan Cerpen Perempuan Yang Memesan Takdir Karya W. Sanavero," *Diglosia: Jurnal Pendidikan, Kebahasaan, Dan Kesusastraan Indonesia* 6, no. 2 (2022).

⁷⁵ "(6) Hak-Hak Suami Atas Istri - Hikmah Buya Yahya - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aafQnAPpMcs>.

⁷⁶ "(6) Hak-Hak Suami Atas Istri - Hikmah Buya Yahya - YouTube."

⁷⁷ "(6) Memperlakukan Istri Yang Nusyuz Pada Suami - Ustadz Dr. Syafiq Riza Basalamah, M.A. - YouTube," accessed January 8, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q9jPqayNO10>.

Khalid Basalamah and Adi Hidayat advance similar views, reinforcing an imbalanced marital dynamic where economic power, sanctified through selective Qur'anic exegesis, becomes the linchpin of gendered subjugation. The economic authority ascribed to men in interpretations of Q.S 4:34 stems from patriarchal frameworks entrenched in Arab tradition. Such paradigms persist in the textual exegesis of classical scholars who adhere to conservative principles. For instance, Imam Jalaluddin al-Mahalli unequivocally attributes male leadership over women to divine endowments of knowledge, intellect, and authority bestowed directly by Allah (SWT). He further grounds this hierarchy in men's economic provision (*nafaqa*) for women.⁷⁸ A view mirrored by Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, who asserts that Allah decreed male leadership through innate advantages: superior rationality, emotional stability, physical stature, and the exclusive capacity for prophethood (*nubuwwa*) and caliphal authority (*imāmah al-kubrā*). Crucially, al-Zuhaylī ties this leadership to men's dual obligations: earning income and paying the dowry (*mahr*), thereby positioning them as natural governors of women.⁷⁹

The patriarchal interpretations discussed above have profound implications for wives' fundamental human rights, particularly concerning sexual agency and fulfillment. The absolutist construction of male leadership (*qiwāma*) grants husbands unilateral authority to regulate marital intimacy, wherein a wife's refusal to comply with sexual demands is systematically framed as disobedience (*nushūz*). This conceptualization carries dual sanctions: temporal consequences (The wife forfeits her right to financial maintenance (*nafaqa*), a penalty that maintains superficial logic within the provider-dependent paradigm) and eschatological punishment (exclusive divine retribution against wives).⁸⁰ The inherent inequity becomes particularly evident when examining contemporary Muslim households where economic roles are shared. If a wife actively contributes to family income, thereby sharing the physical and psychological burdens of breadwinning, the classical framework's theological penalties lose both their contextual relevance and ethical justification.

The conservative interpretation of Qur'anic verses, which tends to be discriminatory, poses a significant challenge to the implementation of Islamic law that is humane and gender-responsive. Nevertheless, several Muslim scholars have developed progressive frameworks of interpretation by incorporating contextual elements without compromising the essence of the Qur'an. For instance, Sahiron, through his *ma'na cum maghza* theory, argues that Q.S 4:34 falls under the category of historical-cultural-normative verses. This means the verse can be interpreted by considering the cultural context of the family in the modern era.⁸¹

Patriarchal relations of the past influenced the leadership of men in Q.S 4:34, yet patriarchal values do not fully align with the principles of justice in

⁷⁸ Jalaluddin Al-Mahalli, *Tafsir Al-Jalalain* (Surabaya: Nurul Huda, n.d.).

⁷⁹ Wahbah Zuhaili, *At-Tafsir Al-Munir Fi Al-Aqidah Wa Al-Syariah Wa Al-Manhaj*, Jilid 9 (Damaskus: Dar al-Fikr, 2003).

⁸⁰ Ilkham Maulidan Syah, "Kewajiban Suami Memberikan Nafkah terhadap Istri yang Nusyuz menurut Imam Syafi'i dan Ibnu Hazm," 2024, <https://syekhnurjati.ac.id>.

⁸¹ Sahiron, *Hermeneutika Dan Pengembangan Ulumul Quran*.

contemporary society. Therefore, the structure of family leadership should be adapted to societal contexts. If a society permits women to assume leadership roles, such an arrangement can remain consistent with the essence of Q.S 4:34, provided that the leader fulfills the necessary criteria—superiority in knowledge, spirituality, and financial capability.⁸²

Conclusion

The study's examination of four prominent religious figures has identified multiple gender-biased fatwas concerning marital relations. These edicts systematically position husbands as household heads endowed with comprehensive authority to regulate all aspects of their wives' lives. A particularly salient manifestation of this power dynamic appears in the domain of sexual relations, where wives are reduced to sexual servitude. Religious authorities justify this hierarchical arrangement as divinely mandated through their interpretation of Q.S. 4:34.

This paradigm demonstrates striking congruence with Marx's materialist-determinism framework, wherein women's subordination emerges directly from male economic dominance. The correlation between financial control and sexual authority in these fatwas substantiates this theoretical connection, revealing how traditional Islamic jurisprudence intersects with patriarchal economic structures. The persistent patterns of gender discrimination and their implications for marital relations present significant obstacles to progressive family law reform. This challenge is particularly acute when such discourses are propagated by religious authorities through social media platforms, where they risk being uncritically internalized by the public. The proliferation of digital religious content threatens to undermine emerging spaces for gender-inclusive Islamic scholarship. Consequently, contemporary Muslim scholars specializing in gender-responsive legal reform must urgently address this issue. By exposing the discriminatory narratives disseminated by religious influencers on YouTube, this study aims to foster critical public awareness of their incompatibility with Islamic principles of justice (*al-'adl*) and reciprocity

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⁸² Sahiron.

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