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Debate on Patriarchal Interpretation of Hadith: An Overview

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ABSTRACT

The criticism on Hadith as one of the legal sources in Islam is continually debating until the present day. For certain reasons, the Hadith has been disregarded as an infallible source, and its authenticity often becomes the subject of argument among the past and present scholars. One of the important debates in the study of Hadith is the existence of misogynistic traditions which are claimed to be found in the authentic Hadith collections. This paper aims to discover how the hadith has been criticized for being influenced by patriarchal interpretation and prejudiced as anti-women as claimed by the feminists. It is due to the male domination in major aspects of the Islamic texts, including the process of transmission, preservation, publication as well as interpretation. Unfortunately, the interpretation of the Hadith particularly those pertaining to women contains gender bias and discrimination against women. The feminists argue those Hadiths were interpreted in favor of men's interests and patriarchal culture. In addition, this study also attempts to examine some reasons for rejecting the patriarchal interpretation as initiated by the feminists, with their aim to reject anti-women discourse and to emphasize the women-friendly interpretation of the Islamic texts. The finding shows that patriarchal interpretation might be the reason for mistreatment towards women, however, the Hadith contains divine wisdom equally for both genders. It is a mutual responsibility to provide a better understanding of the Hadith textually and contextually.

Keywords: Patriarchy; Interpretation; Hadith; Woman; Feminist

INTRODUCTION

The Hadith has been acknowledged by Muslims as the second source in Islam after the Qur'an. As one of the most important subjects among Muslims, Hadith technically refers to utterances, deeds, tacit approval or description of physical features and moral characteristics

associated to Prophet Muhammad, either before or after his prophecy. [1] During the first two Islamic centuries, the Hadith was orally transmitted and not completely compiled into a written form. The official documentation of the Hadith was only made in the ninth century and several collections were produced at the beginning of the tenth century, particularly the six canonical collections. These collections or also known as *kutub sittah* composing of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhāri, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī, Sunan Ibn Mājah, Sunan al-Nasā'ī* and *Sunan Abū Dāwud.*

The Hadith in these collections are arranged topically by book and chapter, which have been compiled during the second half of the ninth century. [2] Although those six canonical collections contain authentic and *ṣaḥīḥ* Hadiths (sound), it also may include *ḥasan* (good) and *ḍa'īf* (weak) Hadiths in the works of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, al-Nasā'ī and Abū Dāwud. However, the authenticity of the Hadiths in these collections has been questioned with various reasons, and one of them is because it is argued that authentic Hadiths carry gender bias, misogynistic and anti-women reports. [3]

However, due to many challenges and criticism towards the Hadith from time to time in terms of its authenticity, reliability, credibility, and interpretation, the content of the Hadith as an infallible source of law was questioned and criticised by scholars for many reasons. One of them is the debate that authentic Hadiths carry gender bias, misogynistic and anti-woman reports. The question on anti-woman or misogyny in the Prophetic traditions is gradually debated since the end of eighteenth century until present day. According to Stowasser: "The Hadith materials on women's inferior nature were accepted and propagated by the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the learned doctors of law and theology until the eighteenth century pre-modern reformists began to question their authoritative status. Since the nineteenth century, Islamic modernists have denied the authenticity and doctrinal validity of what they viewed as medieval extraneous interpretative "lore", while re-emphasizing the Qur'anic notion of the female's full personhood and moral responsibility". [4]

The twentieth century is a period where efforts have been made gradually in challenging the conservative and fundamental idea on women. It might have been started in 1990s where many publications were blooming, calling for gender equality and social justice for Muslim women. *Zanan*, an Iranian women magazine, for example, embarked on women's rights and criticised radical interpretation of the Islamic sources. [5] There are many other magazines, journals and books published openly for public aims to propose change not only in the social and legal norms, but also to promote new perspectives in promoting women's rights without blindly imitating the patriarchal interpretation of the Islamic texts.

Feminists such as Barbara Stowasser and Leila Ahmed found that interpretation of the Hadith among the conservatives and fundamentalists are unfavourable towards women, and in which their rights were interpreted to be secluded and their roles are limited to domestic functions, motherhood, childcare, and similar work. [6] The patriarchal

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[1] Muhammad Mustafa Azami (1977), *Studies in Hadith Methodology and Literature*, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, p. 3.

