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**Husband-Wife Support Relations in Muslim Households: An
Islamic Legal Analysis of Economic Practices Families in
Wora Village, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara**

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyse the relationship between husband and wife in Muslim households with regard to financial support, highlighting the compatibility between Islamic legal norms and family economic practices in Wora Village, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara. The study focuses on how the economic role of wives is practised, negotiated, and interpreted in household life, as well as how it is positioned within the framework of financial obligations according to Islamic law. This study uses a qualitative method with a juridical-empirical approach, in which data is obtained through in-depth interviews with married couples, religious leaders, and community leaders, supported by observations and a study of literature on fiqh related to the concept of financial support. Data analysis is carried out descriptively and analytically by linking field findings to the principles of Islamic law. The results of the study show several key findings. First, the obligation of nafkah is still normatively understood as the responsibility of the husband, as confirmed in classical fiqh. Second, in socio-economic practice, wives contribute to meeting family needs through various productive activities, both in the domestic and public sectors. Third, the economic contribution of wives is generally understood as a form of family cooperation and solidarity, not as a transfer of the obligation of nafkah from the husband to the wife. Fourth, the relationship of nafkah in Wora Village shows flexible and contextual role negotiations, influenced by economic factors, local culture, and the community's religious understanding. These findings confirm that family economic practices are not always contrary to Islamic law, as long as the principles of justice, willingness, and moral responsibility are upheld.

Family Maintenance, Role of the Wife, Islamic Law, Muslim Households, Wora Village.

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between husband and wife in terms of financial support is one of the central issues in Islamic family law, which continues to undergo

dynamics in line with social, economic and cultural changes in Muslim communities. Normatively, Islamic law places the obligation of financial support including the fulfilment of food, clothing, shelter and other basic needs as the responsibility of the husband towards his wife and family. This provision is explicitly stated in the Qur'an, including in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233;

233. Mothers may breastfeed their children two complete years for whoever wishes to complete the nursing [period]. Upon the father is the mothers' provision and their clothing according to what is acceptable. No person is charged with more than his capacity. No mother should be harmed through her child, and no father through his child. And upon the [father's] heir is [a duty] like that [of the father]. And if they both desire weaning through mutual consent from both of them and consultation, there is no blame upon either of them. And if you wish to have your children nursed by a substitute, there is no blame upon you as long as you give payment according to what is acceptable. And fear Allah and know that Allah is Seeing of what you do.

This is also confirmed in another verse, QS. al-Ṭalāq [65]: 7,

7. Let a man of wealth spend from his wealth, and he whose provision is restricted - let him spend from what Allah has given him. Allah does not charge a soul except [according to] what He has given it. Allah will bring about, after hardship, ease.

This is reinforced by the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, which emphasises that men are responsible for providing for their families. In classical fiqh literature, scholars agree that the obligation to provide for one's family is an *iltizām syar'ī* (religious obligation) attached to the status of a husband as long as the marriage bond remains intact and the wife fulfils her obligations normally. (Zuhaili, 2008).

However, in modern life, the relationship between husband and wife is not always linear according to this normative construct. Changes in economic structure, increased living costs, limited job opportunities, and women's access to education and the workforce have given rise to more collaborative family economic practices. Wives are no longer positioned as entirely passive economically, but play an active role in supporting the household. This phenomenon is not only occurring in urban areas, but also spreading to rural communities, including in Wora Village, Wera Subdistrict, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara. In this region, Muslim women are involved in various economic activities, such as small-scale trading, managing household businesses, working in the agricultural sector, and becoming informal workers, which contribute significantly to meeting family needs.

The development of this issue has elicited diverse responses in contemporary Islamic legal discourse. On the one hand, there is a normative view that emphasises that the wife's economic involvement should not be interpreted as a transfer or waiver of the husband's obligation to provide financial support. On the other hand, there is a contextual approach that views the wife's economic participation as a form of *ta'āwun* (cooperation) and *musyārah* (partnership) in the household, as long as it is based on willingness and does not cause injustice. Ibn 'Āshūr asserts that Islamic family law must be read within the framework of *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, particularly the protection of the family (*ḥifẓ al-usrah*) and relational justice between husband and wife. (Ibn 'Āshūr, 2006). This view shows that Islamic legal texts allow for contextual interpretation without abandoning their normative principles.

