

## Women as Breadwinners and the Transformation of Roles in the Muslim Family: Evidence from Urban South Sulawesi

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### Abstract

*This study examines the role of wives as family breadwinners from the perspective of normative Islam and contemporary social realities. The study employs a qualitative approach with an interdisciplinary framework that combines normative Islamic legal analysis and sociological perspectives. Primary data were collected through interviews and observations of 12 families in the Pao-Pao Permai Complex, Gowa, South Sulawesi. To date, research in Indonesia has been dominated by normative-doctrinal approaches and has not extensively examined family livelihood practices from an empirical and sociological perspective. The findings reveal four patterns of family breadwinners: (1) both husband and wife work and share financial responsibilities equally; (2) both partners work, but the wife contributes more significantly to household income; (3) the husband acts as the primary breadwinner while the wife focuses on household responsibilities; and (4) the wife becomes the sole breadwinner, particularly in single-parent households or when the husband lacks stable employment. This study demonstrates that the husband's role as the sole provider is not an absolute theological obligation but rather a sociological phenomenon shaped by historical and social contexts. Thus, women also possess the capacity and legitimacy to assume the role of family breadwinner in accordance with contemporary socioeconomic conditions. This research contributes to the development of Islamic family law by offering a reinterpretation of the concept of maintenance based on *maqāsid al-sharī'ah*, which emphasises the welfare and justice of the family. This study affirms that a flexible division of maintenance can be justified within the framework of Islamic law, thus necessitating a more contextual approach to family law.*

**Keywords:** Family Livelihood, Gender Roles, Islamic Family Law, Family Sociology, Female Breadwinners.

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji peran istri sebagai pencari nafkah keluarga dari perspektif Islam normatif dan realitas sosial kontemporer. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan

kualitatif dengan kerangka interdisipliner yang menggabungkan analisis hukum Islam normatif dan perspektif sosiologis. Data primer dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dan observasi terhadap dua belas keluarga di Kompleks Pao-Pao Permai, Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan. Sejauh ini penelitian di Indonesia masih didominasi pendekatan normatif-doktrinal dan belum banyak mengkaji praktik nafkah keluarga secara empiris dan sosiologis. Temuan ini mengungkapkan empat pola pencari nafkah keluarga: (1) suami dan istri bekerja dan berbagi tanggung jawab keuangan secara merata; (2) kedua pasangan bekerja, tetapi istri berkontribusi lebih signifikan terhadap pendapatan rumah tangga; (3) suami bertindak sebagai pencari nafkah utama sementara istri berfokus pada tanggung jawab rumah tangga; dan (4) istri menjadi pencari nafkah tunggal, terutama dalam rumah tangga orang tua tunggal atau ketika suami tidak memiliki pekerjaan yang stabil. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa peran suami sebagai satu-satunya penyedia bukanlah kewajiban teologis mutlak melainkan fenomena sosiologis yang dibentuk oleh konteks sejarah dan sosial. Dengan demikian, perempuan juga memiliki kemampuan dan legitimasi untuk mengambil peran sebagai pencari nafkah keluarga sesuai dengan kondisi sosial-ekonomi kontemporer. Penelitian ini berkontribusi terhadap pengembangan hukum keluarga Islam dengan menawarkan reinterpretasi konsep nafkah berbasis *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* yang menekankan kemaslahatan dan keadilan keluarga. Penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa pembagian nafkah yang fleksibel dapat dibenarkan dalam kerangka hukum Islam, sehingga diperlukan pendekatan hukum keluarga yang lebih kontekstual.

**Kata Kunci:** Mata Pencaharian Keluarga; Peran Gender; Hukum Keluarga Islam; Sosiologi Keluarga; Pencari Nafkah Perempuan.

## INTRODUCTION

The question of who serves as the breadwinner in a household has long been a central topic in the study of gender, family relations, and socioeconomic responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> Historically, the breadwinner model formed the dominant framework, positioning men as primary economic providers and women as managers of the domestic sphere.<sup>2</sup> This pattern was viewed not only as a division of labour but also as a mechanism for maintaining family stability and social order.<sup>3</sup> However, in recent decades, there has been a significant shift away from this assumption. Global socioeconomic transformations, such as increased access to education for women, urbanisation, and the expansion of the modern economic sector, have driven women's participation in the labour force.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Khamim Khamim et al., "Livelihood Responsibility Shifting to Migrant Worker Wives; A Reading of Qur'an and Hadith in Muslim Community," *Al-Ihkam Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 19, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v19i2.11109>.

<sup>2</sup> Khamim et al.

<sup>3</sup> Khamim et al.

<sup>4</sup> Fathul Mu'in, "Reconstructing the Concept of Mahar Through the Mubādalah Framework From a Gender Justice Perspective: Implications for Contemporary Islamic

In Indonesia, data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) indicate that the female labour force participation rate has reached approximately 53–55% in recent years, and women’s income within households has continued to rise. This phenomenon marks a shift from the single-breadwinner model toward more flexible dual-income households. Nevertheless, this shift in the breadwinner role has become a site of negotiation, reflecting the complex interplay between norms, economics, and global social change.

In Muslim societies, the debate over the role of the breadwinner has become increasingly complex because of the intersection of religious interpretations and socioeconomic realities.<sup>5</sup> Classical Islamic jurisprudence emphasises a husband’s obligation to provide financial support (*nafaqah*) for his wife and children.<sup>6</sup> This interpretation is often linked to the concept of *qawwāmūn* (guardians) in the Qur’an, which legitimises male authority.<sup>7</sup> However, contemporary Muslim scholars, such as Fazlur Rahman, emphasise the importance of reading the Qur’anic text in a contextual-historical manner, noting that provisions regarding men’s financial responsibilities cannot be separated from the economic structure of early Arab society.<sup>8</sup> This perspective is reinforced by Wadud and Barlas, who interpret gender relations in the Qur’an through the principles of justice, reciprocity, and shared responsibility,<sup>9</sup> so that family maintenance can be understood as a shared responsibility

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Family Law Reform,” *Journal Discrimination and Injustice*, 2025, 132–46, <https://doi.org/10.70992/qv5p9248>; Elfia Elfia et al., “Gender Equality in Imamate Shia and Sunni Inheritance Jurisprudence: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Doctrines and Familial Relationships,” *Mazahib* 23, no. 2 (2024): 555–94, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v23i2.8381>.

