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Al-ʿĀdah Muḥakkamah and The Dual Role of Farmer's Wives: An *ʿUrf Ṣaḥīḥ* Analysis of Household Harmony in Dusun Kepoh, Lamongan

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Abstract

The dual role of farmers' wives has become a growing phenomenon in the agrarian community of Dusun Kepoh, Kacangan Village, Lamongan Regency. Wives not only carry out domestic responsibilities as household managers but also actively participate in agricultural activities such as planting (tandur), crop maintenance (sulam), and weeding (matun) to support the family economy. This condition creates social dynamics related to role distribution, family responsibilities, and household harmony from the perspective of Islamic law. This study aims to analyze the dual role of farmers' wives from the perspective of Islamic law and its implications for household harmony in Dusun Kepoh. This research employed a qualitative method with a field research design and phenomenological approach. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation, then analyzed descriptively. The findings indicate that the dual role of farmers' wives has become a socially accepted tradition and is viewed as a form of family cooperation in fulfilling economic needs. From the perspective of Islamic law, such practices are permissible as long as they do not neglect domestic responsibilities, maintain the rights and obligations of husband and wife, and remain consistent with Islamic principles. The dual role of wives also contributes positively to household harmony through communication, mutual cooperation, and shared responsibility within the family. This study shows that Islamic law can coexist harmoniously with the culture of agrarian communities while remaining within the framework of family welfare. The novelty of this research lies in its integration of the empirical dynamics of farming wives' dual role amid agricultural modernization with the fiqh maxim Al-ʿĀdah Muḥakkamah as an analytical lens, an approach rarely applied in prior studies that tend to isolate sociological and normative analyses. Theoretically, the study contributes to the development of living-law discourse in Islamic family law by demonstrating how ʿurf ṣaḥīḥ can operate as a legitimate legal source for reconstructing household rights and obligations in agrarian settings.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of wives' dual roles is one of the crucial issues in the dynamics of contemporary Muslim families, in both traditional and modern societies. This phenomenon refers to the active involvement of women in two domains simultaneously: the domestic domain as the primary household manager (internal manager), and the public domain as a contributor to family economic stability (co-breadwinner). On one hand, this expansion of roles contributes significantly to strengthening family economic resilience. On the other hand, the double burden potentially triggers negative implications such as reduced attention to childcare, imbalanced household management, and escalating role conflicts. Therefore, the issue of wives' dual roles is not merely a sociological subject but is closely intertwined with Islamic law, which strictly regulates patterns of relationships and the rights and obligations of husbands and wives.

Within the epistemological framework of Islamic law, the family is positioned as the smallest sociological unit bearing a sacred mission in building civilization. Normatively and textually, the duties of a wife cannot be freely interpreted apart from the obligation of obedience to her husband, protecting her own honor, and managing domestic affairs. Classical Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) imposes relatively strict limitations to protect the husband's rights and internal household harmony. Imam al-Nawawi, for instance, asserts that a wife is legally prohibited from leaving her home without the protective permission of her husband.[1] This view is practically accommodated by Al-Haytami, who states that the form of service (khidmah) a wife renders to her husband is an obligation whose standard is determined by local customary norms.[2] The requirement of the husband's permission is not understood as a form of subordination or domestication of women, but rather as a preventive-juridical mechanism to ensure that public mobility does not negate fundamental responsibilities in the domestic domain.

Although classical Islamic jurisprudence tends to be domestic-centric, jurists (fuqaha) did not close their eyes to economic realities. They allowed women methodological flexibility to engage in financial activities, on the condition that such activities do not degrade their primary household obligations. The principle developed is an elegant balance between the husband's domestic rights and the wife's right to public independence. Al-Ramli underscores that a wife holds full authority to perform legal actions concerning her personal property, as long as those actions do not cause negative

[1]Nawawi, *Majmul Sharh al-Mulhadzdzab, Julz 16* (Beirult: Dar al-Fikr, 1996), hlm, 403.
[2]Ibn Hajar Haytami, *Tulhfatatull Mulhtaj bi Sharh al Minhaj,* Julz 7 (Beirult: Dar Ihya al Tulrats, 2001), hlm, 435.

implications (mudarat) for the husband or trigger neglect of marital rights.[3] Zakaria al-Anshari similarly formulates that the legality of a woman's public activities remains valid as long as they do not reduce or violate the husband's shar'i rights.[4] This critical limitation regarding the necessity of permission is also strictly upheld by scholars of the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools. Al-Syarbini has ruled that if the nature of a wife's work requires intensive social interaction that could potentially cause fitnah with non-mahram men, then obtaining the husband's permission becomes a binding legal obligation.[5] Meanwhile, within the Hanbali school, Al-Buhuti strictly prohibits wives from leaving home for work without obtaining the husband's permission, unless faced with an emergency or an urgent socio-economic necessity (*al-hajah al-maslahiyyah*).[6]

Islamic law also establishes strict conditions regarding the obligation to cover one's body (*aurat*), communication etiquette, and personal honor (*iffah*) in public spaces. Imam al-Nawawi requires that the legality of a woman's departure must be safe from potential fitnah, a point reinforced by Ibn Qudamah who states that women's economic or commercial activities are not prohibited as long as they do not lead to prohibited interaction patterns such as seclusion with non-mahram men (*khalwat*).[7] Nevertheless, this textually restrictive fiqh doctrine frequently clashes when confronted with the sociological reality of agrarian communities.

