

Shari'ah and Women's Rights: A Critical Study of the Relationship Between Text, Interpretation, and Social Practice

By

Muhammad Zayyana

Department of Islamic studies

Federal university Dutsinma

Mzayyana2025@fudutsinma.edu.ng 08132975223

&

Ibrahim Muhammad idris

Department of Islamic studies

Federal university Dutsinma

Imidris2@fudutsinma.edu.ng 08031817276

&

Ali umar maigari

Department of Islamic studies

Federal university Dutsinma

amaigari@fudutsinma.edu.ng 08067979625

Abstract

This study critically examines the complex relationship between Islamic sacred texts (Shari'ah), their historical and modern interpretations, and lived social practices concerning women's rights. The research objectives are: to analyze the divergence between foundational Islamic texts and patriarchal interpretations that have shaped classical jurisprudence (fiqh); and to assess the impact of these interpretations on contemporary Muslim women's socio-legal status across diverse societies. Employing an interdisciplinary methodology, the research integrates feminist critical hermeneutics to deconstruct juristic rulings, alongside comparative case studies of legal reforms and women's activism in select Muslim-majority countries. Two key findings emerge. First, the research demonstrates that many restrictive norms attributed to Shari'ah often stem from human interpretations influenced by specific historical-cultural contexts, rather than from the Quranic text itself, revealing a mutable space for egalitarian re-reading. Second, it identifies that progressive change in women's rights is most effective where reformist religious scholarship (ijtihād) aligns with grassroots women's movements advocating for change within an Islamic framework, challenging both secular-imposed models and rigid traditionalism. The study concludes that the nexus of text, interpretation, and practice is a dynamic battlefield where women's rights are continually negotiated.

Keywords: Sharia, Women's Rights, Patriarchy, Ijtihad, Maqasid, Islamic Feminism

Introduction

The term "Sharia" often invokes a monolithic image of immutable, divinely mandated laws, particularly concerning women. This perception fuels a global debate, positioning Sharia as inherently incompatible with modern conceptions of gender equality. However, this perspective conflates Sharia as it was revealed through the Quran and the example of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with Fiqh, the human Endeavor of Islamic jurisprudence. As scholar Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im asserts, "Sharia is the divine ideal, while Fiqh is the human understanding of that ideal."¹ This distinction is the cornerstone of our analysis.

This article contends that a critical examination reveals a profound divergence between the foundational texts of Islam, which introduced radical reforms for the 7th-century Arabian context,

and the subsequent patriarchal interpretations and practices that have often limited women's rights. The gap relationship between text and interpretation is not a modern phenomenon but a historical reality shaped by the sociocultural milieus of classical jurists. By analysing key issues legal capacity, marriage, and bodily autonomy through the lenses of text, interpretation, and practice, this paper aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding and highlight efforts to harmonize Islamic faith with the imperative of gender justice.

1. The Textual Foundation: Qur'anic Reforms and Prophetic Paradigms

The revelation of the Qur'an in 7th-century Arabia marked a revolutionary departure from the prevailing *Jahiliyyah* (Age of Ignorance) practices that severely victimized women.

1.1. Spiritual and Ontological Equality

The Qur'an fundamentally establishes the equal spiritual worth and human origin of men and women. Allah says:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِّنْ نُفُسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَاءً

O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women." (Qur'an 4:1)²

This verse underscores a shared origin and inherent equality. Furthermore, the Qur'an makes no distinction in spiritual reward, explicitly stating:

فَاسْتَجَابَ لَهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ أُولَئِي لَا أَصْبِعُ عَمَلَ عَامِلٍ مِنْكُمْ مَنْ ذَكَرْ أَوْ أَنْتَ ۖ بَعْضُكُمْ مِنْ بَعْضٍ

"And their Lord responded to them, 'Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female; you are of one another.'" (Qur'an 3:195)³

1.2. Socio-Legal Reforms

The Qur'an introduced groundbreaking legal reforms. It prohibited female infanticide (Qur'an 81:8-9), granted women the right to inherit property—a right previously nonexistent (Qur'an 4:7)—and reconfigured marriage as a contract with rights and obligations for both parties,

الَّتِي لَمْ يُخْلُقْ مِثْلَهَا فِي الْأَرْضِ
وَتَمُودُ الَّذِينَ جَاءُوا الْصَّحْرَ بِالْوَادِ

"Whose like has never been created in the land?