<sup>5</sup> Fatima Z Rahman, “Islamic Doctrine and Women’s Economic Rights: Implications of an Ambiguous Relationship for State Policy in the Muslim World,” *Politics and Religion* 18, no. 1 (2025): 50–73, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s175504832500001x>.

<sup>6</sup> Khamim et al., “Livelihood Responsibility Shifting to Migrant Worker Wives; A Reading of Qur’an and Hadith in Muslim Community.”

<sup>7</sup> Khamim et al.

<sup>8</sup> Toha Ma’arif, “Relevansi Konsep Nafkah Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Terhadap Dinamika Kehidupan Modern,” *Al Fuadiy Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 7, no. 2 (2025): 96–109, <https://doi.org/10.55606/af.v7i2.1669>.

<sup>9</sup> Elfia et al., “Gender Equality in Imamate Shia and Sunni Inheritance Jurisprudence: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Doctrines and Familial Relationships.”

negotiated according to the economic and social capacities of the couple.<sup>10</sup>

This debate is particularly relevant in the context of Indonesian Muslim society, especially in urban areas, where socioeconomic realities indicate increasing female participation in higher education and the labour market, as well as a growing contribution by women to household income.<sup>11</sup> These conditions indicate that Muslim family practices in Indonesia often do not fully adhere to the classic male breadwinner model,<sup>12</sup> but rather exhibit dual-income patterns or even women serving as the primary breadwinners under certain circumstances.<sup>13</sup> In the local context, these dynamics are also evident among Muslim families living in the Pao-Pao Permai Complex, Gowa Regency, an urban-peri-urban residential area in the Makassar buffer zone. The area is inhabited by families with diverse occupational backgrounds, including civil servants, private-sector employees, merchants, informal-sector workers, and small business owners. These conditions indicate that the practice of the breadwinner within urban Muslim families does not always follow a single normative pattern but is significantly influenced by job stability, educational level, the number of dependents, and the relatively high cost of living in urban areas.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, this research is important not only as a local case study but also as an empirical contribution to the development of sociological studies on Muslim families and the advancement of more contextually grounded Islamic family law reforms in Indonesia.

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<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Aziz and Abdul Aziz Harahap, "Paradigma Fikih Qur'anik Dalam Manajemen Konflik Keluarga," *Al-Aqwal Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 3, no. 01 (2024): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.53491/alaqwal.v3i01.1001>.

<sup>11</sup> Sadari, Lazuardi Fadhlán Arrazy, and Ummah Karimah, "Reinterpreting Gender Justice in Islamic Inheritance Law: A Critical Analysis of the Compilation of Islamic Law," *Yudisia Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Dan Hukum Islam* 16, no. 2 (2025): 397, <https://doi.org/10.21043/yudisia.v16i2.26359>.

<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Husni Abdulah Pakarti et al., "The Construction of Islamic Law on Marriage: A Normative Study of Rights, Harmony, and Its Limits," *Al-Battar Jurnal Pamungkas Hukum* 2, no. 2 (2025): 99–111, <https://doi.org/10.63142/al-battar.v2i2.172>.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmad Yani and Ahlan Ahlan, "Husband-Wife Support Relations in Muslim Households: An Islamic Legal Analysis of Economic Practices Families in Wora Village, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara," *International Journal of Education Social Studies and Management (Ijessm)* 5, no. 3 (2026): 1759–74, <https://doi.org/10.52121/ijessm.v5i3.966>.

<sup>14</sup> Arinda Rosalina and Anwar Mujahidin, "Reaffirming Javanese Patriarchy," *Dialogia* 23, no. 01 (2025): 31–48, <https://doi.org/10.21154/dialogia.v23i01.10429>.

Previous research on the role of the breadwinner in family studies was initially heavily influenced by a structural-functional perspective, which viewed the family as an institution that maintains social stability through role differentiation. Within this framework, men were positioned as breadwinners, while women fulfilled domestic roles.<sup>15</sup> However, modern socioeconomic transformations, such as increased female education, urbanisation, and rising female participation in the labour market, have shifted the breadwinner model toward greater flexibility, including dual-income families and the sharing of economic responsibilities between husbands and wives.<sup>16</sup> The breadwinner is no longer merely a biological or normative category,<sup>17</sup> but a social construction negotiated within the economic, cultural, and gender relations of the modern household.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the structural–functional perspective remains relevant,<sup>19</sup> but must be understood dynamically as family structures continue to adapt to social changes and economic pressures,<sup>20</sup> particularly in urban contexts marked by rising living costs and economic uncertainty.<sup>21</sup>

In the context of Muslim families, studies indicate that household economic roles are influenced not only by economic factors but also by

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<sup>15</sup> Tuwaji, “Household Income Management Among Urbanized Communities in Jayapura City: A Study in Islamic Microeconomics,” *Int. J. Environ. Sci.*, 2025, 818–25, <https://doi.org/10.64252/d0shtr84>.

<sup>16</sup> Haura Salsabiela El Sabrina Nazar, “Negotiating Gender Roles: The Shift of Wives Role as the Main Breadwinners in Wijirejo Village, Indonesia,” *Yudisia Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Dan Hukum Islam* 16, no. 2 (2025): 215, <https://doi.org/10.21043/yudisia.v16i2.28517>.

<sup>17</sup> Tuwaji, “Household Income Management Among Urbanized Communities in Jayapura City: A Study in Islamic Microeconomics”; Nazar, “Negotiating Gender Roles: The Shift of Wives Role as the Main Breadwinners in Wijirejo Village, Indonesia.”

<sup>18</sup> Siti S M Sawari et al., “Urban Society’s Perception of Islamic Religious Education and Its Implications for Curriculum Development in the Era of Society 5.0,” *Akademika Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 27, no. 2 (2022): 255, <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v27i2.5805>.

<sup>19</sup> Habibullah Akbar and Muhammad Syauqi, “The Dynamics of Family Life in Polygamous Practices: An Islamic Legal Perspective on Contemporary Indonesian Society,” *El-Aqwal Journal of Sharia and Comparative Law*, 2025, 35–50, <https://doi.org/10.24090/el-aqwal.v4i1.13022>.