[2] Scot C. Lucas (2008), "Major Topics of the Hadith", *Religion Compass*, Vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 226–239.

[3] Hamim Ilyas, Mochamad Sodik, Inayah Rohmaniyah (2005), *Perempuan Tertindas?: Kajian Hadis-Hadis Misoginis*, Yogjakarta: eLSAQ Press.

[4] Barbara Stowasser (1994), *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 28.

[5] Afsaneh Najmabadi (1997), "Feminism in an Islamic Republic: "Years of Hardship, Years of Growth," Y. Y. Haddad & J. L. Esposito (Eds.), *Islam, Gender, and Sociopolitical Change: Case Studies*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-84.

[6] Stowasser (1994); Leila Ahmed (1992), *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

interpretations of the Hadith also have led to women's exclusion from the public sphere, even though women were acknowledged in the transmission of Hadiths and actively participated in religious and social activities during early Islam. Nevertheless, the feminists argued that the belief of woman seclusion is never directly mentioned in the original source of traditions; the Qur'an and the Hadith, but it was constrained by the social order which was used to be practiced by earlier generations. They also argued that the Islamic texts have been influenced by the patriarchy and gender discrimination. For the feminists, the conservative approach in a way has spread the message of anti-women, by using the religious texts, particularly the Hadith. Hence, majority of the feminists rejected those interpretations and produced their own interpretation which is accommodating women's interest, without any conflict with human values and rights, and in line with the changing times.

What is Patriarchy?

Patriarchy can be referred to the dominance of the male gender, where females are given no formal power and public position. It is "a politics of male privilege based on the idea of sexual differentiation"; "the confusion of sex (biology) with its social constructions"; "sexual differences with gender hierarchies and inequalities"[7]; and "a hegemonic presumption of dominance and superiority that leads to the eradication of women's agency".[8] In fact, patriarchy had a very big impact on women in Islam even though it is said that there is no inherent or logical link between patriarchy and Islam,[9] which has been claimed as a practice among the tribe in pre-Islamic era. These patriarchal cultures and misogynistic practices were also believed to have originated in other cultures, such as the Persians,[10] Byzantines and Greeks, but later embedded in the social practices of Muslims. Some scholars also believe that the anti-woman establishment in Muslim society has no sacred sanction, either from the Qur'an or the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, or even from the early traditions of Muslim society.[11] But Azizah al-Hibri has asserted that "Patriarchy co-opted Islam after the death of the Prophet".[12]

At the time of the Prophet, equality as prescribed by the Qur'an has been given to everybody. Women enjoyed the freedom in seeking knowledge and participating in social welfare. However, a socio-political change occurred after the death of the Prophet. Particularly in the eighth century, the Islamic law has been codified and implemented, but unfortunately there were many influences – including the pre-Islamic and non-Islamic cultures and conservative interpretations of the religious texts – which had affected the

[7] Asma Barlas (2002), *"Believing Women" in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Quran*, Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 93; Asma Barlas (2001), "The Qur'an and Hermeneutics: Reading the Qur'an's Opposition to Patriarchy," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, Vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 15–38.

[8] Amina Wadud (2006), *Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam*, Oxford: Oneworld Publications, p. 96.

[9] Ziba Mir-Hosseini (2003), "The Construction Of Gender in Islamic Legal Thought and Strategies for Reform," *Hawwa*, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–28.

[10] Parvaneh Aadelzadeh, Ramin Sadeghinajad & Kamran Pashaei Fakhri (2012), "Anti-woman Issue and Its Manifestation in Persian Literature," *Asian Social Science*, Vol. 8, no. 11, pp. 129–132.

[11] Syed Mohammed Ali (2004), *The Position of Women in Islam: A Progressive View*, Albany, New York: State University of New York, p. 3; A. Muchaddam Fahham (2007), "Pemahaman Pengasuh Pondok Pesantren Terhadap Hadits-Hadits Misoginis," *Egalita*, Vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 31–47; Suyatno (2009), "Menggugat Hadits Misogini," *Muwazah*, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 33–40.

[12] Aziza Al-Hibri (1982), "Study in Islamic Herstory, Or How Did We Ever Get into This Mess," A. Al-Hibri (Ed.), *Woman and Islam*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

thought of Muslim jurists.[13] The status of male scholars is regarded as higher than female, and majority of law-makers are merely controlled by male authority. Therefore, the over control of male in the hierarchal position was criticised even from the line of the Prophet's companions.

