

Ahkam : Jurnal Hukum Islam, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2026,
DOI :
p-ISSN : 2303-1905
e-ISSN : 2549-1075



Islamic Family Law Reform in Malaysia: An Analysis of Zainah Anwar's Habitus and Social Capital in Advancing Women's Right Reform

Regina Farah Setiawan

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Email: rginafara@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to explain how the habitus and social capital of Zainah Anwar shaped her role in advancing Islamic family law reform concerning women's rights in Malaysia. Existing scholarship has largely examined Zainah Anwar as a thinker within Islamic feminism, focusing on her reinterpretation of religious texts, and has paid limited attention to her position as a social agent operating within a structured field of power. Employing a qualitative approach through library research, this study analyses Malaysian Islamic family law enactments, Zainah Anwar's writings and public statements, and official publications of Sisters in Islam and Musawah. The data are analysed using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice through the framework of habitus, capital, and field. The study finds that her critical disposition was formed through modern education, journalistic work, and sustained involvement in women's advocacy, producing a habitus that treats religious interpretation as a contestable social product. Lacking formal religious symbolic capital, she converted cultural and social capital into symbolic recognition through collective authorship, transnational networks, and expert framing. Her practice contributed to reform less through direct legislative change than through delegitimising patriarchal interpretation and expanding the boundaries of legitimate religious discourse, positioning legal reform as a field of symbolic contestation.

Artikel info

Received: July 3, 2026

Revised: September 3, 2026

Accepted: September 16, 2026

Published: September 16, 2026

Keywords:

Zainah Anwar; habitus; social capital;
Islamic family law; women's rights



Copyright: © 2026 by author (s). This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic family law reform in Malaysia contains a fundamental issue that remains unresolved: the changes that have taken place have largely concerned administrative aspects rather than the substance of gender relations within the law. Since independence, the states have issued Islamic family law enactments regulating marriage registration, divorce procedures, and the jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts, while provisions concerning polygamy, the right to divorce, post-divorce maintenance, and *hadhanah* have largely remained grounded in classical Shafi'i jurisprudential formulations.¹ As a result, administrative regulation has proceeded alongside the persistence of gender relations that place women in a subordinate position, and some amendments have even been considered to weaken the position of wives.

Criticism of this situation has not come only from secular perspectives, but also from within the Islamic tradition itself. Islamic feminist discourse offers a reinterpretation of religious texts from the perspective of gender justice without departing from the framework of Islamic law.² In Malaysia, the figure who has most consistently occupied this position is Zainah Anwar, a journalist and activist who founded Sisters in Islam (SIS) and later developed Musawah as a global network for justice in Muslim families.³

Previous studies of Zainah Anwar can be grouped into three main strands. The first presents her as a representative of Southeast Asian Islamic feminism and highlights her ideas on the reinterpretation of religious texts.⁴ The second is normative and assesses the compatibility of reformist ideas with *maqāṣ id al-sharī'ah* as well as the principles of justice and public welfare.⁵ The third consists of comparative legal studies that examine the substance of Malaysia's Islamic family law enactments and their weaknesses in protecting

¹ Ahmad Ibrahim, *Family Law in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 1997), 58–61; Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

² Nur Rofiah, "Hermeneutika Islam dan Keadilan Gender," *Musawa: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2015).

³ Wardah Nuroniyah et al., "Respons Hukum Keluarga Islam terhadap Isu Kesenjangan Gender di Indonesia dan Malaysia," *Al-Manahij* 19, no. 2 (2025).

⁴ Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, "Feminisme Islam: Genealogi dan Perkembangannya," *Musawa* 12, no. 2 (2013).

⁵ M. Noor Harisudin, "Maqāṣ id al-Syarī'ah dan Pembaruan Hukum Keluarga Islam," *Al-Manahij* 10, no. 2 (2016).

women.⁶ These three strands have successfully explained the substance of her ideas and the theological framework underlying them, but they remain largely at the level of ideas.

This is where the research gap lies. Existing studies have primarily treated Zainah Anwar as a thinker, leaving unanswered the question of why her ideas have been able to endure and gain an audience within a field structurally dominated by state religious authorities. The sociological dimensions of her struggle the social history that shaped her dispositions, the resources she mobilized, and her position within the structure of the field have not been systematically examined. Yet these dimensions are precisely what explain the resilience of reformist ideas amid institutional resistance.