<sup>20</sup> Nur Iza Dora, “Sistem Sosial Indonesia,” *Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara*, 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Hariyanto Hariyanto et al., *Sosiologi Keluarga: Teori, Konflik, Dan Rekonsiliasi Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Modern* (Star Digital Publishing, 2025).

religious norms and social practices.<sup>22</sup> Interpretations often position men as the primary providers, but in the practice of urban Muslim families,<sup>23</sup> economic realities drive women's participation in negotiating roles, authority, and decision-making within the household.<sup>24</sup> The increasing participation of women in the workforce has led to the emergence of a more dynamic model of breadwinner negotiation.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, most studies have focused on the national level and have not extensively explored specific regional dynamics, such as in South Sulawesi, which features a unique blend of Islamic values, Bugis-Makassar culture, and an evolving urbanisation process.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, research that integrates structural–functional theory, gender perspectives, and normative Islamic approaches, such as *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, is needed to understand how the breadwinner role is negotiated within urban Muslim families in a contextual manner, as well as how these changes impact concepts of justice and family well-being within contemporary Islamic family law.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Akbar and Syauqi, “The Dynamics of Family Life in Polygamous Practices: An Islamic Legal Perspective on Contemporary Indonesian Society”; Isti'ana, “The Role of Islamic Culture in Shaping Social Behavior in Contemporary Urban Muslim Society”; Kadir, “Standarisasi Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Dalam Perspektif Hukum Keluarga Islam.”

<sup>23</sup> Ais Isti'ana, “The Role of Islamic Culture in Shaping Social Behavior in Contemporary Urban Muslim Society,” *Cultura Islamica Journal of Islamic Studies Management and Culture* 1, no. 2 (2025): 63–73, <https://doi.org/10.70211/culturaislamica.v1i2.261>.

<sup>24</sup> Abdul Kadir, “Standarisasi Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Dalam Perspektif Hukum Keluarga Islam,” *Al-Rasikh Jurnal Hukum Islam* 12, no. 2 (2023): 147–66, <https://doi.org/10.38073/rasikh.v12i2.1636>.

<sup>25</sup> Nazar, “Negotiating Gender Roles: The Shift of Wives Role as the Main Breadwinners in Wijirejo Village, Indonesia”; Sawari et al., “Urban Society's Perception of Islamic Religious Education and Its Implications for Curriculum Development in the Era of Society 5.0.”

<sup>26</sup> Tanza D Pertiwi et al., “Building Family Financial Well-Being: An Analysis of the Role of Sakinah Finance on Behaviour, Financial Literacy, and Financial Experience in Coastal and Urban Areas in Indonesia,” *Ijifsd* 17, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.55188/ijifsd.v17i2.1103>.

<sup>27</sup> Tuwaji, “Household Income Management Among Urbanized Communities in Jayapura City: A Study in Islamic Microeconomics”; Akbar and Syauqi, “The Dynamics of Family Life in Polygamous Practices: An Islamic Legal Perspective on Contemporary Indonesian Society”; Isti'ana, “The Role of Islamic Culture in Shaping Social Behavior in Contemporary Urban Muslim Society”; Nazar, “Negotiating Gender Roles: The Shift of Wives Role as the Main Breadwinners in Wijirejo Village, Indonesia”; Pertiwi et al., “Building Family Financial Well-Being: An Analysis of the Role of Sakinah Finance on Behaviour, Financial Literacy, and Financial Experience in Coastal and Urban Areas in Indonesia”; Sawari et al., “Urban Society's Perception

This study aims to analyse the transformation of the structure and function of contemporary Muslim families in the context of social and economic change by examining shifts in the division of labour, power relations, and dynamics between husbands and wives in modern families. This study also aims to examine how contemporary Islamic gender perspectives respond to these changes. Furthermore, this study aims to analyse the concept of family welfare from the perspective of *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* and formulate the implications of changes in family structure and relations for the reconstruction of Islamic family law in Indonesia, thereby enabling the development of an integrative synthesis regarding the direction of Islamic family law reform that is more responsive to social changes while remaining grounded in the fundamental objectives of sharia.

This study contributes to the debate regarding gender roles in Muslim family law by demonstrating that the role of the breadwinner in urban Muslim families is dynamic and negotiated based on economic conditions, competencies, and social contexts. Therefore, the understanding of Islamic family must be interpreted contextually, taking into account modern socioeconomic changes. The state plays a strategic role in realising family welfare through family law policies, social protection, and family economic policies; thus, the reform of Islamic family law in Indonesia should not be merely normative-religious but must also be integrated with public policy as part of the realisation of Sharia objectives within the context of a modern state.<sup>28</sup>

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study employs a qualitative approach to understand how the role of the head of household (breadwinner) is negotiated within Muslim families in the urban areas of the Gowa Regency, southern South Sulawesi.<sup>29</sup> The selection of the research site at the Pao-Pao Permai Complex in the Gowa Regency was based on sociological and methodological considerations relevant to the study's focus. This area is

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of Islamic Religious Education and Its Implications for Curriculum Development in the Era of Society 5.0"; Kadir, "Standarisasi Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga Dalam Perspektif Hukum Keluarga Islam."

<sup>28</sup> Elfia et al., "Gender Equality in Imamate Shia and Sunni Inheritance Jurisprudence: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Doctrines and Familial Relationships"; Rosalina and Mujahidin, "Reaffirming Javanese Patriarchy."

<sup>29</sup> Núria S Mira, "(Un)Doing Gender in Female Breadwinner Households: Gender Relations and Structural Change," *Gender Work and Organization* 31, no. 4 (2021): 1196–1213, <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12775>.

an urban-peri-urban residential zone inhabited by Muslim families with diverse occupational backgrounds, such as civil servants, private-sector employees, merchants, informal workers, and small entrepreneurs, thereby reflecting the emerging social structure of the urban Muslim middle class in the South Sulawesi region. Therefore, the Pao-Pao Permai Complex is a significant location because it represents urban Muslim families undergoing socioeconomic transition, where Islamic family norms, modern economic demands, and changing gender roles intersect in daily life.