The opinions of contemporary Islamic legal scholars also enrich this discourse. Wahbah al-Zuhailī asserts that the wealth acquired by a wife from her work is legally her full property, and its use for the benefit of the family is a form of benevolence (*iḥsān*), not a religious obligation (Zuhaili, 2008). Similarly, Khoiruddin Nasution believes that the relationship of financial support in Muslim families needs to be understood in a more egalitarian manner, taking into account social realities and the principle of gender equality, without negating the basic provisions of Islamic jurisprudence (Nasution, 2009).

Based on initial observations conducted by researchers in Wora Village, it was found that most Muslim families do not depend entirely on the husband's income. Wives contribute economically, either as the main source of income or as a supporting source. This contribution often arises in response to the limited income of husbands who work as farmers, fishermen, or informal labourers with irregular incomes. Interestingly, this practice is not always perceived as a violation of religious teachings. On the contrary, many couples interpret it as a form of shared responsibility for maintaining the household and educating their children. However, there is still ambiguity in the community's understanding of the boundary between the normative obligations of husbands and the voluntary contributions of wives, which has the potential to create relational imbalances if not critically examined.

In several recent studies, a number of researchers have examined the issue of financial support and the economic role of wives in Muslim households. First, research by Azwandi, Jeri, & Ihsan shows that the role of wives in helping the family economy through various economic activities—including independent businesses outside the home—is generally carried out because the husband's income is insufficient, and is permitted under Islamic law as long as it follows sharia provisions and is accompanied by the husband's permission,

without eliminating the husband's obligation to provide financial support according to Islamic law (Azwandi dkk., 2025). Secondly, a study by Rahmawati & Zein on the role of wives as primary breadwinners in rural communities shows that this shift in roles often occurs in response to economic needs and family circumstances, and is socially understood as a flexible adaptation that is supported by the community as long as it remains in accordance with Islamic law (Rahmawati & Zein, 2025). Thirdly, research by J Nelli confirms that, from the perspective of Islamic family law, income earned by a wife from her work does not automatically alter the husband's obligation to provide financial support; however, there is no explicit prohibition against wives working, giving rise to legal ambiguity that needs to be further examined in relation to the meaning of financial support in modern Muslim families (Nelli, 2023).

Although these studies have made important contributions, there are still research gaps that need to be filled. First, most previous studies have focused on urban contexts or areas with high levels of modernisation, while studies on Muslim rural communities in eastern Indonesia are still relatively limited. Second, there have not been many studies that specifically link family economic practices with an analysis of Islamic law based on empirical findings at the local level. Third, existing studies tend to place the role of wives dichotomously between the normative and the practical, without exploring in depth the process of negotiating the meaning of nafkah in the daily lives of married couples.

Based on this background, this study focuses on the relationship between husband and wife's nafkah in Muslim households in Wora Village, Bima Regency, by analysing the compatibility and tension between Islamic legal norms and family economic practices. The main focus of this study is how the obligation of nafkah is understood, practised, and negotiated by married couples in the local socio-cultural context. The research questions asked are: how do the people of Wora Village understand the concept of nafkah according to Islamic law; how do wives contribute economically to fulfilling family nafkah; and how are the relationship between Islamic legal norms and family economic practices constructed in Muslim households. With this approach, the research is expected to contribute theoretically to the development of a more contextual study of Islamic family law, as well as practically to the formulation of a religious understanding that is fair and responsive to social realities.

RESEARCH METHODE

This study is a qualitative field research aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the relationship between husband and wife in Muslim households and its compatibility with Islamic law norms in the local social context. The choice of qualitative research is based on the nature of the study, which emphasises meaning, subjective experience, and the social practices of husband and wife in their daily lives, which cannot be reduced to quantitative data alone (Creswell, 2014).