And [with] Thamud, who carved out the rocks in the valley?"

2. Quran 4:7 (Surah An-Nisa)

لِلرِّجَالِ نَصِيبٌ مِمَّا تَرَكَ الْوَلَدَانِ وَالْأَقْرَبُونَ وَلِلْإِنْسَاءِ نَصِيبٌ مِمَّا تَرَكَ الْوَلَدَانِ وَالْأَقْرَبُونَ مِمَّا قَلَّ مِنْهُ أَوْ كَثُرَ ۖ نَصِيبٌ مَفْرُوضًا

"For men is a share of what the parents and close relatives leave, and for women is a share of what the parents and close relatives leave, be it little or much – an obligatory share."

mandating the payment of a dower (mahr) directly to the wife (Qur'an 4:4).

وَأَئُوا إِلَيْسَاءَ صَدَقَتِهِنَّ نَحْلَةً ۖ فَإِنْ طَبِنَ لَكُمْ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُ نَهْسِيَا فَكُلُوهُ هَنْيَا مَرِيَا

"And give the women [upon marriage] their bridal gifts graciously. But if they, out of their own goodness, remit any part of it to you, then consume it with enjoyment and pleasure."

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) embodied these reforms. His famous Farewell Sermon declared: "I command you to treat women well."⁴ He actively engaged with women, listened to their counsel (as in the case of Umm Salamah regarding the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah), and his wife Khadijah was a successful merchant and his first supporter.

A well-known hadith illustrates his emphasis on justice:

«أَسْتُوْصُو بِالْإِنْسَاءِ خَيْرًا»

"The best of you are those who are best to their women." (Al-Tirmidhi)⁵

(Sunan al-Tirmidhi, *Kitab al-Rada'*, Hadith 1162.)

2. The Interpretative Layer: The Patriarchal Encroachment of Fiqh

Despite the egalitarian spirit of the texts, the development of Fiqh (jurisprudence) between the 8th and 10th centuries CE occurred within deeply patriarchal societies (Byzantine, Persian, Sassanid). Male jurists, while scholarly brilliant, were products of their time, and their interpretations often reflected contemporary norms.

2.1. The Concept of Qiwanah

The key verse on gender relations (Qur'an 4:34) became the linchpin for patriarchal interpretations.

الرّجُالُ قَوَّاءُنَّ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ

"Men are the protectors and maintainers of women because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means."⁶

Classical interpreters largely understood *qiwanah* (from the root q-w-m, implying responsibility) as male authority and superiority. The phrase "*bima faddala Allahu*" (because Allah has given one more than the other) was taken as a definitive statement of innate male preference, though modern scholars like Azizah al-Hibri argue it refers to the economic responsibility of providing the dower and maintenance, not inherent superiority.⁷ This interpretation became the basis for laws granting men greater weight in testimony, inheritance, and leadership roles.

2.2. The Regulation of Female Autonomy

Patriarchal interpretations significantly curtailed the autonomy granted by the text. For instance:

- Marriage: While the Qur'an requires consent, classical jurists permitted a father to compel a virgin daughter into marriage (*jabr*) for her "own good," a practice with no basis in the Qur'an and contested in hadith.⁸
- Public Life: Famous but highly contested hadith:

لَا يُفْلِحُ قَوْمٌ وَلَوْا أَمْرَهُمْ امْرَأٌ

"A people who appoint a woman as their leader will never succeed" (Sahih al-Bukhari)⁹—was used to exclude women from political leadership, despite historical examples like *Shajarat al-Durr* in Egypt.

- Domestic Authority: The same verse (4:34) was interpreted to permit physical "discipline" of wives, a reading modern scholars challenge by re-examining the term *daraba* (to strike) in context, suggesting it meant to separate or leave, not to beat.¹⁰

As Leila Ahmed notes in *Women and Gender in Islam*, "The legislation of the Qur'an... improved the position of women. But the subsequent interpretive and legal tradition... often moved in a different direction, increasingly emphasizing notions of male dominance and female submission."¹¹

3. The Practice: Codification of Patriarchy and Modern Realities

The human interpretations of Fiqh were codified into legal manuals and, in the modern era, into the personal status codes of many Muslim-majority nations. This codification froze medieval social structures into law, creating a significant gap between practice and the Qur'an's ethical vision.