In this context, a qualitative approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to capture the meanings, experiences, and daily social practices that shape family dynamics.<sup>30</sup> By focusing on the life experiences of married couples, this study seeks to uncover how economic responsibilities, gender expectations, and religious values are understood and practiced within households, particularly in the context of contemporary socioeconomic changes that influence the division of breadwinning roles.<sup>31</sup>

Theoretically, this study employs a socio-theoretical perspective rooted in functional-structural theory. This perspective views the family as a social institution composed of interrelated roles designed to maintain social stability.<sup>32</sup> Within this framework, family functions are distinguished into instrumental functions related to economic provision and external engagement, and expressive functions related to childrearing, emotional support, and internal household management.<sup>33</sup> However, this study interprets this framework dynamically by considering the influence of urbanisation, economic pressures, and the increasing participation of women in the workforce, such that the role of

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<sup>30</sup> Frina Oktalita and Nur Avita, "Substansi Dan Relevansi Nafkah Keluarga Dalam Perundang-Undangan Hukum Keluarga Islam," *Asasi* 4, no. 1 (2023): 35–53, <https://doi.org/10.36420/asasi.v4i1.429>.

<sup>31</sup> Alexandra Matejková, "Rodové Rozdiely v Preferenciách Jednotlivých Atribútov Práce Od Roku 1991," *Sociálne Vedy IV.*, 2020, 224–33, <https://doi.org/10.34135/svpmvpiv.191027>.

<sup>32</sup> Oktalita and Avita, "Substansi Dan Relevansi Nafkah Keluarga Dalam Perundang-Undangan Hukum Keluarga Islam."

<sup>33</sup> Syarif Hidayatullah and Fakhri A Rozak, "Suami Sebagai Penanggung Jawab Nafkah Keluarga: Analisis Struktural-Fungsional Talcott Parsons," *Al-Mizan* 20, no. 2 (2024): 401–22, <https://doi.org/10.30603/am.v20i2.5152>.

the breadwinner can result from negotiation or the division of responsibilities between husbands and wives.<sup>34</sup>

Research data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 12 Muslim families residing in the Pao-Pao Permai Complex, Gowa Regency, South Sulawesi. The total population of the area is approximately 1,250 households, and this study selected 12 families as primary informants using purposive sampling. The informants' characteristics showed variations in educational level, occupation, and income level, which influenced the dynamics of the division of economic roles within the household.

**Table 1.** Socio-Economic Characteristics of Informants

<b>Infor mant</b>	<b>Husband Education</b>	<b>Husband Occupation</b>	<b>Wife Educat ion</b>	<b>Wife Occupation</b>	<b>Monthly Income</b>
A	PhD	Civil Servant (Lecturer)	S3	Civil Servant (Lecturer)	~10,000,000
B	S3	Civil Servant	S3	Civil Servant	~10,000,000
C	S3	Civil Servant	S2	Civil Servant	8,000,000 / 6,000,000
D	High School	Unemployed/I rregular	High School	Laundry Worker	600,000
E	Elementary	Driver (Irregular)	E	Laundry Worker	<2,000,000
F	High School	Driver	High School	Trader / Informal Worker	~2,000,000
G	Bachelor	Civil Servant	High School	Housewife	5,000,000
H	High School	Civil Servant	Vocatio nal High School	Housewife	3,000,000
I	Bachelor's Degree	Entrepreneur	Bachel or	Housewife	Irregular

<sup>34</sup> Mira, "(Un)Doing Gender in Female Breadwinner Households: Gender Relations and Structural Change"; Almudena M Mínguez, Marta O Gaspar, and Carlos G Burón, "A Socio-Structural Perspective on Family Model Preferences, Gender Roles and Work-Family Attitudes in Spain," *Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2018): 4, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8010004>; Matejková, "Rodové Rozdiely v Preferenciách Jednotlivých Atribútov Práce Od Roku 1991."

J	— (deceased)	—	High School	Laundry Worker	1,800,000
K	— (deceased)	—	High School	Public Order Agency Officer	1,200,000
L	High School	Irregular worker	Bachel or's degree	Informal worker	~500,000

Source: Interviews, July 2-6, 2022

In addition to interviews, this study utilised observations and secondary sources, such as demographic reports and previous studies on gender roles in Indonesia, to enrich the findings. The data were analysed using a thematic analysis to identify patterns, meanings, and negotiation strategies that emerged from the participants' experiences. Data validity was ensured through source triangulation and inter-researcher verification processes, enabling the findings to comprehensively depict how urban Muslim families balance traditional norms, religious values, and modern economic demands in the division of breadwinning roles.

This study employed criteria of credibility and reliability in qualitative research. Data credibility was ensured through source and methodological triangulations, specifically by comparing interview results between husbands and wives within the same household and by comparing interview data with observations of the family's socioeconomic conditions. This study was conducted based on the principle of informed consent, whereby all informants were provided with an explanation of the research objectives, the interview process, and the use of research data prior to the interviews. The informants' identities were kept confidential by using pseudonyms to protect family privacy.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Role Patterns of Breadwinners and the Distribution of Household Income in Urban Muslim Households in South Sulawesi**

The patterns of breadwinner roles and income distribution within urban Muslim households in South Sulawesi were significantly influenced by variations in educational attainment, occupation types, and household income levels. Field findings indicate that couples' educational levels, ranging from elementary school to higher education, impact access to employment, income stability, and the family's ability to devise income strategies and manage household finances. The diverse range of occupations among urban Muslim families is not homogeneous, but rather highly dependent on the job opportunities available in urban

areas.<sup>35</sup> Income disparities, ranging from fixed to irregular income, also influence the division of economic and domestic responsibilities within the household, meaning that patterns of income sharing cannot be understood as a single model but rather as the result of adaptation to the family’s economic conditions.

Based on the findings from interviews with urban Muslim families, this study identified at least four primary models of income-sharing roles within households: the dual-earner equal responsibility model, in which both husband and wife work and share income-generating responsibilities; the dual-earner female-dominant income model, in which both partners work but the wife’s income contribution is greater; the male breadwinner model, in which the husband is the primary economic provider while the wife focuses on domestic duties; and the female sole breadwinner model, in which the wife becomes the sole provider under certain conditions, such as divorce, the husband’s death, or the husband’s inability to work. These four patterns indicate that the economic practices of urban Muslim families in South Sulawesi reflect a negotiation process influenced by factors such as education, type of employment, income stability, and family economic needs, suggesting that the structure of household income is more contextual than normative.