The approach used is a legal-empirical approach. This approach views Islamic law not only as normative norms enshrined in fiqh texts, but also as a living social practice (living law) practised by the community. Using this approach, the concept of nafkah is analysed through a dialogue between Islamic legal provisions—such as the Qur'an, hadith, and the views of scholars—and the economic reality of Muslim families in Wora Village, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara (Soekanto, 2006).

The data sources for this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with married couples, religious leaders, and community leaders in Wora Village who were purposively selected based on their involvement and understanding of family financial support practices. In addition, non-participatory observation was conducted to capture the social context, patterns of economic relations, and the dynamics of husband-wife roles in daily life. Secondary data includes classical and contemporary fiqh literature on nafkah, laws and regulations related to marriage, and scientific journal articles relevant to the theme of Islamic family law and gender relations.

Data analysis was conducted using qualitative-descriptive techniques, involving data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data from interviews and observations were transcribed, categorised, and analysed to identify patterns of financial support and forms of negotiation of economic roles between husbands and wives (Miles dkk., 2014). Furthermore, these empirical findings were analysed normatively with reference to the principles of Islamic law and the framework of *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, particularly the principles of justice, benefit, and family protection. Through this technique, the study is expected to produce a comprehensive and contextual understanding of the relationship between husband and wife in Muslim households in Wora Village.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Conceptual Framework of Alimony in Islamic Law: Normative Foundations and Contextual Approaches

The concept of nafkah in Islamic law is the main foundation in building economic relations between husband and wife, which is normatively understood as the husband's obligation to meet the basic needs of the family. Nafkah includes the fulfilment of food, clothing, shelter, and other basic needs in accordance with prevailing social standards. The normative basis for this obligation is explicitly stated in the Qur'an, including QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 233;

﴿وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَدَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُنَتِّمَ الرِّضَاعَةَ وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ لَا تُكَلَّفُ نَفْسٌ إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَا تُضَارَّ وَالِدَةٌ بِوَلَدِهَا وَلَا مَوْلُودٌ لَهُ بِوَلَدِيٍّ وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ فَإِنْ أَرَادَا فِصَالًا عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِّنْهُمَا وَتَشَاوُرٍ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا وَإِنْ أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تَسْتَزِعُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذَا سَلَّمْتُمْ مَا آتَيْتُمْ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ

233. Mothers may breastfeed their children two complete years for whoever wishes to complete the nursing [period]. Upon the father is the mothers' provision and their clothing according to what is acceptable. No person is charged with more than his capacity. No mother should be harmed through her child, and no father through his child. And upon the [father's] heir is [a duty] like that [of the father]. And if they both desire weaning through mutual consent from both of them and consultation, there is no blame upon either of them. And if you wish to have your children nursed by a substitute, there is no blame upon you as long as you give payment according to what is acceptable. And fear Allah and know that Allah is Seeing of what you do.

This verse states that the obligation to provide food and clothing for mothers rests on the shoulders of fathers "*bi al-ma'rūf*", that is, according to propriety. This verse shows that provision is not only a legal obligation, but also has social and contextual dimensions. A similar affirmation is found in QS. al-Ṭalāq [65]: 7;

لِيُنْفِقَ ذُو سَعَةٍ مِّن سَعَتِهِ وَمَنْ قُدِرَ عَلَيْهِ رِزْقُهُ فَلْيُنْفِقْ مِمَّا آتَاهُ اللَّهُ لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا مَا آتَاهَا سَيَجْعَلُ اللَّهُ بَعْدَ عُسْرٍ يُسْرًا

7. Let a man of wealth spend from his wealth, and he whose provision is restricted - let him spend from what Allah has given him. Allah does not charge a soul except [according to] what He has given it. Allah will bring about, after hardship, ease.

This verse commands those who are financially well-off to provide for their dependents according to their means, and those who are less well-off to provide according to their means. This verse emphasises the principles of proportionality and fairness in providing for dependents, so that Islamic law

does not impose a uniform standard without considering the actual economic circumstances of the family.