In Dusun Kepoh, Kacangan Village, the active involvement of wives in the agricultural sector is no longer merely an economic alternative, but has crystallized into a social norm and a binding way of life. When a social practice transforms into an established collective consciousness, this discourse must be examined using methodological instruments of Islamic law that are accommodating to social change, namely the Fiqhi Maxim *Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah*, meaning: "Customary practice can be established as law".[8] This maxim holds high theoretical urgency for examining the extent to which the practice of economic cooperation among farming families in Dusun Kepoh can be legally legitimized through the categorization of ʿUrf Shahīh (valid custom that does not contradict shar'i evidence).

[3]Ramli, *Nihayat al-Mulhtaj ila Sharh al-Minhaj, Julz 6* (Beirult: Dar al-Kultulb al-Ilmiyyah, 1997), hlm, 376.
[4]Zakariya Ansari, *Asna al-Matalib fi Sharh Rawd al-Talib, Julz 3* (Beirult: Dar al-Kultulb al Ilmiyyah, 1998), hlm, 412.
[5]Asy Syarbini, *Mulghni al-Mulhtaj, Julz 4* (Beirult: Dar al-Fikr, 1995), hlm, 287.
[6]Mansulr al-Bulhulti, *Kashshaf al Qina, Julz 5* (Beirult: Dar al-Kultulb al-Ilmiyyah, 1982), hlm, 200.
[7]Ibn Quldamah, *Al-Mulghni, Julz 4* (Beirult: Dar al-Fikr, 1983), hlm, 198.
[8]Jalalulddin al-Sulyulthy,al-Asybâhwaal-Nadzâir, (Kairo-Mesir: Dar el-Salam, 2009), j. 1, hlm, 221.

The urgency of this research is further strengthened when considering the dynamics of agricultural modernization in Dusun Kepoh. Historically and traditionally, the division of labor in rice fields placed men under very heavy physical burdens, such as hoeing, carrying harvest produce, and the process of grantek (manually separating rice grains from stalks). However, the penetration of modern technology through the use of Combine Harvester machines has significantly reduced the physical role of men, who now predominantly act as supervisors of the mechanization process. Conversely, wives continue to bear massive, traditional, and physically demanding manual workloads throughout the agricultural cycle, including: tandur (the process of manually planting rice seedlings in a bent position), sulam (the process of evaluating and re-inserting rice plants that have died or developed poorly), and matun (the periodic weeding or clearing of wild grass two weeks after tandur).

This workload imbalance resulting from modernization triggers new problems in the concept of household rights and obligations, which directly threatens family harmony a primary vision of marriage consistent with the principles of maqasid al-shariʿah, particularly in the aspects of protecting lineage (hifzh al-nasl) and protecting honor *(hifzh al-ʿirdh*).

An ideal marriage in Islam aims to create tranquility and compassion. If this dual role is managed without a fair reconstruction of legal understanding, the potential for disharmony and domestic conflict will increase sharply. So far, academic literature examining the dual role of women has been predominantly dominated by purely sociological and economic approaches. For example, Junaidi and Nadia Deby Sukanti examined the dual role of women in the household but limited their analysis to sociological aspects without touching upon the elasticity of Islamic law.[9] There is a clear research gap, as analyses that specifically integrate the empirical practice of the dual role of farming wives amid the currents of agricultural modernization with the analytical lens of the Maxim *Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah* are still very rarely conducted.

This gap is reinforced by recent international literature. Saiin et al., in a 2024 study of Muslim wives balancing careers and household responsibilities in rural communities, found that the dual-role phenomenon is increasingly common yet remains analyzed mainly through sociological and career-management lenses, without a normative evaluation grounded in fiqh maxims.[10] This confirms that the intersection between

[9]Julnaidi dan Nadia Deby Sulkanti, "Perempulan dengan Peran Ganda dalam Rulmah Tangga," *Saree: Research in Gender Stuldies* 4, no. 1 (2022): hlm, 27–37.
[10] A. Saiin et al., "Walking Together: Dynamics of Muslim Wives Dual Role in Rural Areas Pursuing Career and Household Responsibilities," *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 1 (2024): 127–148.

agrarian dual-role practices and Islamic legal maxims such as *Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah* remains underexplored, which this study seeks to address through direct fieldwork rather than literature-based synthesis alone.

Based on this background, this article aims to examine and analyze in depth three main issues: first, how the dual role of farming wives is actually implemented in Dusun Kepoh, Kacangan Village; second, how Islamic law evaluates such dual-role practices; and third, how the living law in the community of Dusun Kepoh is capable of constructing household harmony amid the double burden borne by farming wives. Through this study, it is hoped that a contextual understanding will be obtained regarding the redefinition of domestic-public rights and obligations that harmonize religious texts with the sociological welfare of agrarian communities. The novelty of this article rests precisely on this integrative move: rather than treating the dual role of farming wives as a purely sociological fact or a purely textual fiqh question, it positions ʿurf ṣaḥīḥ and the maxim *Al-ʿĀdah Muḥakkamah* as the analytical bridge between the two, a combination the literature reviewed above has not yet undertaken for the specific context of agrarian modernization.

METHODS

1. Type and Research Approach

This study employs a field research strategy and is qualitative in nature. The field research method was chosen because primary data were collected directly from the research locus in Dusun Kepoh, Kacangan Village, through intensive interaction and in-depth information gathering from farming wives who live a dual role in their daily lives.