**Table 2.** Breadwinner Role Patterns in Household

<b>Model</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Informants</b>
Dual-earner equal responsibility	Husband and wife both work and share financial responsibility	A, B, C
Dual-earner female-dominant income	Both work but wife's income contributes more	D, E, F
Male breadwinner	Husband responsible for income, wife manages domestic work	G, H, I
Female sole breadwinner	Wife becomes main provider (widow/divorce context)	J, K, L

Source: Interviews, July 2-6, 2022

Table 2 shows that family models with a division of economic roles are no longer uniform. The results indicate that patterns of financial

<sup>35</sup> Yulia N F Randani and Krismono Krismono, “Fathering Dalam Membentuk Keluarga Sakinah Perspektif Hukum Islam,” *Al-Mawarid Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum (Jsyh)* 5, no. 2 (2024): 193–210, <https://doi.org/10.20885/mawarid.vol5.iss2.art5>.

support in urban Muslim families are no longer uniform; economic dynamics, employment opportunities, and family circumstances (e.g. loss of spouse, divorce) produce empirically valid variations in patterns of financial support. The distribution of the four models across the informant population shows relatively equal proportions, with each model representing approximately 25% of the total families (three families per model) in the summary of the findings (Table 3). This confirms the plurality of livelihood models within the urban Muslim context of that region.<sup>36</sup>

The model of income distribution within urban Muslim households can no longer be understood as a single, normative pattern, but rather as a dynamic and contextual socioeconomic construction. Changes in economic structure, the increasing participation of women in the labour market, and variations in educational levels and types of employment among couples have driven the emergence of diverse income strategies within families. In this context, the division of economic responsibilities is not solely determined by religious norms that designate men as primary breadwinners but also by practical realities such as income stability, employment opportunities, and household needs. Therefore, the model of income distribution within urban Muslim families is more accurately understood as the result of negotiations between spouses that take into account economic capacity, domestic roles, and evolving social dynamics. The following are several models identified in the study.

*First*, the shared breadwinner model, in which both husband and wife work and share the responsibility of providing for the family. This group included three families (Informants A, B, and C). They generally came from a highly educated middle class and worked as civil servants or university lecturers. In practice, the husband was still considered the primary provider, but the wife made a significant contribution toward additional household needs, such as children's education, household furnishings, or other secondary needs. For example, in the case of Informant A, both worked as university lecturers with an income of approximately 10 million rupiah per month; therefore, family expenses

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<sup>36</sup> Mohd S Mohamad, "Mengupayakan Penjagaan Tidak Formal Merentas Gender: Empowering Informal Care Givers Across Gender," *Humanisma Journal of Gender Studies* 2, no. 2 (2019): 146, <https://doi.org/10.30983/jh.v2i2.772>; Inayah Khoiriyah and Ahmad Saerozi, "Reinterpretasi Pembagian Waris Dalam Q.S. An-Nisa' Ayat 11: Studi Analisis Hermeneutika Muhammad Syahrur," *El-Buhuth Borneo Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2025, 135–51, <https://doi.org/10.21093/el-buhuth.v8i2.11050>.

were relatively balanced. The division of domestic chores was also typically shared.

“When it comes to household expenses, we have never really calculated who contributes more because we both work and have steady incomes. Therefore, we usually cover household needs together. If I’m busy with campus activities, my husband helps more with household chores, and if he’s busy, I take over.” (Informant A)

This indicates that in dual-earner families, the division of financial contributions and domestic chores is not always based on traditional role divisions but rather on the principles of cooperation and practical agreements within the household.<sup>37</sup> This demonstrates that in urban Muslim families with relatively equal levels of education and income, the husband-wife relationship tends to be one of partnership, in both economic and domestic aspects.<sup>38</sup>

*Second*, the female-dominant breadwinner model, in which both husband and wife work, but the wife’s economic contribution is more dominant. Among the three informants (D, E, and F), the husbands had irregular jobs or lower incomes than their wives. The wives not only served as primary breadwinners but also continued to shoulder domestic responsibilities. In the interviews, the informants explained:

“The income from the laundry isn’t much, about six hundred thousand a month, but it’s a steady source. My husband sometimes has work, and sometimes not, depending on the calls. So for daily needs, we usually use the laundry money first; later, if my husband gets work, we add that for other needs or larger payments.” (Informant D)

This finding confirms that in urban working-class Muslim households, women’s economic roles often serve as a crucial pillar for the family’s economic sustainability, especially when the husband’s income is unstable. This indicates that, in practice, the breadwinner

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<sup>37</sup> Thomas Biegert and Bernhard Ebbinghaus, “Accumulation or Absorption? Changing Disparities of Household Non-Employment in Europe During the Great Recession,” *Socio-Economic Review* 20, no. 1 (2020): 141–68, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwaa003>.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Biegert and Bernhard Ebbinghaus, “Accumulation or Absorption? Changing Disparities of Household Non-Employment in Europe During the Great Recession,” *Socio-Economic Review* 20, no. 1 (2020): 141–68, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwaa003>.

structure within the family does not always follow normative patterns but is heavily influenced by economic realities and the family's survival strategies in urban areas.<sup>39</sup>

*Third*, the male breadwinner model represents a classic patriarchal structure in which the husband is the primary breadwinner and the wife focuses on domestic work. Three informants (G, H, and I) exhibited this pattern. A similar pattern was also found in Informant H, where the husband is the primary economic provider for the family and the wife fulfils domestic roles. In the interviews, the informants explained:

“I am the one who works and covers household expenses; from my salary of around five million, we allocate funds for monthly needs, the children's schooling, and other necessities. My wife focuses on the home, taking care of the children and household chores, because we believe that if someone is dedicated to the home, the condition of the house and the children is better managed.” (Informant H)

This indicates that in the male breadwinner model, the division of roles is not always understood solely as a normative obligation but also as a result of a family agreement that considers economic stability and the family's domestic needs. Although this pattern has become less common overall in urban contexts, the findings suggest that this model remains relevant for some households, particularly those with stable employment and specific cultural preferences or family needs.

*Fourth*, the female sole breadwinner model, in which the wife is the family's sole breadwinner. The cases of informants J, K, and L show that women become primary economic providers for their families in situations of significant economic vulnerability. For example, Informant J runs a laundry business with a monthly income of approximately 1.8 million rupiah, which is used to meet household needs and cover children's expenses. Informant K works as a Satpol PP officer with an income of approximately 1.2 million rupiah per month and is the sole source of income for her family after separating from her husband. Meanwhile, Informant L works odd jobs with an income of approximately 500,000 rupiah per month and, under certain circumstances, still relies on parental support to meet the family's basic needs.