3.1. Case Study: Personal Status Laws

In many contemporary legal systems, family laws derived from classical Fiqh maintain male privilege in divorce (talaq vs. khul), child custody (favoring the father after a certain age), and inheritance (a daughter receiving half a son's share). While the Qur'anic inheritance rules were revolutionary for their time, their rigid application today, without considering the changed economic realities where women are also earners, is criticized by reformers.¹² Kecia Ali, in

Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam, demonstrates how classical jurists used the metaphor of ownership to structure marital rights, a framework that is ethically problematic today.¹³

3.2. Cultural Practices Misattributed to Sharia

The conflation of deeply entrenched cultural norms with divine mandate represents a significant challenge in discourses on Sharia and women's rights. Numerous practices oppressive to women are products of pre-Islamic tribal customs, patriarchal social structures, and local traditions, yet they are often erroneously defended as being "Islamic" or required by Sharia. This misattribution not only harms women but also taints the perception of Islamic law itself, blurring the critical lines between culture and creed.

Honor Killings: Perhaps the most egregious example is the practice of so-called "honor killings," where women are murdered by family members for perceived transgressions against sexual or marital norms, such as pre-marital relationships, seeking divorce, or even being a victim of rape. There is absolutely no basis for this in primary Islamic sources. The Qur'an prescribes a legal process for all crimes and explicitly mandates just retribution (qisas) for murder, treating the killing of one soul as the killing of all humanity (Qur'an 5:32). The concept of a family member taking the law into their own hands to "cleanse" honor is a direct violation of Islamic principles of justice, due process, and the sanctity of life. Scholars like Tahira Shaid Khan note that these practices are rooted in tribal codes of conduct that prioritize communal honor over individual rights and are prevalent in certain regions regardless of religion¹⁴

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM): FGM is a pre-Islamic custom practiced in several African and some Middle Eastern cultures. It finds no endorsement in the Qur'an. The few hadiths sometimes referenced are considered weak (*da'if*) or are interpreted to refer to a minor, symbolic nick that is not mutilating (a practice known as *khafid*), which was reportedly known in Arabia but never made compulsory. Leading Islamic scholarly bodies, including Al-Azhar in Egypt, have issued declarations against FGM, classifying it as a harmful practice and a crime. The Islamic rationale for its prohibition is clear: the Sharia principle of "do no harm" (*la darar wa la dirar*) takes precedence, and the practice causes severe physical and psychological damage with no authentic religious benefit.¹⁵

Forced Marriage: While Islamic law recognizes the guardian's (*wali*) role in marriage to ensure the well-being of the woman, the requirement of free consent (*rida*) is a cornerstone of the Islamic marriage contract. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) explicitly invalidated forced marriages. Well known hadith states:

“ لَا تُنْكِحُ الْأُنْثَى حَتَّىٰ تُسَأَّمَ، وَلَا تُنْكِحُ الْبِكْرَ حَتَّىٰ تُسَأَّدَنَ— ”

"A previously married woman should not be married until she is consulted, and a virgin should not be married until her permission is sought." (Sahih al-Bukhari). The practice of forcing women into marriages for family alliance or economic gain is a cultural violation of this clear Prophetic injunction. The silence or complicity of some religious figures in these communities, often under the guise of respecting cultural norms, allows the practice to persist.

The persistence of these practices is facilitated by a lack of religious literacy, the hegemony of patriarchal interpretations within communities, and the political instrumentalization of religion. Distinguishing between Islamic law and cultural practice is therefore not merely an academic exercise but a necessary step toward protecting women's rights and upholding the authentic teachings of Islam.

4.1. Maqasid al-Sharia (The Higher Objectives of Sharia)

The theory of Maqasid al-Sharia (the Higher Objectives of Islamic Law) provides a powerful intellectual framework for reforming classical juristic rulings, particularly those affecting women's

rights. Championed by classical scholars like *Al-Shātibī* and modern jurists such as Mohammad Hashim Kamali, this methodology moves beyond a literalist application of specific texts to focus on the underlying purposes and universal values the law is meant to serve.