The classical Shafi'i jurisprudential formulations have consequently continued to shape the substance of the law.⁷ As a result, administrative regulation has proceeded alongside the persistence of gender relations that place women in a subordinate position, and some amendments have even been considered to weaken the position of wives.

Criticism of this situation has not come only from secular perspectives, but also from within the Islamic tradition itself. Islamic feminist discourse offers a reinterpretation of religious texts from the perspective of gender justice without departing from the framework of Islamic law.⁸ In Malaysia, the figure who has most consistently occupied this position is Zainah Anwar, a journalist and activist who founded Sisters in Islam (SIS) and later developed Musawah as a global network for justice in Muslim families.⁹

Previous studies of Zainah Anwar can be grouped into three main strands. The first presents her as a representative of Southeast Asian Islamic feminism and highlights her ideas on the reinterpretation of religious texts.¹⁰ The second is normative and assesses the compatibility of reformist ideas with *maqāṣ id al-sharī'ah* as well as the principles of justice and public welfare.¹¹ The third consists of comparative legal studies that examine the

⁶ Seilla Nur Amalia Firdaus, Siah Khosyiah, and Murni Rosyani, "Pembaharuan Hukum Keluarga Islam: Studi Perbandingan Hukum Keluarga di Brunei Darussalam dan Malaysia," *Zaaken: Journal of Civil and Business Law* 5, no. 2 (2024): 188–206.

⁷ Ahmad Ibrahim, *Family Law in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 1997), 58–61; Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁸ Nur Rofiah, "Hermeneutika Islam dan Keadilan Gender," *Musawa: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2015).

⁹ Wardah Nuroniyah et al., "Respons Hukum Keluarga Islam terhadap Isu Kesetaraan Gender di Indonesia dan Malaysia," *Al-Manahij* 19, no. 2 (2025).

¹⁰ Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, "Feminisme Islam: Genealogi dan Perkembangannya," *Musawa* 12, no. 2 (2013).

¹¹ M. Noor Harisudin, "Maqāṣ id al-Syarī'ah dan Pembaruan Hukum Keluarga Islam," *Al-Manahij* 10, no. 2 (2016).

substance of Malaysia's Islamic family law enactments and their weaknesses in protecting women.¹²

These three strands have successfully explained the substance of her ideas and the theological framework underlying them, but they remain largely at the level of ideas. This is where the research gap lies. Existing studies have primarily treated Zainah Anwar as a thinker, leaving unanswered the question of why her ideas have been able to endure and gain an audience within a field structurally dominated by state religious authorities. The sociological dimensions of her struggle the social history that shaped her dispositions, the resources she mobilized, and her position within the structure of the field have not been systematically examined.

To address this gap, this study employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, conceptualizing practice as the product of the relationship between habitus, capital, and field. Habitus is understood as a system of dispositions formed through social experience that functions as a scheme of perception and action; capital encompasses cultural, social, economic, and symbolic resources that can be mobilized and exchanged; while the field is a structured arena with its own rules of the game, hierarchies, and power relations.¹³ This framework is selected because it enables Islamic family law reform to be understood not merely as a contest of arguments, but as a contest over the authority to interpret Islam.¹⁴

The argument advanced in this article is that Zainah Anwar's role in Islamic family law reform in Malaysia operates through the conversion of capital: the absence of formal religious symbolic capital is compensated for through the accumulation of cultural and social capital, which is subsequently converted into symbolic recognition within the field. Based on this argument, the study addresses three questions. First, how was Zainah Anwar's habitus formed, and how has it shaped her disposition toward Islamic family law reform? Second, how are cultural, social, and symbolic capital mobilized and converted within Malaysia's Islamic family law field? Third, how does this social practice contribute to the reform of women's rights in Malaysian Islamic family law?

¹² Seilla Nur Amalia Firdaus, Siah Khosyiah, and Murni Rossyani, "Pembaharuan Hukum Keluarga Islam: Studi Perbandingan Hukum Keluarga di Brunei Darussalam dan Malaysia," *Zaaken: Journal of Civil and Business Law* 5, no. 2 (2024): 188–206.

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

¹⁴ Fathurrahman Djamil, "Habitus, Modal, dan Arena dalam Studi Hukum Islam," *Al-Manahij* 12, no. 1 (2018).