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<sup>39</sup> Khoiriyah and Saerozi, “Reinterpretasi Pembagian Waris Dalam Q.S. An-Nisa' Ayat 11: Studi Analisis Hermeneutika Muhammad Syahrur.”

In general, this model highlights that women can become sole breadwinners because of family circumstances (spousal death/divorce) or economic conditions that cause men to lose their traditional role as providers. The patterns of income distribution among urban Muslim families in South Sulawesi are pluralistic and contextual. The four identified models indicate that no single model fully explains income distribution; socioeconomic conditions, employment opportunities, and family dynamics are the primary factors shaping these patterns. The relatively even distribution of the four models (each accounting for approximately 25%) suggests that variations in income distribution reflect responses to family needs, access to employment, and broader social changes.

The division of household labour in urban Muslim households is no longer tied to traditional stereotypes but is influenced by educational dynamics, employment opportunities, and other family factors. This aligns with theoretical studies on gender transitions and the division of household labour across various national and international contexts.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 3.** Distribution of Breadwinner Models

<b>Breadwinner Model</b>	<b>Number of Families</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Dual-earner shared responsibility	3	25
Female-dominant income	3	25
Male breadwinner	3	25
Female sole breadwinner	3	25

Table 3 shows that changes in patterns of financial support do not necessarily signify the “advancement” of a single-gender model within the household. Cultural contexts, public policies, and family economic dynamics shape role preferences. Family policies and gender norms correlate with the division of labour; the discourse regarding the “male

<sup>40</sup> Biegert and Ebbinghaus, “Accumulation or Absorption? Changing Disparities of Household Non-Employment in Europe During the Great Recession”; Dian D Jayanto, “Membaca Fenomena Menguatnya Perayaan ‘Islamisasi’ Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi,” *Jurnal Kawistara* 10, no. 1 (2020): 101, <https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.42579>; Hamzah Fansuri, “Gerakan Hijrah Dan Kontestasi Ruang Publik Indonesia,” *Maarif* 17, no. 2 (2023): 11–30, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v17i2.191>; Lauren Gurrieri, Josephine Previte, and Andrea Prothero, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Building Visibility for Critical Gender Perspectives Exploring Markets, Marketing and Society,” *Journal of Macromarketing* 40, no. 4 (2020): 437–44, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146720952530>.

breadwinner” versus the “dual-earner” is often influenced by the design of public policies (parental leave, childcare, family support) as well as cultural norms that view domestic work as part of broader family responsibilities.<sup>41</sup> These changes often go hand in hand with adjustments to work culture at home and in the workplace, including the convergence of the “ideal worker” and “adult worker model”, which demands flexible work policies for both partners.<sup>42</sup> The division of household income is influenced by social structures, family policies, and changing norms regarding family care responsibilities (care work) and paid employment.

Furthermore, changes in income models can vary regionally; for example, parental leave and the availability of childcare facilities mediate the gender impact on the division of household tasks across countries. It should be noted that some literature highlights cultural and institutional variations in the transition from the “male breadwinner” to the dual-earner model at the national level, which may differ from the Indonesian/South Indonesian context. Therefore, when generalising the findings, it is necessary to consider the context of national policies and local cultures.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, it is necessary to assess how mental and domestic workloads are distributed between partners, as well as how this impacts overall family well-being.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Karen M Olsen, “Employment Trade-Offs Under Different Family Policy Constellations,” *Work Employment and Society* 35, no. 1 (2020): 37–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017019892827>; Jenny Chanfreau, “The Persistence in Gendering: Work-Family Policy in Britain Since Beveridge,” *Journal of Social Policy* 52, no. 4 (2022): 981–98, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0047279422000125>.

<sup>42</sup> Janine Bernhardt and Mareike Bünning, “The Long Arm of an Unsupportive Work-Family Culture in Work Organizations: Crossover to the Partner’s Work-Family Balance Satisfaction in Dual-Earner Couples,” *Applied Research in Quality of Life* 17, no. 2 (2021): 723–50, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-021-09911-z>; Tracey Freiberg, “Effects of Care Leave and Family Social Policy: Spotlight on the United States,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 78, no. 4 (2019): 1009–37, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajes.12293>.

<sup>43</sup> Bernhardt and Bünning, “The Long Arm of an Unsupportive Work-Family Culture in Work Organizations: Crossover to the Partner’s Work-Family Balance Satisfaction in Dual-Earner Couples.”

<sup>44</sup> Renee Luthra and Tina Haux, “The Mental Load in Separated Families,” *Journal of Family Research* 34, no. 2 (2022): 669–96, <https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-743>; Gloria A Ampim et al., “‘I Do Not Want Her to Be Doing Anything Stressful’: Men’s Involvement in Domestic Work During Pregnancy in Ghana,” *Progress in Development Studies* 22, no. 4 (2022): 319–34, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14649934221103913>.

## The Transformation of Family Structure and Function in the Context of Socioeconomic Change

The findings from the twelve families in the Pao-Pao Permai Complex show dynamic variations in family livelihood patterns, no longer bound by rigid traditional models but contextual and adaptive to socioeconomic changes. This is consistent with Parsons' idea of two family functions: instrumental (economic) and expressive (childcare and emotional relationships), which can be flexibly performed by family members according to their abilities and socioeconomic conditions.<sup>45</sup>

Changes in the division of livelihoods involving significant contributions from wives in some families indicate that the instrumental function is no longer exclusive to husbands and that the expressive function is still fulfilled through healthy emotional relationships, even though the instrumental role is shared. This does not automatically indicate dysfunction but rather the adaptation of the family institution to changes in the socioeconomic structure. The maqāṣid al-sharī'ah perspective also provides a normative framework for viewing family welfare through the preservation of the rights to life and property, which can be achieved through a more flexible division of tasks as long as the objectives of sharia are met.