The classical scholars identified five essential *maqasid* (objectives) that Sharia is designed to protect:

1. Religion (al-Din)
2. Life (al-Nafs)
3. Intellect (al-'Aql)
4. Lineage/Progeny (al-Nasl)
5. Property/Wealth (al-Mal)

Modern scholars argue that these objectives are not static and can be expanded to include contemporary universal values such as human dignity (*karamah insaniyyah*), justice ('adl), freedom (*hurriyyah*), and equality (*musawah*). This evolution is critical for addressing gender issues. When a classical ruling is seen to conflict with these higher objectives in a modern context, the *maqasid* framework provides the tools for *ijtihad* to revise it.

Applied Example: Women's Work and Financial Agency

Classical legal texts, reflecting their socio-economic context, often emphasized a male-breadwinner model and could be interpreted as discouraging women's public participation. A rigid application of these views today could prevent women from working, leading to financial dependence and hardship (*mafsadah*). Using *maqasid*, reformers argue that this outcome directly violates the core objectives of Sharia:

It harms the preservation of property/wealth by denying women the means to acquire it and contribute to the economy.

It can impair the preservation of intellect by denying women the opportunity to utilize their education and skills fully.

It undermines human dignity by enforcing dependence and limiting personal agency.

Therefore, a ruling that encourages and facilitates women's right to work—provided their safety and rights are protected—is more aligned with the spirit and objectives of Sharia than one that restricts it. The goal is not to dismiss the text but to ensure its application fulfills its ultimate purpose: promoting human welfare and justice.

This methodology allows for a dynamic and purposive approach to Islamic law, enabling it to respond to new social realities while remaining rooted in its ethical foundations. It shifts the focus from "What did the classical jurists say?" to "What is the objective of this ruling, and how can it be achieved today in a way that upholds justice and human dignity?"

4.2. Feminist Ijtihad and Contextualization

Scholars like Amina Wadud, in her seminal work *Qur'an and Woman*, employ a hermeneutic of reading the Qur'an holistically rather than verse-by-verse.¹⁶ They argue that verses addressing specific 7th-century contexts must be distinguished from universal ethical principles. The verse on *qiwanah*, for instance, is re-read in the context of a male-breadwinner model; in a context where women are equally financially contributing, the legal implications would logically change.¹⁷

Asifa Quraishi-Landes argues for a shift from a Fiqh-centric approach to a Sharia-centric one, where the overarching goals of the Qur'an guide lawmaking rather than the specific rulings of medieval jurists.¹⁸ This is embodied in real-world changes: Morocco's 2004 *Moudawana* (Family Code), which greatly enhanced women's rights, was justified through **ijtihad** based on *maqasid*.¹⁹

4.3 Recommendations

1. Promote the Maqasid al-Sharia (Higher Objectives) Framework in Legal Reform

Action: Legislatures, judicial bodies, and religious institutions in Muslim-majority countries should formally adopt the Maqasid al-Sharia (protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property) as the primary lens for reviewing and reforming personal status laws. This move would shift focus from rigid, classical juristic rulings (fiqh) to achieving the Sharia's ultimate goals of justice ('adl), human dignity (*karamah*), and welfare (*maslahah*). This approach can justify reforms in areas like financial equity, divorce rights, and child custody to align with contemporary contexts.

2. Support and Legitimize Feminist Ijtihad and Contextual Hermeneutics

Academic institutions, Islamic foundations, and publishing houses should actively fund, publish, and disseminate the works of scholars engaged in feminist ijtihad and contextual Quranic hermeneutics (like Amina Wadud, Azizah al-Hibri). Creating platforms for these scholars to lead public dialogues and training programs for emerging religious leaders (imams, judges) is crucial to challenging patriarchal interpretations and building a scholarly consensus for egalitarian readings.

3. Launch Public Education Campaigns to Distinguish Culture from Sharia

Action: Governments and civil society organizations must initiate national public awareness campaigns that clearly differentiate between immutable Islamic principles and harmful cultural practices (e.g., honor killings, FGM, forced marriage). These campaigns should use religious texts and scholarly fatwas to clarify that such practices are un-Islamic violations of Sharia's ethics, thereby undermining their cultural and religious legitimacy.