A qualitative approach was deemed most relevant because this study does not aim to seek numerical generalization or prove variable relationships through statistical data. Its primary focus is understanding the meaning (understanding of meaning) behind the lived experiences of the research subjects. Through this method, the researcher can holistically explore how farming wives feel, interpret, and make sense of their dual roles, both in managing the household and working in the agricultural sector. Qualitative research aims to understand phenomena in depth by collecting data in natural settings, emphasizing the depth of substantive meaning over generalization.[11]

To examine this phenomenon, this study integrates two qualitative approaches: phenomenology and grounded theory:

[11]Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kulantitatif, Kulalitatif, dan R&D* (Bandulng: Alfabeta, 2011), hlm, 15–16.

Phenomenological Approach: Used to explore in depth the essence of the actual experiences of farming wives. Phenomenology facilitates the researcher in entering the subject's consciousness, thereby reconstructing how they make sense of the dialectic between domestic household obligations and economic responsibilities in the agricultural sector. The primary focus is on finding the essential structure of that experience, not merely capturing surface-level data. Through this approach, the researcher can observe how symbols, values, and daily practices are interpreted in depth by the local community.[12]

Grounded Theory Approach: Used as a complementary analytical instrument. If phenomenology focuses on the meaningful understanding of experience, grounded theory provides a conceptual scheme for systematically constructing local theoretical conceptualization (substantive theory) from field data. This approach moves inductively not from proving rigid macro theory, but by building categories, patterns, and propositions based on empirical findings from interviews and observation. Through grounded theory, this research is expected to produce a conceptual explanation of the real impact of the farming wives' dual role on the portrait of their household harmony.[13]

The combination of both approaches creates a holistic analysis: phenomenology provides narrative depth to subjective experiences, while grounded theory provides the analytical tool to reconstruct field findings into broader and more structured theoretical formulations.

2. Research Location

This research was conducted in Dusun Kepoh, Kacangan Village, Modo Sub-district, Lamongan Regency, East Java Province. The selection of this locus was based on the socio-economic characteristics of the local community, which have high relevance to the focus of the study. Dusun Kepoh is predominantly inhabited by farming families with an agrarian work structure that still places women (wives) as the primary productive force in the rice fields while simultaneously serving as domestic household managers. This phenomenon clearly demonstrates the practice of the double burden carried by wives, which has rarely been examined in depth through the lens of Islamic law.

The empirical uniqueness of Dusun Kepoh lies in the active involvement of wives in the annual agronomic cycle. Heavy physical activities such as tandur (planting seedlings), sulam (checking and re-inserting rice plants), and matun (weeding) are no

[12]Lilik Sugiharti dan Unggull Heriqbaldi, *Pendekatan Penelitian Kualitatif: Naratif, Fenomenologi, Grounded Theory, Etnografi, dan Studi Kasus* (Surabaya: Insan Muamalah Publisher, 2012), hlm, 27–45.
[13]Burhan Bungin, *Analisis Data Penelitian Kulalitatif Pemahaman Filosofis Dan Metodologis Ke Arah Pengulasaan Model Aplikasi, 1st ed.* (Rajawali Pers, 2022), hlm, 123.

longer merely incidental assistance, but have crystallized into routine responsibilities of women that demand physical endurance and high dedication. On the other hand, the presence of agricultural modernization through the use of Combine Harvester machines has asymmetrically reduced men's physical workload, while women's manual roles remain relatively fixed in crucial phases of food production.

Furthermore, Dusun Kepoh represents a typology of rural communities that firmly hold religious values and collective traditions. This means that wives' involvement in the productive domain is not only a matter of economic fulfillment, but also relates to how the community interprets Islamic law in the practice of daily life. This phenomenon makes Dusun Kepoh an ideal social laboratory for examining the dual role of wives from two dimensions simultaneously: the empirical dimension (social-agrarian reality) and the normative dimension (Islamic law perspective). Research at this location is expected to provide a contextual analysis of the reality of agrarian women in East Java while enriching the discourse of contemporary Islamic law based on empirical data.

3. Data and Sources of Data

In this qualitative study, there are two main types of data sources:

Primary Data: Main data obtained directly from primary sources in the field. Primary data records the empirical narratives, attitudes, and actions of subjects concerning the phenomenon of dual roles in the agricultural and domestic sectors. Key informants in this study include:

Farming wives in Dusun Kepoh who actively carry out dual roles in the agricultural and domestic sectors. Husbands (farmers) who interact directly in the distribution of domestic-public work and the management of household harmony. In total, four key informants two farming wives and two husbands were involved, selected through purposive sampling based on three criteria: (1) actively performing dual roles in both domestic and agricultural work for a minimum of five years, (2) willingness to be interviewed openly about household dynamics, and (3) recommendation by the village head as representative of the general pattern of dual-role households in Dusun Kepoh. This number was considered adequate for a phenomenological design, as data collection was continued until informational saturation was reached, meaning no substantially new themes emerged from additional interviews.

Secondary Data: Supporting data obtained through written and digital documentary research to strengthen the theoretical basis, provide an analytical foundation, and compare field findings with previous research. Secondary data includes: classical and contemporary Islamic legal literature; scientific journals, books, and academic articles relevant to the topic; and official village documents and statistical data such as the

Kacangan Village profile, demographic data, and monographic records of the local socio-economic structure.