The hadith of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ reinforces this normative construct by placing financial support as a moral and spiritual responsibility. In Muslim's narration, it is mentioned that a person is considered sinful if he neglects those under his care;

كَفَى بِالْمَرْءِ إِثْمًا أَنْ يُضَيِّعَ مَنْ يَنْقُوتُ

"It is sufficient for a person to be considered sinful if he neglects those under his care." (Narrated by Muslim, Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-Zakah, no. 996.)

This hadith indicates that negligence in providing for one's family has ethical and religious consequences. Another hadith mentions that the best wealth a person can spend is that which is spent on his family, emphasising that providing for one's family has a religious value and a primary position in Islamic ethics. Al-Nawawī explains that the hadiths on family maintenance indicate the priority of domestic responsibilities over other forms of expenditure, as they protect basic human rights (Al-Nawawī, 2013).

In the development of contemporary Islamic legal thought, maintenance is not understood rigidly and independently of social dynamics. A purpose-based approach to law emphasises that maintenance provisions aim to maintain the continuity and stability of the family as the basic social unit. Jasser Auda asserts that Islamic family law must be read through the framework of the basic purposes and values of Sharia, such as justice, benefit, and protection of human dignity. From this perspective, maintenance law does not merely concern who is obligated to provide, but also how family economic relations are built fairly and humanely in accordance with the ever-changing social context (Auda, 2022). This approach opens up space for understanding contemporary Muslim family economic practices without disregarding the normative principles of Sharia law.

In this context, the economic participation of wives gains ethical legitimacy in Islamic law. Classical fiqh consistently affirms that women have full legal capacity to own and manage property. Wahbah al-Zuhaylī asserts that the property acquired by a wife from her work is entirely her personal property, and its use for family needs is voluntary (*tabarru'*), not a religious obligation. Therefore, a wife's economic contribution cannot be used as a basis for negating a husband's obligation to provide financial support (Zuhaili, 2008). This view shows a clear distinction between legal obligations and virtuous practices in husband–wife relations.

Contemporary scholars such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi also emphasise that women's work is essentially permissible as long as it does not conflict with the principles of Sharia law and does not disrupt family harmony. In the context of modern socio-economics, the involvement of wives in productive activities can be understood as a form of cooperation (ta'āwun) in line with the spirit of the Qur'an regarding mutual assistance in righteousness, as emphasised in Surah al-Mā'idah [5]: 2. Al-Qaradawi emphasises that a wife's work should not be interpreted as a transfer of responsibility for providing for the family from the husband, but rather as a voluntary contribution for the benefit of the family. (Al-Qardhawi, 1999).

In the Indonesian context, Islamic family law also shows a contextual tendency. Quraish Shihab emphasises that verses concerning husband-wife relations, including financial support, must be understood holistically, taking into account the principles of justice and domestic harmony. According to him, the Qur'an does not preclude economic cooperation between husband and wife, as long as the relationship is built on the basis of consultation and mutual consent, not coercion or inequality (Shihab, 1996). This approach is relevant for understanding the economic practices of Muslim families in Indonesia, which are steeped in the values of togetherness and mutual cooperation.

Thus, the concept of nafkah in Islamic law contains interrelated normative, ethical, and contextual dimensions. Nafkah remains positioned as the primary obligation of the husband, which is based on strong texts from the Qur'an and hadith, while also being interpreted flexibly through the principles of justice and benefit. The wife's economic contribution is understood as a form of virtue and family cooperation that is legally valid, without negating the husband's obligation to provide nafkah. This conceptual framework is an important basis for analysing the economic practices of Muslim families, particularly in the context of the Wora Village community, so that Islamic legal assessments are not trapped in textual formalism, but are able to capture social realities fairly and proportionally.