This study is qualitative and employs library research. Primary sources include Malaysian Islamic family law enactments and statutes, Zainah Anwar's writings and public statements, and official publications of Sisters in Islam and Musawah; secondary sources consist of relevant books and journal articles. The data are analyzed descriptively and analytically using the framework of habitus, capital, and field by tracing the formation of dispositions, mapping the types of capital mobilized, and examining the actor's position within the structure of the field.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Malaysian Islamic Family Law Field: Structure, Actors, and Power Relations

Before analyzing the practices of the actor, the field in which those practices take place must first be mapped, because within Bourdieu's framework, the structure of a field determines what an agent can and cannot do. The Malaysian Islamic family law field is shaped by a federal structure that grants legislative authority over Islamic family law to the respective states, making regulation decentralized and applicable only within the territories that enact it.¹⁵ The Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act 1984 (Act 303) subsequently became a model followed by other states, so although regulation is decentralized, the substance of the enactments is relatively uniform and similarly grounded in Shafi'i jurisprudence.¹⁶

The structure of this field is occupied by actors possessing unequal forms of capital. In dominant positions are the state, through the Department of Islamic Development Malaysia, state Islamic religious councils, fatwa institutions, and Syariah Courts, all of which possess formal religious symbolic capital in the form of official authority to determine legitimate interpretations. In subordinate positions are civil society organizations, academics, and women's activists who do not possess formal authority to interpret religion. The rules of this field place formal religious authorities in the position of determining the legitimacy of Islamic claims, so criticism originating outside this structure can easily be labeled deviant.

¹⁵ M. B. Hooker, *Islamic Law in South-East Asia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), 141–45.

¹⁶ Ahmad Ibrahim, *Family Law in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 1997), 58–61; Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

A distinction must be made here between the history of legal reform and the analysis of reform itself. The historical account of the Malay, colonial, and post-independence periods explains how the field was formed, but does not by itself explain why reform has remained largely administrative. Explaining the latter requires a relational reading: reform has remained focused on procedural regulation because changes at that level do not threaten the monopoly of interpretation held by dominant actors, whereas changes to the substance of gender relations challenge the basis of their authority.¹⁷

Synthesis of this section: the Malaysian Islamic family law field is an arena characterized by an unequal distribution of capital, in which the legitimacy of an Islamic claim is determined by possession of formal religious symbolic capital. This structure constitutes the context that both constrains and shapes Zainah Anwar's practice strategy and explains why her strategy cannot take the form of direct doctrinal confrontation.

Zainah Anwar's Habitus: The Formation of a Critical Disposition

Habitus is not an innate trait, but rather the sediment of social experiences that have become internalized and operate as schemes of judgment that are not always conscious.¹⁸ In Zainah Anwar's case, her critical disposition was formed through three interconnected layers of experience. The first was modern education and intellectual training outside traditional religious education, which cultivated analytical methods and familiarity with the language of human rights. The second was her professional experience in journalism, which developed sensitivity to public discourse, the ability to simplify complex issues, and the courage to express unpopular positions in public. The third, and most decisive, was her long-term involvement in Muslim women's advocacy.

The starting point of this involvement was direct encounters with women's experiences before the Syariah Courts in cases involving polygamy, divorce, and maintenance. These encounters produced the conclusion that became central to her disposition: the injustice experienced by women does not originate from Islam, but from

¹⁷ Ahmad Ibrahim, *Family Law in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 1997), 25-34 ; Wael B. Hallaq, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ M. Syamsuddin, "Teori Praktik Sosial Pierre Bourdieu dan Relevansinya dalam Kajian Hukum," *Al-Ihkam* 13, no. 1 (2018).

human interpretations of Islam that are formed within particular historical and social contexts.¹⁹

This disposition distinguishes Zainah Anwar from two other positions available within the field. She did not adopt a secular path that places religion outside legal debate, nor did she follow a formalist path that treats classical jurisprudential formulations as final. Instead, her habitus encouraged a strategy of contesting the boundaries of interpretation from within by using Islamic vocabulary itself: justice, public welfare, and *maqāṣ id al-sharī'ah*.²⁰ This strategic choice was not merely a communication tactic, but a logical consequence of a habitus that views interpretation as a social product open to contestation.

Synthesis of this section: Zainah Anwar's habitus emerged from the intersection of modern education, journalistic experience, and field-based advocacy, producing a disposition to treat religious interpretation as an object open to debate. This disposition answers the first research question and provides the basis for the capital strategy discussed below.