4. Data Collection Techniques

To ensure the depth and accuracy of contextual data, data collection was conducted through a combination of three main techniques:

In-depth Interview: Conducted face-to-face with key informants such as farming wives and husbands. The interview model used was semi-structured (semi-structured interview) so that the question-and-answer process remained focused within the scope of the research problem, while also giving informants some freedom to be open about their personal experiences, emotions, and perspectives.[14]

Participant Observation: The researcher conducted direct observation of the daily activity rhythms of farming wives, both in the domestic domain (childcare, cooking, managing the home) and in the public domain (tandur, sulam, and matun activities in the fields). This technique is crucial for validating the alignment between what informants stated in interviews and their actual social actions in the field.[15]

Documentation: Conducted by collecting official and unofficial documentary materials, such as village profile archives, population data, community organization records, and photographs documenting women's farming activities in the field. This documentation technique serves as a complement and means of verification for data obtained from interviews and observation.[16]

5. Data Analysis

In this qualitative study, the data analysis process is interactive and cyclical, beginning with data collection and ending with findings. The data analysis procedures include the following steps:

Data Reduction: Taking raw data from sources such as field notes and interview transcripts and refining it through selection, simplification, and transformation. Related thematic groups are used to organize data, including patterns of husband-wife division of labor, dual role agricultural practices, and their influence on marital harmony. Operationally, interview transcripts and field notes were first read repeatedly, then coded manually by assigning descriptive labels to recurring statements, after which codes with similar meanings were grouped into the thematic categories above.[17]

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[14]John W. Creswell dan Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches, 4th ed.* (Los Angeles: SAGE Pulblications, 2018), hlm, 151–153.
[15]Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Hulberman, dan Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook, 3rd ed.* (Thoulsand Oaks: SAGE Pulblications, 2014), hlm, 33
[16]Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2021), hlm, 220.
[17]Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kulalitatif* (Bandulng: Alfabeta, 2022), 247.

Data Display: Narratives with descriptive and analytical elements, matrices, basic tables, or direct quotations form the reduced data set. This step helps scholars better understand new interaction patterns and social dynamics, while also connecting field findings with Islamic legal theory.[18]

Conclusion Drawing and Verification: Inductively formulating initial conclusions based on solid patterns from the data display. These conclusions are then re-tested (verified) by returning to the field, comparing data across informants, matching with observation results, and reconnecting with Islamic legal theory (*Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah*) to produce valid analytical conclusions.[19]

6. Checking Data Validity

To ensure the degree of trustworthiness and scientific accountability of the research results, the researcher refers to four criteria of qualitative data validity: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.[20] In addition, recent research shows that data validity strategies need to be adapted to the dynamics of field research. Wahidah Luthfiyani and Murhayati emphasize the importance of using triangulation, member checking, and cross-method confirmation as ways to strengthen data accuracy in qualitative research.[21] These strategic steps are aligned with contemporary trends in socio-legal research validity that emphasize the importance of cross-method confirmation:

Source Triangulation: Assessing the reliability of data collected from several sources by comparing and differentiating data comparing the answers of farming wives with those of husbands, further strengthened by the perspectives of religious leaders or local community figures to avoid bias toward a single viewpoint.

Technical Triangulation: Combining results from different data collection techniques to test the truth of the same information. For example, data on the physical burden of tandur, matun, and sulam activities is not only extracted from informants' oral accounts during interviews, but also integrated with the researcher's direct field observation results and reinforced by secondary village document data.

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[18]Norman K. Denzin dan Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qulalitative Research*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Pulblications, 2018), hlm, 695.
[19]John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qulalitative, Qulantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Pulblications, 2018), hlm, 256.
[20]Yvonna S. Lincoln dan Egon G. Gulba, *Natulralistic Inquliry* (Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Pulblications, 1985), hlm, 289.
[21]Putri Wahidah Lulthfiyani dan Sri Mulrhayati, "Strategi Memastikan Keabsahan Data Dalam Penelitian Kualitatif," *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 8, no. 3 (2024): hlm, 316.

Time Triangulation: Conducting data collection and observation at different moments or times, both during the busy planting season and during the idle period after harvest, to check the consistency of the information provided by informants.

Member Checking: The researcher re-confirms the draft interview transcripts and interim analysis results to key informants (farming wives) to ensure that the interpretations written by the researcher are in accordance with the actual intent and reality experienced by the subjects. This step is crucial for maintaining the objectivity of research results from the researcher's personal subjectivity.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis and discussion in this section aim to elaborate more deeply on the reality of the implementation of the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh. Using phenomenological and grounded theory approaches, this analysis seeks to understand the meaning and subjective experiences of wives in carrying out their roles as both homemakers and breadwinners in the agricultural sector. This dual role not only encompasses the dimensions of domestic and productive work, but also reflects the dynamics of social relations, cultural values, and religious practices that underlie the household life of farming families in this village.

The discussion is conducted by combining approaches from sociology of roles, classical fiqh maxims regarding the duties and permission of wives to work, as well as local customs and community cooperation (*gotong royong*). The analysis is arranged thematically based on three main focuses: first, the implementation of the dual role of farming wives in daily life; second, an examination of such roles according to Islamic law through fiqh maxims and local customary considerations; and third, the implications of the dual role on household harmony, particularly in aspects of communication, emotional closeness, role cooperation, and conflict resilience.