CRITIQUES ON PATRIARCHAL INTERPRETATION

In fact, patriarchal interpretation existed in all religious scriptures including the Qur'an and the Bible. Islam and Christianity are not originally patriarchal in nature, but the society practicing those religions have strong tendencies to follow the patriarchal culture where male enforced gender norms and control the authority over women. [14] Therefore, patriarchal interpretation of the religious texts has been questioned and criticised, for it leads to discrimination and oppression of women. These negative impacts simultaneously affected the name of religion.

In Islam, two important sources are the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet. Many have argued that the Islamic sources have been influenced by the patriarchal culture and interpreted by the control of male domination. The interpretations produced by male scholars also were argued to be responsible for the existence of such patriarchal interpretation. Khaled Abou El-Fadl mentioned that "the very real possibility that most or all of the anti-women traditions were produced as a form of male resistance to the active public role played by women in early Islam".[15] Many feminists also have blamed that the main reason of conflict and debate with regards to the women's issues is caused by men's misinterpretations which have dominated their active role in society.[16]

In the past, women actively participated in many aspects; socially, economically, academically and politically, yet their roles gradually changed and lost, as men opposed the gender mixing and they limited the participation of women by claiming to go back with the practice of the Prophet's wife and early generation. Furthermore, the patriarchal interpretation reflected the understanding that the female security, responsibility theologically depend on the power of man. Most of the conservative scholars have advocated a woman's role as a mother – producing, nurturing, and educating children – is crucial and vital. For them, there is no overlap between gender roles because both men and women have their own specific roles, and the inequality between them was the natural order of things. Women were naturally trained to master in home activities rather than outdoor or public activities, and men were expected to be main supporter and leader in any hierarchical structure of private or public institution. Women were not only restricted to education and employment, but their dressing was observed, veiling is a must and sexual segregation is very important between genders.

The Islamic conservative practice emerged in such countries as Pakistan, under the leadership of Zia ul-Haq, he instituted limitations against women and a law that reckoned women's testimony as half from men's was introduced; in Afghanistan, women were limited for the house chores and were forbidden from taking part in the government under Taliban;

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[13] Syed Mohammed Ali (2004); Azizah Al-Hibri (2000), "Muslim Women's Rights in the Global Village: Challenges and Opportunities," *Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol. 15, no. 1/2, pp. 37–66.

[14] Haley Stepp (2016), *The Impact of Patriarchal Interpretations of Religion on the Creation of Oppressive Cultures of Female Purity and the Contribution to Rape Culture*, Texas: Baylor University.

[15] Khaled Abou El-Fadl (2003), "The Ugly Modern and the Modern Ugly: Reclaiming the Beautiful in Islam," O. Safi (Ed.), *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism*, Oxford: Oneworld Publications, pp. 33-77.

[16] Nazirah Zein Ed-Dīn (1982), "Removing the Veil and Veiling," *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 221–226.

in Algeria, unveiled women were brutally killed; in Syria, not only dress code for women was restricted, their access to work, education and public space was very limited under ISIS; and many other un-Islamic practices and rules towards Muslim women. Unfortunately, these discriminations against women in Islam were said to come from the Islamic legal sources i.e: The Qur'an and Hadith.

Many Hadiths have been invented and circulated pertaining to women according to the convenience of the authors. Among the examples of the reports are: women should not be taught to read or write but should be taught to knit; women should be kept hungry and needed, so that they will keep to their homes; and many others, but all of these reports were rejected as fabrications by a large number of jurists. However, it became a real challenge among Muslims when the authentic Hadiths were not only questioned but rejected due to its controversy contents. Among the examples of authentic reports saying that a woman is created from a rib; the majority of the inhabitants of Hell are women; women are one of the evil omen; women are inauspicious; and others.