Mobilization and Conversion of Capital within the Field

The fundamental problem faced by Zainah Anwar within the field is the absence of formal religious symbolic capital. She was not a graduate of a mainstream religious institution, did not hold a position as a mufti or Syariah judge, and was not part of the official ulama structure. In a field where possession of such capital functions as a condition for legitimate speech, this situation constitutes a structural obstacle rather than merely a personal limitation. Her practice can therefore be understood as a series of efforts to convert capital.

The first conversion involved cultural capital. Zainah Anwar and Sisters in Islam developed authority through mastery of sources: examining verses used as the basis for provisions on polygamy and wives' obedience, tracing differences of opinion within the jurisprudential tradition, and presenting the findings in forms accessible to the general public. Publications addressing whether a husband is permitted to beat his wife and how polygamy is positioned in Islam illustrate how cultural capital was produced in a format

¹⁹ Nur Rofiah, "Tafsir Patriarkal dan Ketidakadilan Gender dalam Hukum Islam," *Musawa* 15, no. 2 (2016).

²⁰ Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Family Law and Justice for Muslim Women* (Kuala Lumpur: Sisters in Islam, 2004), 29-31.

capable of broad circulation.²¹ This strategy was important because it shifted the debate from the question of who has the authority to speak toward the question of what textual basis supports a particular legal provision.

The second conversion involved social capital. Sisters in Islam did not operate merely as an individual voice, but as a network hub connecting women's activists, academics, legal practitioners, and civil society organizations across countries. The culmination of this social capital was the establishment of Musawah as a global movement for equality and justice in Muslim families, bringing together academics and activists from various Muslim countries.²²

The third conversion produced symbolic capital. Through the accumulation of the two forms of capital described above, Zainah Anwar gained recognition as a reference point in public debates on Islamic family law, although this recognition did not originate from state religious authority. This form of symbolic capital is contested: it is recognized by the media, international institutions, and some educated segments of the public, but rejected by some official religious authorities. This tension can be seen in attempts to label the organization she founded as deviant, which were subsequently challenged through legal proceedings.²³

Social capital is the principal finding explaining the resilience of Zainah Anwar's practice. Cultural capital provides the substance of her arguments and symbolic capital provides recognition, but social capital enables both to operate because transnational networks provide alternative legitimacy that cannot easily be withdrawn by national religious authorities. This finding answers the second research question and demonstrates that, within an unequal field, an effective strategy is not necessarily to seize dominant symbolic capital, but to build sources of legitimacy beyond its reach.

Social Practice and Its Contribution to the Reform of Women's Rights

Zainah Anwar's contribution to Islamic family law reform needs to be assessed cautiously because claims about an individual actor's influence on legislative change can

²¹ Zainah Anwar, ed., *Wanted: Equality and Justice in the Muslim Family* (Kuala Lumpur: Sisters in Islam, 2009).

²² Zainah Anwar, "Islam, Gender Justice, and Women's Rights," Musawah Knowledge Building Brief, no. 1 (2011).

²³ *ibid*

easily be overstated. A more appropriate approach is to distinguish between two levels of contribution: contribution at the legislative level and contribution at the discursive level.

At the legislative level, her practice took the form of memoranda and policy papers submitted to the government and legislative institutions, particularly concerning provisions on polygamy, matrimonial property, iddah maintenance, and child custody.²⁴ Some provisions did move in a more restrictive direction, for example, the requirements for polygamy permits that demand evidence of the ability to act justly and sufficient economic capacity.²⁵ However, the contribution at this level was not linear: some amendments opposed through joint campaigns with women's organizations were nevertheless enacted, while other demands were accommodated only after many years. It is therefore not sufficiently demonstrable to state that legislative changes were the direct result of one actor's advocacy.

At the discursive level, her contribution is much more demonstrable. Her practices publishing studies, providing legal education for women, offering legal assistance, issuing press releases, and using mass media produced three interconnected effects. First, they delegitimized patriarchal interpretations by shifting the status of provisions harmful to women from being accepted as religious teachings to being understood as interpretations open to question. Second, they expanded the boundaries of legitimate discourse, as issues of polygamy and the right to divorce, previously regarded as closed to public debate, became subjects of open discussion.²⁶ Third, they contributed to the emergence of new actors, because legal education enabled women to articulate their own demands before religious courts.