1. Analysis of the Implementation of the Dual Role of Farming Wives in Dusun Kepoh

The implementation of the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh is a social practice that has been passed down through generations and has merged into the value system of agrarian society. Farming wives in this area carry two roles simultaneously: first, the domestic role as household manager; and second, the productive role in the agricultural sector as a supporter of the family economy.

a. Domestic and Agricultural Roles of Wives

The domestic role of wives as household managers in Dusun Kepoh continues to be carried out with full responsibility, even though wives are also involved in agricultural

activities in the fields. This demonstrates what is referred to in gender studies as a dual role the double burden borne by women as a consequence of productive and domestic roles running simultaneously. Domestic tasks such as cooking, washing, caring for children, and cleaning the house remain the primary domain of women. Ibu Kholilik stated in an interview:

> "*Biasane tangine ya sakdurunge subuh, kuli wes mulai masak sego, nyapu, ngekum klambi, nggawekne teh nggo bapak karo anak. Kadang mripat yo rasane abot, tapi yo piye, kabeh yo kudu wes dicepakne sakdurunge budal menyang sawah.*" [Usually I wake up before dawn, and I've already started cooking rice, sweeping, soaking clothes, making tea for my husband and children. Sometimes my eyes feel heavy, but what can I do, everything has to be prepared before going to the fields.][22]

This quotation illustrates that domestic work is fully carried out even before productive activities in the fields begin. This demonstrates the stability of domestic patterns that do not diminish even when women must work outside the home. The physical pressure experienced is also very clear, as expressed:

> "*Opo maneh pas usume tandur, kadang yo balek moleh pas wayah luhuran, terus balek maneh nyambut gawe. Mangkane kudu cepet-cepet, koyo korah-korah, ngentasi jemuran, terus mandi bentar, bar ngunu langsung neng sawah maneh. Awak yo soro, tapi wes biasa, wong ket mbiyen wes penggaweane.*" [Especially during the planting season, sometimes I come home around noon, then go back to work. So I have to be quick—washing dishes, taking in the laundry, then taking a quick shower, and after that heading straight back to the fields. The body is tired, but it's become normal since it's always been the work.]

The expressions "*mripat yo rasane abot*" ("my eyes feel heavy") and "*awak yo soro*" ("the body is tired") are empirical evidence of the exhaustion condition described in Arlie Hochschild's concept of *the second shift* [23] the forced condition of women running two work shifts simultaneously: work in the public domain (fields) and domestic work that never stops. This model of labor division potentially triggers physical burden, mental pressure, and couple conflict if not balanced by cooperation and tolerance. This double burden constitutes a structural risk inherent in agrarian society, yet it is successfully mitigated by a culturally-based mechanism through the philosophy of *nrimo ing pandhum* (acceptance of one's lot).

Meanwhile, from Talcott Parsons' structural-functionalism perspective, the family is a social unit supporting the welfare of individuals and society.[24] The wife holds a central

[22]Wawancara, Ibul Kholilik, warga Dulsuln Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabulpaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025.
[23]Arlie Hochschild dan Anne Machulng, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking, 1989), hlm, 3–5.
[24]Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (New York: Free Press, 1951), hlm. 166–170.

role that not only encompasses domestic affairs but also contributes to the family's economic and social activities. With proper management, the wife's dual role reflects a balance of individual, family, and societal responsibilities, supporting the achievement of comprehensive family welfare.

However, the reality in Dusun Kepoh shows that both roles are integrated by wives simultaneously. They not only carry out expressive roles (internal-affective) but also take part in instrumental roles (external-economic) as workers in the fields. This makes farming families in Dusun Kepoh an adaptive unit, as one individual can carry out two functions simultaneously. Thus, this integration strengthens Parsons' argument that the family is a social system that will restructure role division in accordance with actual social and economic needs.

In the productive sector, farming wives also participate in various agricultural phases such as *tandur* (planting seedlings), *matun* (weeding), and *sulam* (repairing underdeveloped plants). Ibu Siti Aminah shared that she performs *matun* work alone when her husband cannot help:

> "*Kadang yo budal dewe, nek pak e ono penggawean liyane, ya akul seng delok pari, matun saitik. Wong sawah gone bareng.*" [Sometimes I go alone, if my husband has other work, then I'm the one who checks the rice, doing a bit of weeding. The rice field belongs to us together.][25]

The active and independent involvement of wives in productive work demonstrates their capacity not merely as auxiliary labor, but as key actors in the agricultural production process. This phenomenon is consistent with Ratna Saptari's idea that rural women do not only play roles in household work, but are also active throughout the stages of agricultural activities, from land preparation to harvest.[26] This contribution is often not formally recognized economically because it is considered part of "family assistance," yet in reality it supports domestic stability. This finding both confirms and extends Junaidi and Sukanti's account of women's dual role in the household: whereas their study frames the phenomenon primarily as a sociological consequence of economic pressure, the Dusun Kepoh case shows that the same practice is simultaneously sustained by a normative logic namely the community's tacit application of ʿurf that classical fiqh itself recognizes as a valid source of obligation, not merely a coping strategy imposed by necessity.

[25]Wawancara, Ibul Siti Aminah, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025
[26]Ratna Saptari, *Perempulan, Kerja, dan Perubahan Sosial di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1997), hlm. 4.

Thus, the consistent implementation of domestic roles while carrying out productive work is evidence of the flexibility of roles within the structure of traditional farming families. This balance of roles can only be realized because of a shared understanding of customs, religious norms, and economic needs a concrete illustration of living law operating at the household level.

b. Patterns of Cooperation and Negotiation

The implementation of the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh cannot be separated from patterns of family cooperation and local customary values that have regulated husband-wife relations across generations. Although in the formal structure the husband is regarded as the head of the family, the practice of role division is not one-directional or authoritarian. What emerges instead is a dynamic of complementary roles, in which husband and wife mutually supplement, adjust, and negotiate roles based on the actual needs of the family.