Economic Relations between Husband and Wife in Muslim Households: The Dialectic between Fiqh Norms and Social Practice

Field research findings indicate that the economic relationship between husbands and wives in Muslim households in Wora Village, Wera Subdistrict, Bima Regency, develops differently from the normative construct described in classical fiqh. Socially, the people of Wora Village consider it natural for wives to help their husbands with work. This view stems from the economic reality of rural life, which is characterised by limited sources of income, mainly because the majority of husbands' livelihoods depend on the rice farming sector, with

seasonal and uncertain incomes. In such conditions, families cannot rely solely on their own rice yields, so wives are encouraged – and in some cases forced – to take an active role in providing for the family.

Field findings show that husbands in Wora Village generally work as farmers, daily labourers, honorary teachers, and some do not have permanent jobs. This situation has direct implications for the shift in economic roles within the household, where wives are no longer merely understood as secondary breadwinners, but in some families have become the main breadwinners. Wives work as daily farm labourers, manage their own rice fields, engage in small-scale trading, or perform other informal work to meet family needs. This condition reveals an adaptive and pragmatic economic relationship, but at the same time creates a double burden for wives because they still have to carry out domestic roles such as taking care of the household, serving their husbands, and caring for their children.

The case of Mrs Raodah and her husband, Mr Busran, illustrates this dynamic in concrete terms. With five children and a modest income, her husband's earnings as a daily farm labourer are insufficient to meet the family's needs. This situation has prompted Mrs Raodah to also work as a daily farm labourer and sell vegetables on consignment. From the interview, Mrs Raodah emphasised that her economic contribution was an effort to survive, not because she wanted to replace her husband's role. A similar situation occurred in the family of Mrs Sirri and her husband, Mr Rifi Tole, where the husband worked as a daily farm labourer but was not actively involved in managing the family's rice fields. Mrs Sirri and her children are the main actors in cultivating the fields and meeting the family's needs, as her husband's income is considered insufficient. In another case, Mrs Martin and her husband, Mr Rustam, show that the wife plays a central role in managing the garden and working as a daily labourer, while the husband only relies on an irregular income from buying and selling used motorbikes. From these three cases, it is clear that the economic role of wives is not an exception, but rather a fairly dominant pattern in Wora Village.

From a normative Islamic legal perspective, this situation highlights the gap between fiqh provisions and social reality. Classical scholars such as al-Māwardī emphasised that the obligation to provide financial support is the responsibility of the husband as a consequence of his leadership in the household (*qiwāmah*), and this obligation does not lapse even if the wife has her own wealth or income (al-Mawardi, 1996). Thus, the practice in Wora Village – where wives are the primary breadwinners – is not in line with Islamic law or

Article 80 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), which stipulates that the obligation to provide financial support lies with the husband.

However, when viewed through a sociological and living law approach, this practice cannot be immediately understood as a deviation. Soekanto explains that living law in society often undergoes adjustments in line with social and economic conditions, so that legal norms are practised flexibly according to real needs (Soekanto, 2006). In the context of Wora Village, the relationship of financial support is built through role negotiations that are understood as a shared responsibility for the sake of family continuity. The views of local religious leaders, such as H. Nuhra, Ustaz Fahri, and Ustaz Husni Husain, emphasise that it is basically permissible in Islam for wives to work as long as it does not violate Sharia values and does not damage family harmony. They also emphasise that the obligation to provide financial support remains with the husband, but urgent economic conditions often force families to prioritise the principle of *maslahah* (public interest). This view is in line with the thinking of Mustafa al-Siba'i, who asserts that Islam opens up work opportunities for women in order to maintain the family's livelihood, as long as it is not used as an excuse to neglect the responsibility of providing financial support, which is normatively imposed on the husband (al-Siba'i, 1984).

Within the framework of Islamic jurisprudence, contemporary scholars such as Abdul Karim Zaidan emphasise that women have full rights over their property and income, and that there is no religious obligation for wives to provide for their families. According to Zaidan, a wife's economic contribution should be understood as a form of charity (*tatawwu'*) and family cooperation, while the husband's obligation to provide for the family remains binding and does not lapse even if the wife has her own income. (Zaidan, 1994). The practice in Wora Village—where wives are the main breadwinners—is not in line with Islamic law, but sociologically it can be understood as an adaptive response to structural economic limitations.