The resistance that emerged against these practices actually confirms the operation of the field's mechanisms. In Bourdieu's framework, rejection by dominant actors indicates that the claims being advanced are sufficiently significant to threaten a monopoly over interpretation; it is not necessarily evidence of failure. As long as an idea is ignored, it

²⁴ Nur Rofiah, "Tafsir Patriarkal dan Ketidakadilan Gender dalam Hukum Islam," *Musawa* 19, no. 2 (2016).

²⁵ Noraini Mohd Hashim, "Polygamy Regulation and Women's Rights in Malaysia," *Malayan Law Journal* 3 (2019): 119.

²⁶ Farid Sufian Shuaib, "The Evolution of Islamic Law in Malaysia," *Arab Law Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2013): 29.

remains outside the field; when it is opposed, it has already become part of the contestation.²⁷

Synthesis of this section: Zainah Anwar's contribution to women's rights reform is more accurately understood as a symbolic contribution than as direct legislative change. She did not alter statutory provisions directly, but she changed their status in public consciousness from final religious norms into interpretations open to debate. This finding answers the third research question and shows that, within a field dominated by official authorities, discursive change is a prerequisite for legislative change rather than merely a supplement to it.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that Zainah Anwar's role in Islamic family law reform in Malaysia constitutes a social practice arising from the relationship between habitus, capital, and field. Her critical habitus was formed through the intersection of modern education, journalistic experience, and women's advocacy, producing a disposition to treat religious interpretation as a social product open to question. The absence of formal religious symbolic capital was addressed through the conversion of cultural capital, represented by the production of accessible Islamic studies, and social capital, represented by networks of activists and academics across countries; both generated symbolic recognition outside the structure of state religious authority.

The main finding of this study is that social capital, rather than cultural or symbolic capital, is the key to the resilience of this practice because transnational networks provide sources of legitimacy beyond the reach of national authorities. Zainah Anwar's contribution is therefore more appropriately assessed at the discursive level than at the legislative level: she shifted the status of provisions harmful to women from final religious teachings into interpretations open to debate.

This study is limited to library sources and therefore does not capture the internal dynamics of the legislative process or the perceptions of dominant actors within the field. Future research should employ interviews with legislative actors and religious authorities and extend the analysis to comparisons of similar actors' strategies in other Muslim

²⁷ Fathurrahman Djamil, "Hukum Islam sebagai Arena Kontestasi Sosial," *Al-Manahij* 12, no. 1 (2018): 1-15.

countries, so that the mechanisms of capital conversion in Islamic family law reform can be tested in different contexts.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah, R. "A Study of Islamic Family Law in Malaysia." *IIUM Law Journal* 25, no. 1 (2017).
- Anderson, J.N.D. *Hukum Islam di Dunia Moderen*. Surabaya: Amar Press, 1990.
- Anwar, Zainah. *Islamic Family Law and Justice for Muslim Women*. Kuala Lumpur: Sisters in Islam, 2004.
- Anwar, Zainah. "Islam, Gender Justice, and Women's Rights." *Musawah Knowledge Building Brief*, no. 1 (2011).
- Anwar, Zainah, ed. *Wanted: Equality and Justice in the Muslim Family*. Kuala Lumpur: Sisters in Islam, 2009.
- Basyar, Fahmi. "Prosedur Pencatatan Perkawinan dan Perceraian di Negara Indonesia dan Malaysia Perspektif Hukum Islam." *Istidlal* 1, no. 1 (2017): 87–99.
- Bero, Suropto, Sariatul Fikri, and Mishbachul Mujib. "Perbandingan Sistem Pembagian Waris dalam Hukum Indonesia dan Malaysia." *USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, no. 2 (2025): 52–65.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241–58. New York: Greenwood, 1986.
- Dikuraisyin, Basar. "Sistem Hukum dan Peradilan Islam di Malaysia." *Terateks* 1, no. 3 (2017): 1–11.
- Djamil, Fathurrahman. "Habitus, Modal, dan Arena dalam Studi Hukum Islam." *Al-Manahij* 12, no. 1 (2018).
- Djamil, Fathurrahman. "Hukum Islam sebagai Arena Kontestasi Sosial." *Al-Manahij* 12, no. 1 (2018): 1–15.
- Dzuhayatin, Siti Ruhaini. "Feminisme Islam: Genealogi dan Perkembangannya." *Musawa* 12, no. 2 (2013).
- Dzuhayatin, Siti Ruhaini. "Gerakan Perempuan Muslim dan Hak Asasi Manusia di Asia Tenggara." *Musawa: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 12, no. 2 (2013): 201–18.
- Firdaus, Seilla Nur Amalia, Siah Khosyiah, and Murni Rossyani. "Pembaharuan Hukum Keluarga Islam: Studi Perbandingan Hukum Keluarga di Brunei Darussalam dan Malaysia." *Zaaken: Journal of Civil and Business Law* 5, no. 2 (2024): 188–206.
- Firdawaty, Linda. "Kontekstualisasi Hukum Keluarga Islam: Telaah atas Pembaharuan Hukum Keluarga Islam di Negara-Negara Muslim." *Asas: Jurnal Hukum dan Ekonomi Islam* 9, no. 2 (2017): 159–75.