Although the debate seems big in nature, the number of Hadiths that have been labelled as 'anti-women' is rather small compared to the number of Hadiths which promotes equality, freedom and justice for women's rights. A recent research found that the number of Hadiths which contain anti-woman discourse in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhāri* is only 36 over 636 Hadiths and the percentage is 0.48% which is less than 1%.[17] It might be a similar case in other collections of authentic Hadiths. Asma Barlas also has raised a question why a small number of misogynous Hadiths, compared to the number of positive narrations on women, has gained so much attention and a big controversy due to the misinterpretations and misunderstandings of Muslims towards those Hadiths.[18]

Furthermore, it is undeniable that the small number of those circulated 'anti-women' reports have been patriarchally interpreted, and their impacts are huge to the image of women in Islam. The feminists took the option to criticise those reports and to demand re-evaluation, whether the reports originally came from the Prophet or merely interpretation of the transmitters. Due to the male domination among the transmitters of Hadith, their reliability was doubted and some of their narrations of Hadith were rejected by the feminists. Some Companions of the Prophet were also labelled as misogynist. According to Mernissi: "If women's rights are a problem for some modern Muslim men, it is neither because of the Koran nor the Prophet, nor the Islamic tradition, but simply because those rights conflict with the interests of a male elite".[19]

There are many other factors that have led to the misinterpretation or particularly patriarchal interpretation of the Hadith, and among them are culture and traditions[20]; blind imitation from the religious leaders[21]; social prejudice[22]; and other socio-political reasons. Therefore, the feminists suggest of having a woman-friendly interpretation of those religious texts so that all genders will be equally treated, which consequently give positive impacts in culture and society.

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[17] Nur Saadah Hamisan@Khair & Nurdina Dahlan (2017), "The Debate on Anti-Woman Discourse in the Hadith Literature," *Journal of Hadith Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1–8.

[18] Asma Barlas (2002), p. 46.

[19] Fatima Mernissi (1991*), The Veil and the Male Elie: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Right in Islam*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Perseus Books, p. xi.

[20] Asma Barlas (2002); Fatima Mernissi (1991); Riffat Hassan (1991), "The Issue of Woman-Man Equality in the Islamic Tradition," L. Grob, R. Hassan, & H. Gordon (Eds.), *Women's and Men's Liberation: Testimonies of Spirit*, New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 65–82.

[21] A. Muchaddam Fahham (2007), pp. 33–40.

[22] Azizah Al-Hibri (2000).

WOMEN-FRIENDLY INTERPRETATION: IS IT RELEVANT?

In the twentieth century, women interpreters bloomed in their attempts to re-interpret the Islamic texts and traditions. The first woman who offered detailed reinterpretation of the Islamic sources was probably Nazira Zain al-Din (1908-1976). She declared her opposition against the Islamic principles and argued against male interpretation patriarchal oppression[23] in her book *Removing the Veil and Unveiling: Lectures and Reflections towards Women's Liberation and Social Form in the Arab World*.[24] However, Aisha Abdel Rahman (1913-1998), who was also known as Bint al-Shati' might be the first woman to have started the interpretation work on the Qur'an from female perspectives. She applied contextual approach and mostly critiques on the orthodox interpretations of the religious texts.[25] Other Muslim women who questioned the gender-biased interpretation and advocated in producing women-friendly interpretation were Tahereh Qurrat-al Ayn (mid 1800s Iran), Fatima Aliya Hanim (late 1800s Turkey), Zainab al-Fawwaz (late 1800s Lebanon), Aishah al-Taimuriyya, Zeyneb Hanum (late 1800s Egypt), and Zaynab al-Ghazali (early 1900s Egypt).[26]

Particularly feminists, they criticised the patriarchal interpretation of the religious texts and demanded re-interpretation with women-friendly approach which can benefit women's rights. According to Badran, the feminist may have "… applied a combination of historical, linguistic, hermeneutic, literary critical, deconstructive, semiotic, historicist, and feminist methodologies in their re-reading of sacred texts, pushing *ijtihād* to new limits as they explore their religion with fresh eyes".[27]

Besides, the feminists also claimed the use of classical methodologies of *ijtihād* (independent intellectual investigation of the religious source) and *tafsīr* (interpretation of the Qur'an) in order to establish new gender-sensitive hermeneutics. They aim to open the door to *ijtihād*, as it allows the intellectual re-interpretation of the Islamic texts purposely to promote gender equality, particularly the equal rights for women in all aspects.