The concept of *gotong royong* (communal cooperation) expressed by Bapak Sukardi ("*iku mlebone gotong royong*""that is included in communal cooperation")[27] has a strong parallel in Islamic law. In *fiqh muʿamalah*, this labor partnership-based economic cooperation is categorized as *syirkah fī al-amāl* (or *syirkah al-abdān*), that is, a partnership where two or more parties mutually contribute through physical labor, mutually benefit, and mutually strengthen one another without questioning who works harder for the sake of a common goal.

Although there is an imbalance in physical workload, with wives bearing both domestic and productive burdens, household harmony remains well-maintained due to emotional compensation from husbands. This is evident from Ibu Kholilik's account:

> "*Pak e iku jarang nyapu utawa masak. Tapi yo ngerti, kadang takon 'wes mangan durung?' utawa mbantu belanja nek aku sibuk.*" [He rarely sweeps or cooks. But he understands; sometimes he asks "have you eaten yet?" or helps with shopping when I'm busy.]

This testimony affirms that although the division of labor within the family appears physically unequal due to agrarian cultural construction, there exists a consistent form of attention and emotional support from the husband to strengthen inner harmony. This relational pattern is not merely transactional-material, but emphasizes inner aspects such as attention, patience, and mutual understanding.

Thus, the pattern of husband-wife cooperation in farming families in Dusun Kepoh reflects a well-established integration between customary values, religious norms, and economic needs. They successfully manage role dynamics within the household through

[27]Wawancara, Sukardi, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025

mutual understanding and mutualistic habituation, not through rigid instructions or unilateral domination. The relationship that forms is reciprocal, with each party contributing according to their capacity and field situation, which ultimately maintains household continuity and family harmony sustainably.

2. Analysis of the Dual Role of Farming Wives in the Perspective of Islamic Law

The practice of the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh where women not only manage the household but also actively participate in agricultural activities such as *tandur*, *sulam*, and *matun* can be positioned as *ʿurf shahīh* (valid custom) based on the maxim:

الْعَادَةُ مُحَكَّمَةٌ

"Customary practice can be established as law."[28]

ʿUrf shahīh (valid custom) refers to the practice of women working in rice fields. According to this idea, social norms can function as legal precedents as long as they do not contradict Islamic scripture. In Dusun Kepoh, this custom arose from pressing agrarian economic needs, where husbands and wives cooperate in the fields as a form of *gotong royong*, so that this dual role is not merely an individual choice but a binding social norm that is valid under Islamic law. Furthermore, this *ʿurf* strengthens legal legitimacy because it is supported by the consistency of multigenerational practice, reflecting the welfare of the family and community without neglecting shar'i principles such as covering the body and seeking the husband's permission.

In examining this phenomenon of role and custom integration theologically, Wahbah al-Zuhaili in *Ushul Fiqh al-Islami* affirms that custom can be used as a basis for law as long as it meets several principal conditions: it is generally applicable and consistent in society; it does not contradict shar'i texts (*nash*); it does not abrogate definitively-established law (*qatʿi*); and it brings benefit (*maslahah*) to society. He further explains the essence of valid custom through the maxim:

العُرْفُ الصَّحِيحُ هُوَ الَّذِي لا يُخَالِفُ نَصًّا وَلا إِجْمَاعًا وَلا قِيَاسًا صَحِيحًا

"Valid custom is that which does not contradict a text, consensus (ijmāʰ), or sound analogical reasoning (qiyās)."[29]

Based on this view, the habit of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh waking before dawn, completing all domestic duties, then working in the fields to support the family economy is deemed not to contradict shar'i principles. This activity in fact supports the welfare and economic resilience of the family in real terms. As long as it does not neglect primary

[28]Jalalulddin al-Sulyulthy,al-Asybâhwaal-Nadzâir, (Kairo-Mesir: Dar el-Salam, 2009), j. 1, hlm, 221.
[29]Wahbah Zulhaili, *Usull Fiqh al-Islami*, Damaskus: Darull-Fikr, 1986, Juz 2, hlm. 86.

domestic obligations and maintains the ethics prescribed by Islamic law, the dual role of wives is not only permitted, but also regarded as a form of productive activity that supports family welfare. This becomes a form of *istihsan* (legal preference) practice that weighs benefits based on social welfare in rural settings. Ibn al-Qayyim adds that legal rulings can change in accordance with changes in time, place, and custom.[30] This reinforces that the *ʿurf* in villages like Dusun Kepoh is valid as a source of law.

This normative reading gains further depth when placed alongside comparable fatwa-based analyses in other national contexts. Zainon et al., analyzing the legal status of a working wife's income from the perspective of ʿurf in Malaysian fatwa practice, similarly conclude that customary economic partnership between spouses can be recognized as a legitimate joint contribution rather than a mere personal favor, provided it does not conflict with established shar'i limits.[31] Viewed through the lens of maqāṣid al-sharīʿah, the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh can further be justified as serving ḥifẓ al-nasl (protection of lineage) and ḥifẓ al-māl (protection of property/livelihood), since the wife's agricultural labor directly secures the family's subsistence and, by extension, the welfare of its offspring. Compared with the stricter domestic-centric position associated with the classical Shafi'i reading discussed earlier, this maqāṣid-based argument and the Hanbali allowance for work under genuine socio-economic necessity converge on the same practical conclusion, suggesting that across madhhab positions the decisive variable is not the wife's mere presence in public space but whether her work remains free of khalwat, neglect of domestic duty, and disregard for the husband's permission.