- Hallaq, Wael B. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Harisudin, M. Noor. "Maqāṣ id al-Syarī'ah dan Pembaruan Hukum Keluarga Islam." *Al-Manahij* 10, no. 2 (2016).
- Hashim, Noraini Mohd. "Polygamy Regulation and Women's Rights in Malaysia." *Malayan Law Journal* 3 (2019).
- Hooker, M. B. *Islamic Law in South-East Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Ibrahim, Ahmad. *Family Law in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Law Journal, 1997.
- Ibrahim, Ahmad. *The Administration of Islamic Law in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia, 1997.
- Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act 1984 (Act 303). Government of Malaysia.
- Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) (Amendment) Act 2006. Government of Malaysia.
- Ismail, Siti Zubaidah. "Islamic Family Law in Malaysia: Issues and Challenges." *Asian Journal of Comparative Law* 15, no. 1 (2020).
- Law Reform (Marriage and Divorce) Act 1976 (Act 164). Government of Malaysia.
- Mudzhar, M. Atho, dan Khoiruddin Nasution. *Hukum Keluarga di Dunia Islam Modern: Studi Perbandingan dan Keberlanjutan UU Modern dari Kitab-Kitab Fikih*. Jakarta: Ciputat Press, 2003.
- Mulia, Siti Musdah. "Gerakan Perempuan Muslim dan Reformasi Hukum Keluarga." *Al-Ahwal* 8, no. 1 (2015).
- Mulia, Siti Musdah. "Reformasi Hukum Keluarga Islam dan Perlindungan Perempuan." *Al-Ahwal* 9, no. 2 (2016): 135-52.
- Naili, Nabila, and Kemal Riza. "Hukum Keluarga Islam Asia Tenggara Kontemporer: Sejarah, Pembentukan, dan Dinamikanya di Malaysia." Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel, 2013.
- Nasution, Khoiruddin. *Hukum Perkawinan Islam di Dunia Muslim Modern*. Yogyakarta: Academia, 2009.
- Nurlaelawati, Euis. "Perempuan, Islam, dan Civil Society di Asia Tenggara." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 7, no. 1 (2014): 1-18.
- Nuroniya, Wardah, et al. "Respons Hukum Keluarga Islam terhadap Isu Kesetaraan Gender di Indonesia dan Malaysia." *Al-Manahij* 19, no. 2 (2025).
- Othman, Norani. "Keadilan Gender dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 7, no. 2 (2014).
- Rafiq, Ahmad. "Hukum Islam sebagai Produk Sosial." *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (2012).
- Rofiah, Nur. "Hermeneutika Islam dan Keadilan Gender." *Musawa: Jurnal Studi Gender dan Islam* 14, no. 1 (2015).

- Rofiah, Nur. "Tafsir Patriarkal dan Ketidakadilan Gender dalam Hukum Islam." *Musawa* 15, no. 2 (2016).
- Shuaib, Farid Sufian. "The Evolution of Islamic Law in Malaysia." *Arab Law Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2013).
- Syamsuddin, M. "Habitus, Modal, dan Arena dalam Analisis Hukum Islam." *Al-Ihkam* 13, no. 2 (2019): 221-40.
- Syamsuddin, M. "Teori Praktik Sosial Pierre Bourdieu dan Relevansinya dalam Kajian Hukum." *Al-Ihkam* 13, no. 1 (2018).