This view shows that the main problem does not lie in whether or not the wife works, but rather in the shift in responsibility for providing for the family that is not accompanied by normative awareness and relational justice. In this context, Islamic law needs to be read contextually and oriented towards benefit, without eliminating the principle of the husband's moral responsibility as the main provider for the family.

From a Western perspective, adaptive family economic approaches are also understood as survival strategies for poor rural households, where women often take on a central role in the family economy (Sen, 2000). Meanwhile, Islamic feminist thinkers such as Amina Wadud emphasise that women's

economic involvement must be viewed within the framework of justice and humanity, not merely as a violation of norms, while rejecting the normalisation of the unfair double burden placed on women (Wadud, 2018).

Thus, the economic relationship between husbands and wives in Wora Village is ambivalent between Islamic legal norms and adaptive social practices. Fiqh norms remain a moral reference, but economic practices have developed pragmatically in response to structural limitations. This analysis shows that the main problem is not whether wives work or not, but rather the imbalance in relationships and the double burden experienced by women when the husband's obligation to provide financial support shifts de facto without clear normative legitimacy. Therefore, this study emphasises the importance of a contextual and equitable interpretation of Islamic law, so that the principle of family welfare is not achieved at the expense of gender justice and the moral responsibilities of husbands.

Factors Shaping Spousal Financial Relations: Economic, Cultural, and Religious Dynamics

The relationship between husband and wife in Muslim households in Wora Village, Wera Subdistrict, Bima Regency, is shaped by complex interactions between mutually reinforcing structural and cultural factors. Economic factors are the most dominant determinant in encouraging wives to contribute to the family income. The majority of husbands work in the informal sector with irregular incomes, such as day labourers, rice farmers, construction workers, livestock traders, and small business owners. However, in practice, these various occupations often do not provide sufficient and sustainable income to meet the basic needs of the family. This situation forces wives to take on economic roles directly so that their families can continue to live decently and avoid socio-economic vulnerability.

Field data shows that insufficient husband's income is not only caused by the type of work, but also by weak household economic management and the absence of consistent financial responsibility. In some cases, as experienced by Mrs Martin's family, the husband's business capital actually comes from the wife's work on her own farm. This capital does not always return to the wife, so the economic burden remains on her. A similar case was experienced by Mrs Nurman, who had to work as a daily farm labourer when her husband was unemployed. Although this family had a small business, the income was only sufficient for daily needs and was unable to create long-term economic security. These findings show that the wife's economic participation is more a response to practical needs and structural pressures than an ideological choice related to gender equality.

Cultural factors in Wora Village also strengthen the social legitimacy of wives' economic roles. In Bima culture, the values of collectivity, togetherness, and family solidarity occupy an important position. Cooperation between husbands and wives in economic matters is seen as something natural and even commendable. There are no customary norms that prohibit wives from working or earning a living; on the contrary, the local culture provides space and social support for wives' involvement in supporting the family economy. A statement by the Secretary of Wora Village, Aliasmin, emphasises that the local community views earning a living as a shared responsibility of parents, without a clear distinction between the roles of husbands and wives. This view has crystallised into a social norm that has been accepted across generations.

In addition to economic and cultural factors, the religious understanding of the community also plays an important role in shaping financial relations. The religious understanding of the people of Wora Village, which tends to be moderate and practical, can be seen through the approach of Islamic law, which emphasises the welfare of the family. Within this framework, family law is not merely understood as a collection of textual norms, but as an ethical instrument for maintaining the continuity of household life. Abdullah Saeed emphasises that a contextual approach to Islamic law requires an interpretation of the basic values of Sharia—such as justice, protection of vulnerable groups, and welfare—as the main foundation for responding to social change (Saeed, 2005). This approach helps explain why family maintenance practices in Wora Village have developed adaptively, even though they do not fully comply with normative fiqh formulations.