3. Analysis of the Implications of the Dual Role on Household Harmony

The activities of farming wives with dual roles in Dusun Kepoh, encompassing work in the fields and household management, produce a positive effect on indicators of family harmony such as role balance and cooperation, as well as mutual support and emotional harmony. Role balance is achieved when husband and wife collaborate in the fields to maintain economic continuity, while the wife remains responsible for domestic affairs. This triggers close cooperation and reduces individual burdens. This practice builds mutual support that strengthens emotional bonds. Although there are challenges such as fatigue, these activities produce mutual respect and emotional stability that support household harmony.

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[30]Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *I'lam al-Mulwaqqi'in 'an Rabb-'AlamIn*, Beirut: Darul-Kutub'Ilmiyyah, 1996, Julz 3, hlm. 3.

[31] M.M. Zainon et al., "Classification of Property of a Carrier Wife as a Jointly Acquired Property: A Legal Analysis from the Perspective of ʿUrf," *Journal of Fatwa Management and Research* 24, no. 2 (2021): 40–59.

This cooperative condition is reflected in the interview results from an informant:

"*Aku yo ngerti nafkah iku wajib. Opo iso wong lanang ora nyukupi kebutuhan bojoe. Masio bojo yo kerjo, tetep aku sing tanggung jawab. Wong kerjo bareng iku yo nggowo kerukunan.*" [I understand that providing is an obligation. How can a man fail to meet his wife's needs? Even if my wife works, I'm still the one who is responsible. Working together brings harmony.][32]

Cooperation in joint activities reinforces the principle of flexible *qawwamah* in family fiqh, where the division of tasks produces a sense of mutual support and emotional stability. This shows that the dual role triggers harmony through cooperation. Joint activities have proven capable of reducing workloads and strengthening emotional bonds without diminishing the husband's responsibility.

Another informant added a picture of the cooperative atmosphere in the field:

"*Lek tandur bareng iku, kadang guyon. Masio panas ra karuan, tapi rasane plong, penggawean ra keroso abot. Wong kerja bareng iku yo nggowo keharmonisan.*" [When we do the planting together, we sometimes joke around. Even though it's incredibly hot, it feels lighter, the work doesn't feel as heavy. Working together brings harmony.][33]

The division of tasks in family fiqh helps achieve *sakinah* through mutual respect, where field activities become a form of cooperation that strengthens emotional bonds. A fair and balanced division of tasks supports the creation of household harmony. Consistent affection, attention, and empathy toward a spouse and children help family members face external pressures or conflicts more calmly.[34] These findings illustrate how joint activities reduce workloads and create a warm, communal (*guyub*) atmosphere, preventing conflict and improving harmony.

Furthermore, the fulfillment of the family's economic needs was expressed by the following informant:

"*Sing penting mangan isih iso, sekolah yo iso dibayari, wes cukup. Opo maneh wong sawah ngene, urip yo sederhana. Wong kerja bareng iku yo nggowo dukungan timbal balik.*" [The important thing is that we can still eat, schooling can be paid for—that's enough. Especially for farming people like us, life is simple. Working together brings mutual support.][35]

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[32]Wawancara, Sukadi, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025.

[33]Wawancara, Kholilik, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025.

[34]Fayyadh Assegap, dkk, "*Family Communication as a Foundation of Mental Health: Roles and Responsibilities,*" Julrnal Syntax Admiration 6, no. 7 (Jully 22, 2025): hlm, 1595–1605.

[35]Wawancara, Siti Aminahi, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025

Social norms such as *gotong royong* function as a mechanism of mutual support, which in an Islamic context strengthens *mawaddah wa rahmah* (love and compassion) through task distribution. Emotional closeness between spouses demonstrates the quality of a strong relationship. This kind of steady emotional attentiveness allows family members to face external pressures or conflicts more calmly. This statement emphasizes satisfaction with joint livelihood, reflecting mutual support as an aspect of harmony, consistent with the view that local practices strengthen emotional stability.

From the perspective of Islamic law, household harmony (*sakinah*, *mawaddah*, *wa rahmah*) is achieved through cooperation and division of tasks as explained in family fiqh. Task distribution based on each party's capabilities has proven to strengthen bonds. Emphasis is placed on mutual support in joint activities that create emotional stability and mutual respect, in accordance with the principle of flexible *qawwamah*. Local norms such as *gotong royong* serve as a mechanism of harmony that reduces conflict potential through social adaptation.