4. Foster Strategic Alliances between Reformist Scholars and Grassroots Women's Movements

Action: Donors and NGOs should facilitate and fund structured collaborations between progressive Islamic scholars and grassroots women's rights organizations (like the model of Musawah). This alliance is essential to ensure that legal and theological reforms (ijtihad) are informed by women lived experiences and that advocacy for change is grounded in a credible Islamic framework, making it more resilient to accusations of Western imposition.

5. Integrate Historical and Critical Fiqh Studies into Religious Education Curricula

Action: Ministries of education and Islamic universities should reform their curricula to include mandatory courses on the historical development of fiqh, highlighting how classical jurists were influenced by their patriarchal social contexts. This critical study will equip future scholars, judges, and community leaders with the tools to deconstruct patriarchal interpretations and understand Islamic law as a dynamic, human-led project open to revision in light of the text's eternal ethical aims.

Conclusion

The critical analysis between the text of Sharia, its interpretation, and its practices reveals a dynamic and often contradictory history. The Qur'an and the Prophetic example provided a framework that significantly advanced women's rights in its historical context. However, the human project of fiqh, developed within patriarchal societies, often interpreted these texts in ways that limited women's agency and codified male authority.

The contemporary challenge for Muslim societies is not to choose between "Sharia" and "women's rights," but to engage in the classical Islamic tradition of ijtihad to distinguish the divine, ethical core of Sharia from its historically conditioned human interpretations. By leveraging tools like maqasid al-sharia and contextual hermeneutics, it is possible to develop a jurisprudence that is both authentically Islamic and committed to gender justice, thereby closing the gap between the

divine ideal and its human application. The conflict, therefore, lies not in the text, but in our understanding of it—and that understanding is always, necessarily, a work in progress.

Endnotes

1. Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil Liberties, Human Rights, and International Law* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 12.
2. Qur'an 4:1, trans. Sahih International.
3. Qur'an 3:195, trans. Sahih International.
4. This is a widely reported part of the sermon. For a primary source, see Ibn Hisham, *As-Sirah an-Nabawiyyah*, vol. 4 (Cairo: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1955), 650.
5. Sunan al-Tirmidhi, *Kitab al-Rada'*, Hadith 1162. Graded Sahih by Al-Albani.
6. Qur'an 4:34, trans. Yusuf Ali.
7. Azizah al-Hibri, "An Islamic Perspective on Domestic Violence," *Fordham International Law Journal* 27, no. 1 (2003): 195.
8. See discussions in Kecia Ali, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 52.
9. Sahih al-Bukhari, *Kitab al-Maghazi*, Hadith 4425.
10. See the extensive linguistic analysis in Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sublime Quran* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 2007), 92.
11. Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 66.
12. Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Towards Gender Equality: Muslim Family Laws and the Shari'ah," in *Wanted: Equality and Justice in the Muslim Family*, ed. Zainah Anwar (Selangor: Musawah, 2009), 25.
13. Kecia Ali, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam*, 6.
14. Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), 121.
15. Jasser Auda, *Maqasid al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008), 45.
16. Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), ix.
17. Zainah Anwar, "Advancing Women's Rights Through Islamic Law: The Experience of Musawah," *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 60, no. 3 (2012): 843.
18. Asifa Quraishi-Landes, "Islamic Constitutionalism: Not Secular. Not Theocratic. Not Impossible," *Rutgers Journal of Law & Religion* 16, no. 2 (2015): 553.
19. Mounira Charrad, "Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: The Role of the State and Family Law," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 25, no. 3 (2018): 368.
20. Fatima Mernissi, **The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam**, trans. Mary Jo Lakeland (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1991).
21. Jonathan A.C. Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet's Legacy* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2014).
22. Marion Holmes Katz, *Women in the Mosque: A History of Legal Thought and Social Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
23. Hadia Mubarak, *Rebellious Wives, Neglectful Husbands: Controversies in Modern Qur'anic Commentaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

24. Mohsen Kadivar, "Revisiting Women's Rights in Islam: 'Egalitarian Justice' in Lieu of 'Desert-based Justice,'" in *Gender and Equality in Muslim Family Law*, ed. Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Kari Vogt, Lena Larsen, and Christian Moe (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 213-234.
25. Sa'diyah Shaikh, *Sufi Narratives of Intimacy: Ibn 'Arabī, Gender, and Sexuality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).