In the context of Muslim families, Ahmad al-Raysuni's thinking emphasises that *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah* in family law aims to maintain household stability and prevent wider social damage. According to al-Raysuni, legal provisions must be directed towards the realisation of relational justice and the protection of the family as the basic social unit, so that social practices arising from urgent needs need to be interpreted proportionally, rather than simply judged normatively (Al-Raysuni, 2005). Perspektif ini relevan untuk membaca keterlibatan ekonomi istri di Desa Wora sebagai strategi bertahan hidup keluarga, bukan semata penyiangan dari norma hukum Islam.

Educational factors and access to information also influence patterns of financial support. Wives who have broader social experience—although not always through formal education—tend to have greater economic awareness and the courage to take on productive roles. However, in the context of Wora Village, the increased economic role of wives is not always accompanied by a fair redistribution of domestic roles. Wives continue to bear the main

responsibility for household affairs and childcare, thus experiencing a double burden. This condition reinforces Lisa Cameron's research findings that women's economic participation in Muslim families is often additive rather than transformative, as it is not followed by changes in domestic power relations (Cameron, 2023).

Saiin et al. add that the economic involvement of wives in rural Muslim families contributes to family resilience, but also has the potential to cause gender inequality when the husband's obligation to provide for his family shifts de facto (Saiin dkk., 2024). Similar findings were reported by et al., who confirmed that during Covid-19, the social reality between husbands and wives in fulfilling financial obligations often led to a reinterpretation of financial practices, even though fiqh norms still placed husbands as the main responsible party (Nurdin dkk., 2021). This discourse emphasises that the relationship of financial support is a social construct that is continuously negotiated.

From the perspective of Indonesian Islamic legal scholars, Muhammad Atho Mudzhar asserts that family law practices in Indonesia are greatly influenced by the social, cultural, and economic context of society. He believes that there is a gap between fiqh doctrine and social practice, but that this gap is often bridged by local religious understandings that emphasise family harmony and welfare (Mudzhar, 2001). This view reinforces the analysis that the relationship between husband and wife in Wora Village is a negotiated social construct, not merely a violation of legal norms. This view is relevant to understanding the context of Wora Village, where the wife's work has become the "single concept" in the practice of family financial support, even though it contradicts the normative formulation of Islamic law and Article 80 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI).

Thus, the relationship between husband and wife in Wora Village is shaped by economic pressures, cultural legitimacy, moderate religious understanding, and limited educational conditions. The interaction of these factors shows that the relationship cannot be reduced to a matter of compliance with legal norms alone, but must be understood as an adaptive social practice. An Islamic legal analysis of this practice requires a contextual and multidimensional approach so that family welfare is not achieved at the expense of relational justice and the double burden experienced by women.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, this research reveals several important findings. First, the relationship between husband and wife in Muslim households in Wora Village has shifted from the normative pattern of classical

fiqh to more adaptive and collaborative practices. Although according to Islamic law and the Compilation of Islamic Law, the obligation to provide financial support lies with the husband, in practice, wives often become the main actors or significant supporters in fulfilling the family's financial needs. This shift is mainly influenced by the economic limitations of husbands who work in the informal sector with uncertain incomes. Second, the legitimacy of local culture and the moderate religious understanding of the community strengthen social acceptance of the economic role of wives. The wife's work is seen as natural and commendable for the sake of maintaining family continuity and harmony, even though it implies a double burden for women. Third, the relationship between nafkah in Wora Village shows a gap between Islamic legal norms and social reality, but this gap is not always contradictory; rather, it is negotiated through the principles of family welfare and solidarity.

This study has a number of limitations. In terms of data, this study is qualitative in nature with a limited scope to one village, so the findings cannot be generalised to other Muslim communities with different socio-cultural conditions. In terms of analysis, this study has not explored in depth the psychological dimensions and power relations within households that arise as a result of the double burden on wives. From a theoretical perspective, this study still focuses on the dialogue between fiqh and social reality, without further exploration of interdisciplinary approaches such as family economics or critical gender studies. Therefore, further research is recommended to expand the study location, compare rural and urban contexts, and integrate interdisciplinary approaches in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between husband and wife in contemporary Muslim families.

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