M. Quraish Shihab states that *sakinah* in the household is not merely about a mathematically-physically fair division of labor, but about "inner peace and a sense of being accepted" that arises from interactions full of mutual respect.[36]

This is reinforced by Ibu Kholilik's account:

> "*Aku kerja yo dudu mergo ora dicukupi. Wong bojo yo wis berusaha sak kuate. Aku bantu iku yo ben cepet rampung. Wong nrimo lan qana'ah iku nggowo ketenangan.*" [I work not because I'm not provided for. My husband has tried his best. I help so things can be done faster. Acceptance (nrimo) and contentment (qana'ah) bring inner peace.][37]

Qanaʿah, as a spiritual wealth that nurtures a sense of sufficiency and prevents dissatisfaction, is understood as consistent with the life principle of "*nrimo ing pandhum*" that emphasizes acceptance of one's destiny and circumstances. This attitude becomes an important approach to strengthening family resilience in facing conflict and life pressures. Families that internalize the quality of *qanaʿah* are able to address disagreements wisely, resolve disputes without damaging emotional bonds, and remain united despite facing difficult situations. Thus, *qanaʿah* not only enriches family members spiritually, but also becomes a foundation for the creation of firm and sustainable household harmony.[38]

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[36]M. Qulraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Mishbah* Jilid IX (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2002), hlm. 456.
[37]Wawancara, Kholilik, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025.
[38]Zhang, Julan,dkk. 2024. "*Family Fulnctioning and Adolescent Mental Health: The Mediating Role of Bulllying Victimization and Resilience*" Behavioral Sciences 14, no. 8: hlm, 664

In addition, the husband's permission can also provide confidence in carrying out all activities outside the home, one of the important aspects that cannot be left out or forgotten by the wife. Permission is the most important instrument, as expressed by Bapak Sukadi:

"*Aku yo ngomong ng bojoku, yo monggo ae nek ape ng sawah, pokok ngerti batesan-batesan e, iku wes oleh izin teko aku.*" [I say to my wife, it's fine if you want to go to the fields, as long as you understand the limits—that is already permission from me.][39]

This statement reflects normative permission, which refers to the shar'i limits regarding women's social interaction in public spaces. This view is consistent with Al-Syarbini's opinion in *Mughni al-Muhtaj*, which states that women who work and potentially engage in social interaction must obtain their husband's permission:

وإنْ أرَادَتِ الخُرُوجَ لِعَمَلٍ يَكْثُرُ فِيهِ الْمُخَالَطَةُ بِالأَجَانِب، فَالْأَوْلَى بَلْ يَجِبُ أَنْ تَسْتَأْذِنَ زَوْجَهَا

"If a wife wishes to go out for work that involves much interaction with non-mahram men, it is preferable indeed obligatory for her to seek her husband's permission."[40]

Thus, both implicit and normative permission are sharʿi-ly valid, and become part of the harmonization of custom with Islamic law in Dusun Kepoh. This situation illustrates how the maxim *Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah* works in reality.

CONCLUSION

Farming wives in Dusun Kepoh carry out two roles simultaneously and continuously: the domestic role (managing the household) and the productive role in the agricultural sector (*tandur, matun,* and *sulam*). Domestic activities are fully carried out before dawn and continued during breaks from field work. Although this triggers a double physical burden (the second shift), this workload imbalance is successfully mitigated through complementary and reciprocal cooperation patterns. The balance of the relationship is maintained through emotional compensation from husbands in the form of attention, approval, and understanding, as well as through the wives' internalization of the local cultural value of nrimo ing pandhum.

The practice of the dual role of farming wives in Dusun Kepoh constitutes ʿurf shahīh (valid custom) recognized as a source of law based on the maxim *Al-ʿAdah Muhakkamah* (customary practice can be established as law). This tradition arose from pressing agrarian economic demands for the sake of common welfare. Based on the views of

[39]Wawancara, Sukadi, warga Dusun Kepoh Desa Kacangan Rt.001/Rw.003, Kabupaten Lamongan, 11 November 2025

[40]Al-Shirbīnī, Mulḥammad al-Khaṭib. *Mulghni al-Mulḥtaj*, Julz 2 (Beirult: Darull-Kultulb al-'Ilmiyyah, 1994), hlm. 12.

Wahbah al-Zuhaili and Ibn al-Qayyim, this activity is sharʿi-ly valid because it is consistently practiced, brings welfare, and does not neglect primary domestic obligations or the ethics of Islamic law. This pattern of communal cooperation (gotong royong) meets the criteria of a labor partnership (*syirkah fī al-amāl*), where the wife's physical contribution is considered a voluntary act of goodness (*tabarru'*) that strengthens economic resilience without eliminating the husband's primary obligation of providing for the family, in his capacity as leader (qawwamah).

The dual role of farming wives produces a positive impact in realizing household harmony (*sakinah, mawaddah, wa rahmah*). Joint activities in the fields have been proven to reduce conflict potential, strengthen emotional closeness, and cultivate a warm communal (*guyub*) atmosphere. In the spiritual aspect, inner peace (*sakinah*) is strengthened by the attitude of qanaʿah, which nurtures gratitude and sincerity in accepting modest economic conditions. Furthermore, the pillars of harmony are supported by adherence to shar'i limits, where wives maintain the ethics of covering their bodies (*aurat*) while in the fields and obtain their husband's permission, whether explicitly normative or implicitly operating automatically within the communal consciousness of the Dusun Kepoh community.

Theoretically, these findings extend the discourse on living law by showing that *Al-ʿĀdah Muḥakkamah* is not merely a classificatory device for legitimizing existing custom, but an interpretive bridge that allows Islamic family law to remain responsive to structural shifts such as agricultural modernization, without abandoning its normative commitments to domestic responsibility and marital permission. This positions the maxim as a productive analytical framework for future socio-legal research beyond the specific case of Dusun Kepoh. For subsequent studies, it is recommended that comparative research be conducted across agrarian communities with differing custom-law configurations, and that quantitative or mixed-method approaches be employed to measure the extent to which ʿurf-based dual-role arrangements correlate with indicators of household harmony, so that the theoretical propositions developed here can be tested more broadly.

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