The phenomenon of a more egalitarian division of financial support has been reported in international and regional studies, showing that the gender division of labour is no longer entirely guided by traditional cultural norms but also by economic factors, access to education, and employment opportunities. This is in line with the findings that women participate economically and contribute to family welfare without sacrificing the essence of their expressive (caregiving). However, some cases still show a double burden, namely, a double workload (public + domestic) for women, even though their economic contribution has increased.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Nana N Nadarsyah, "Double Burden and Gender Disparity," 2023, 154–61, <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-6684-7669-7.ch009>; X Zhang, "Research on the Relationship Between Economic Policy Uncertainty and Financial Market Based on Big Data Technology," *International Journal of Decision Support System Technology* 17, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJDSST.388182>.

<sup>46</sup> Hadas Mandel and Amit Lazarus, "Contextual Effects on the Gendered Division of Housework: A Cross-Country and Cross-Time Analysis," *Sex Roles* 85, no. 3–4 (2021): 205–20, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01215-0>; Joni Joni, "Analysis of Islamic Law and Gender in Husband and Wife Relations (Study of Career Women in Gambiran Village, Plupuh District, Sragen Regency)," *Mauriduna Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 2 (2024): 193–208, <https://doi.org/10.37274/mauriduna.v5i2.1184>;

Traditional Islamic family law places the responsibility for providing financial support on the head of the family (the husband), but modern practices demand a more flexible legal response to reflect the reality of contemporary families. The *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*-based approach, which emphasises family welfare (maslahah), supports the idea that financial support can be a shared responsibility based on fairness, economic capacity, and mutual agreement between spouses.<sup>47</sup>

Within this framework, the findings of this study indicate that women not only fulfil expressive roles but also make significant economic contributions in many families. This reflects the redistribution of domestic and public work in a modern context, coupled with higher education, women's participation in the labour market, and changes in the economic structure that drive shifts in gender roles within households.

Research shows that women contribute more economically to families, even in working-class households with economic limitations, indicating that gender-based division of labour is no longer entirely determined by cultural norms but also by economic dynamics, individual competencies, and employment opportunities. However, the redistribution of domestic work is not always proportional to economic contributions; therefore, a double burden can still occur for some women.<sup>48</sup> Contemporary Islamic perspectives emphasise social context as a determinant of gender roles; husband–wife relations in modern Muslim families can be understood as partnerships that work together and share responsibilities as long as the goal of family welfare is fulfilled.<sup>49</sup>

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Isabelle Wachter and Christian Holz-Rau, “Gender Differences in Work-Related High Mobility Differentiated by Partnership and Parenthood Status,” *Transportation* 49, no. 6 (2021): 1737–64, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11116-021-10226-z>.

<sup>47</sup> Mariia Zaitseva, “Legal Mechanisms for the Formation of Modern Gender Policy,” *BulKNUIR*, no. 1 (60) (2025): 59–62, <https://doi.org/10.17721/1728-2292.2025/1-60/59-62>.

<sup>48</sup> Darío Doña-Falcón, “Theories of Women's Oppression Between Marxism and Feminism: Finding a New Approach for Understanding Gender,” *Science & Society*, 2026, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00368237251399095>.

<sup>49</sup> Risdawati Siregar and Asnah Asnah, “The Role of Women in Supporting the Economic Condition of the Poor: An Analysis of Gender Issues on Farming Families,” *Tazkir Journal of Social Sciences and Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 91–106, <https://doi.org/10.24952/tazkir.v8i1.5284>; Zaitseva, “Legal Mechanisms for the Formation of Modern Gender Policy.”

## **Power Relations and Gender Negotiations in Contemporary Families**

Women's participation in economic activities can increase their bargaining power in the household regarding decisions on children's education, household financial management, and domestic life management.<sup>50</sup> Although women's economic contributions can increase bargaining power, the reality on the ground shows that this increase is not always followed by a proportional redistribution of domestic work. Some couples experience an increase in bargaining power without significant changes in the distribution of domestic tasks, whereas others experience a double burden, even though their economic contributions have increased.

The theory of household bargaining power explains that power relations within a household are not solely determined by cultural norms or patriarchal structures but also by the distribution of economic resources among family members. Within this framework, women's economic contributions have the potential to enhance their bargaining power in household decision-making, including in matters of finance, child-rearing, and the division of domestic labour. However, this increase in economic capacity does not automatically transform power relations in a linear manner, as its implementation remains influenced by social norms, cultural values, and deeply rooted religious perceptions of Muslim family life.

In this context, the contemporary Islamic gender perspective serves as a framework that bridges the gap between changing social realities and normative religious interpretations. Asghar Ali Engineer emphasizes the importance of considering social changes in the interpretation of Islamic law, so that spousal relationships can be understood as partnerships based on cooperation and shared responsibility in many independent contexts. Nina Nurmila demonstrates that modern Muslim women are increasingly contributing economically within the family, so that spousal relationships can be viewed as cooperative partnerships oriented toward the welfare of the family.<sup>51</sup> Thus, women's roles in the family economy are not universally altered

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<sup>50</sup> A Tairov and Natalia Berseneva, "The Economic Roles of Men and Women in Central Eurasian Nomadic Societies from the 18th Century to the Early 20th Century," *Oriental Studies* 14, no. 6 (2021): 1267–80, <https://doi.org/10.22162/2619-0990-2021-58-6-1267-1280>.

<sup>51</sup> Siregar and Asnah, "The Role of Women in Supporting the Economic Condition of the Poor: An Analysis of Gender Issues on Farming Families."

but rather shaped through negotiations and agreements respected within their specific contexts, within the framework of national law and the principles of *maqāṣid*.

### **Reconstruction of Islamic Family Law Based on *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah***

The reconstruction of Islamic family law based on *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* stems from the recognition that law serves not only as a normative framework for maintaining order but also as an instrument aimed at promoting the welfare of humanity. In the context of the family, the primary objectives of Sharia, such as the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, must serve as the foundation for reformulating family law rules to ensure that they remain relevant in the face of social change. Therefore, the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approach is crucial as a methodological framework for reconstructing Islamic family law that is not merely focused on legal formalism but also on justice, balanced roles, and family well-being as the primary objectives of Islamic law.

*Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* prioritizes human welfare, including the protection of life and property (*ḥifẓ al-nafs* and *ḥifẓ al-māl*). In the context of the family, financial support is an important part of this protection; therefore, women's involvement in economic activities is seen as an effort to maintain the survival and welfare of the family as long as the objectives of Sharia are fulfilled. This means that the focus is not on who earns the income, but on how financial support can be maintained in a fair and sustainable manner so that the welfare of the family is maintained.<sup>52</sup> Within the *maqāṣid* framework, a more flexible division of *nafkah* and cooperation between husbands and wives is not only justified but also encouraged if socioeconomic conditions so require. In this case, the principle of *maslahah* allows for the adaptation of *nafkah* patterns according to economic capacity and household agreements.