The re-interpretation process begins with re-reading the texts critically, as a central project among the feminists.[28] The process also includes displacing the traditional interpretation, particularly misogynist and anti-women interpretation, before eventually claiming to produce "correct" reading of the Islamic texts and come with "new" interpretation. The Qur'an was first Islamic source which has been re-interpreted, before other Islamic texts. Amina Wadud is one of the contemporary feminists who interpreted the Qur'anic verses concerning women's issues, unfortunately, she was not involved in the interpretation of Hadith. Her book *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspectives* aims to turn the Qur'an as an ultimate source to prove the gender equality within Islamic context, to challenge the patriarchal interpretations, and to reject any misinterpretations of the Qur'an which ignore the basic social principles of justice, equality, and common humanity. She suggested a hermeneutic model which concerns with the context

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[23] Shahrzad Mojab (2001), "Theorizing the Politics of Islamic Feminism," *Feminist Review*, Vol. 69, pp. 124–146.

[24] Nazira Zein Ed-Dīn (1982), pp. 221–226.

[25] Haifaa Jawad (2009), "Islamic Feminism: Leadership Roles and Public Representation," *Hawwa*, Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 1–24.

[26] Haideh Moghissi (1999), *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Limits of Postmodern Analysis*, London, UK and New York, USA: Zed Books Ltd.

[27] Magrot Badran (2009), *Feminism in Islam: Secular and Religious Convergences*, Oxford: Oneworld Publications, p. 233.

[28] Volentine M. Moghadam (2002), "Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 1135–1171.

in which the text was written or revealed, the grammatical composition of the text, and the whole text, its *Weltanschauung* or world-view as the important methodology in the reinterpretation process of the Islamic texts.[29]

In particular to the Hadith, the demand on re-interpretation the Hadith is higher than other religious texts, for the Hadith may have been one of the most important features of legitimisation of male domination within the Islamic context.[30] Mernissi, for instance, agrees that all Hadiths, including the authentic, are opened to be questioned and must be re-examined,[31] not to mention misogynistic Hadith that might have been fabricated or manipulated by the male Companions of the Prophet as claimed. Mernissi applied the classical Islamic methodology in assessing the reliability of Hadith and the credibility of the transmitter of Hadith (*sanad*), then evaluate the Hadith based on the feminist perspective.

However, due to the male domination in the rulings in the Hadith including its process of transmission, preservation, publication and interpretation, the feminists took alternative to apply their own approach by using hermeneutic as they applied from the Qur'an into the Hadith. Moreover, the text of Hadith is analysed linguistically, historically, anthologically, and critically, before the feminists decided to reject the Hadith or re-interpret it within their perspectives. Riffat Hassan is among the feminists who rejected the Hadiths which carry anti-women reports not only due to its negative message but also its negative impacts as can be seen through the patriarchal culture among Muslim society.[32]

Another strategy used by the feminist in the re-interpretation of the Islamic texts is the historical approach to recover lost history where women were included. There are many works published by the feminists using this strategy such as Abbot[33] and Mernissi[34] who discovered the Queen in Islam; Stowasser who looked at the stories of prominent women in the Qur'an[35] and women scholars in the Hadith[36]; Assia Djebar who wrote about women around Prophet Muhammad; and many other examples. Among the objectives is to write the story on Muslim women in the past is to return to the glorious time where women actively participated in the public sphere socially, economically, academically, nationally even though those women were surrounded in the patriarchal culture. The feminists also have demanded to re-produce a figure like 'Aisha, wife of the Prophet, in order to preserve the religious texts from patriarchal interpretation.[37]

Furthermore, the feminists took an option to reject the literal reading of the text as has been applied by the fundamentalists in most of their works. The literal interpretation is one of the approaches in understanding the Hadith, or other religious texts. It was used by Hanbali school of thought where they limit the use of analogy (*qiyās*) and human reasoning, and reject the tools of adaptation as juristic preference (*istiḥsān*) and public interest

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[29] Amina Wadud (1999), *Qur'an and Woman: Rereading a Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 5.

[30] Sandra Duarte De Souza (2016), "Islamic Fundamentalism, Gender and New Hermeneutics," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, Vol. 5, no. 10, pp. 43–50.

[31] Fatima Mernissi (1991).

[32] Riffat Hassan (1989), "Rights of Women Within Islamic Countries," *Canadian Women Studies*, Vol. 15, no. 2 & 3, pp. 40–45.

[33] Nabia Abbott (1941), "Pre-Islamic Arab Queens," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 1–22.

[34] Fatima Mernissi (1993), *The Forgotten Queens of Islam*, (Trans. Mary Jo Lakeland), Cambridge: Polity Press.

[35] Barbara Stowasser (1994).

[36] Barbara Stowasser (1992), "The Mothers of the Believers in the Hadith," *The Muslim World*, Vol. 82, no. 1, pp. 1–13.

[37] Aisha Geissinger (2011), "A"isha bint Abi Bakr and her Contributions to the Formation of the Islamic Tradition," *Religion Compass*, Vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 37–49.

(*maṣlaḥa*).[38] The literal interpretation emphasises on the primacy of Arabic language and culture practiced by the first three generations, simultaneously rejecting the new culture or method which is corrupting or opposing the latter. The fundamentalists tend to interpret the Hadith literally in regard to the roles of women, following the practices of women around the Prophet and the Companions. They acknowledge the participation of women in seeking knowledge, playing roles in societies, and involving in wars, but the main responsibilities of women in maintaining home and family remain priority in the past and present.

By rejecting the literal and patriarchal interpretation, the feminists propose women-friendly interpretation of the religious texts. This non-bias interpretation has been produced from women to women. Many non-governmental organisation (NGO)[39] are involved in raising public awareness on gender equality through publications; research; seminar and workshops; and national and global networking.

However, another debate emerged in questioning the need or significance of women-friendly interpretation. Although there are people advocating the idea of having women interpreters[40], the main reason of arguing this idea is due to original content of the Islamic texts which supposedly free from any gender bias, applicable to everyone, compatible in any place and time, yet open to be textually and contextually interpreted. Nevertheless, the question remains unanswerable, is women-friendly interpretation relevant? Particularly in today's challenging world where both genders are competing for their own rights, but simultaneously are obliging to complement the need of each other.

CONCLUSION

People from the society tend to understand the Hadith from the cultural and social point of views, then it became common to be practiced among them. For instance, it is an Arab culture that women stay at home to bear and take care of the children, they have limited space to travel outside their home, and working mom is rare and exceptional, but there are certain elements in the Arab culture that are unnecessarily connected with Islam. The bias in managing gender roles and responsibilities should be differentiated between the cultural and religious points of view. Although most of the Arabs are Muslim, not all Muslims are Arab.[41] According to Pew Research Centre, about 1.8 billion Muslims populated in the world with over fifty countries have Muslim majority population. However, only 20% Muslims live in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa which are majorly populated by the Arabs, while more than 60% Muslims globally live in the Asia-Pacific region.[42] It is necessary to distinguish the culture, tradition and religious practice, but these factors might have influenced interchangeably.[43] Thus, patriarchy is part of culture, not a religious practice.

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[38] Patrick Sookhdeo (2006), "Issues of Interpreting the Koran and Hadith," *The Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 57–82.
[39] Example: Sister in Islam (Malaysia), Musawah, and Muslim Women's Network United Kingdom.
[40] Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (2009), "Al-Azhar Hails First Female Interpretation of the Quran," *Middle-East Arab News Opinion*, retrieved January 5, 2018, from https://eng-archive.aawsat.com/theaawsat/features/al-azhar-hails-first-female-interpretation-of-the-quran
[41] Yusuf Sidani (2005), "Women, Work, and Islam in Arab societies," *Women in Management Review*, Vol. 20, no. 7, pp. 498–512.
[42] Michael Lipka (2017), "Muslims and Islam: Key findings in the U.S. and around the world", *Pew Research Center*, retrieved October 11, 2017, from http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/
[43] Anne Sofie Roald (2001), *Women in Islam: The Western Experience*, London: Routledge.

Although patriarchal culture plays huge influence in the interpretation and social practice, the Islamic texts should be preserved from those influences which resulted in negative impacts not only specifically on women, but generally to the image of Islam. The stereotype image of Muslim women has been negatively portrayed, but it is in the hand of younger generation to change the scenario and be responsible before making any interpretation.

The Hadiths which encouraged positive attitudes towards women should be acknowledged further among the society. They can be found numerously in the authentic Hadith collections compared to the small number of those so-called anti-women reports in the Prophetic traditions. It is a responsibility of every Muslim to remove the patriarchal interpretation of the Hadith, and be aware of hidden agenda among the feminists in questioning the Hadith. The Hadith should not be blamed for the gender bias within it, for people who transmitted and listened to those Hadiths might have produced different interpretations. It shows that different Hadiths may need different interpretative strategies depending on the context where the interpreters find themselves. The Hadith is best interpreted not only contextually but also holistically applicable for everybody, regardless of their genders.

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