This framework of thought has significant implications for Islamic family law in Indonesia, particularly regarding the relationship between normative law and evolving social practices. Normatively, the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) still places the obligation of providing maintenance on the husband as the head of the household. However, modern family practices show that the fulfilment of maintenance is, in many cases, collective in nature; thus, family law needs to consider this reality in a more flexible and contextual manner.

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<sup>52</sup> Siregar and Asnah.

A *maqāṣid*-based approach that prioritises family well-being as the primary objective is relevant for bridging the tension between legal norms and social practices, as this approach allows for the recognition of shared financial support responsibilities based on economic capacity and mutual agreement between husbands and wives. In a broader context, this approach is also linked to public policy and positive law, as the revitalisation of a more inclusive and justice-based concept of maintenance responsibility can serve as a foundation for more adaptive interpretations in the Compilation of Islamic Law as well as future legislation regarding maintenance. This is supported by literature emphasising the need to balance social realities with the Islamic legal framework through a contextual and public interest-based approach.<sup>53</sup>

Based on this framework, an integrative synopsis can be formulated, showing that the modern family system exhibits a diversification of maintenance patterns and a more pluralistic and contextual gender-based division of labour than the traditional family model. The division of labour within the household no longer strictly follows a rigid instrumental, expressive pattern, as in many families, women's economic contributions have become a vital component of household economic sustainability, while expressive functions are still carried out through emotional roles, childcare, and household management. However, these changes do not always occur without consequences; in some families, the phenomenon of the "double burden" emerges, the dual burden experienced by women when they must work in the public sphere while simultaneously bearing domestic responsibilities. This phenomenon aligns with international literature on the division of household labour, which indicates that increased female labour force participation is not always accompanied by a proportional redistribution of domestic work, thereby impacting family well-being and the quality of spousal relationships.

Within a theoretical framework, Amartya Sen's concept of "household bargaining power" explains that a family member's economic contribution influences their bargaining position in household decision-making. Nevertheless, an increase in women's bargaining power does not automatically alter the structure of domestic labour division, as cultural factors, social norms, and family institutions continue to exert a strong influence in maintaining specific gender relationship patterns. In this context, the contemporary Islamic gender

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<sup>53</sup> Zaitseva, "Legal Mechanisms for the Formation of Modern Gender Policy."

perspective provides a more contextual normative framework by asserting that cooperation between husbands and wives and a division of roles based on socioeconomic conditions can gain religious legitimacy aimed at the welfare of the family. This indicates that although Islamic law normatively designates financial support as the husband's primary obligation, contextual interpretation remains possible within Islamic family law in Indonesia, particularly through the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approach, which prioritises family welfare as the primary objective of the law.

Nevertheless, the reform of gender roles within the family is not always accompanied by a comprehensive shift in gender norms. In some families, the adaptation that occurs is more economic than ideological; that is, women serve as the primary contributors to financial support because of economic necessity, while household norms gradually maintain traditional structures. Therefore, in the context of Indonesian and Muslim society, a balance is needed between the social realities of the modern family and the applicable Islamic legal framework by employing *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as a methodological approach to maintain family well-being holistically, while simultaneously allowing Islamic family law to adapt contextually without losing its normative foundation.

The transformation of family roles from a structural-functional perspective remains relevant; however, patterns of income distribution are now more dynamic and contextual. Instrumental functions are no longer exclusive to men, and expressive functions continue to be fulfilled by both parties, with variations in the intensity of family members' economic contributions, especially by women, depending on economic and social situations and the availability of employment opportunities. The gender division of labour continues to evolve in line with changes in economic structure, women's education, and employment opportunities. These changes emphasise that traditional cultural norms do not entirely determine domestic work; economic factors and individual capacity also play an important role, although sometimes causing a double burden on women.

The theory of household bargaining power (Sen) provides a lens for understanding how women's economic contributions increase their bargaining power in family decision-making. However, the reality shows that increased bargaining power is not automatically followed by a proportional redistribution of domestic work, as gender norms and household burdens remain relevant. The Contemporary Islamic Gender

Perspective asserts that women's contributions to economic activities are not universally considered a violation of Islamic teachings if they are directed toward the welfare of the family. A contextual framework based on *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* becomes the normative basis for formulating a fair and harmonious model of joint financial support. The implications of Islamic family law policy in Indonesia indicate the need for flexibility in the interpretation of *nafkah* in legislation and the Compilation of Islamic Law to present a fair model of joint *nafkah*, while remaining based on the principles of family welfare (*maslahah*) and justice, and taking into account the ever-evolving social reality.

## **CONCLUSION**

The findings of this study indicate that the practice of providing financial support within families among the 12 families in the Pao-Pao Permai Complex, Gowa Regency, exhibits diverse patterns and is no longer uniform. This study identified four models of financial role distribution: the joint financial support model, the joint financial support model with the wife's income taking the lead, the primary financial support by the husband model, and the sole financial support by the wife model. This diversity of patterns indicates that the practice of providing financial support within contemporary Muslim families is significantly influenced by social and economic conditions, as well as the capabilities of each partner, making the distribution of economic roles within the family dynamic and context-dependent.

Based on normative implications, this study affirms that, through the *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approach, the essence of the maintenance obligation lies in fulfilling the family's economic needs as part of safeguarding its survival and well-being. Thus, the responsibility for financial support should not be rigidly understood based on gender, but can be carried out by the party with greater economic capacity, as long as the primary objective of Sharia, namely, the welfare of the family, remains upheld. These findings highlight the importance of a contextual approach to understanding Islamic family law, particularly in responding to changes in the social and economic structures of modern Muslim families.

Based on these findings, this study recommends that the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia consider the social realities of modern families through a more flexible and welfare-based approach. Further research is recommended to expand the geographical scope, increase the number of informants, and employ a more diverse methodological approach to produce a more comprehensive picture of

the dynamics of economic role distribution within contemporary Muslim families. Thus, studies on nafkah should not be limited to normative aspects but should also explain social practices empirically and contextually.

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