

Productive Maintenance in Polygamous Families: Qur'anic Perspectives and Socio-Economic Practices in Aceh Rayeuk

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Abstract

This study utilizes a qualitative framework, integrating empirical research and interpretive thematic analysis to examine productive maintenance within polygamous marriages in Aceh Rayeuk. Grounded in Qur'anic principles of financial maintenance, the analysis evaluates data gathered through field observations of household economic practices and in-depth interviews with polygamous couples, village officials, and community leaders. The findings indicate that financial maintenance within these households extends beyond merely fulfilling consumptive needs; it is actively directed toward productive endeavours, including business capital, agricultural land management, property investment, fisheries assets, and children's education. Interpretive thematic analysis demonstrates that these practices serve as strategies for long-term economic sustainability and function as tangible manifestations of the principle of justice (*'adl*) in polygamous marriages. From an Islamic legal perspective, these practices align with the Qur'anic concept of *bil-ma'rūf*, which mandates providing financial maintenance in a proper, proportional, and contextually appropriate manner that reflects prevailing socio-economic realities. Furthermore, this study highlights that the efficacy of productive maintenance is contingent upon proactive financial management, the active participation of wives, and local economic conditions. Ultimately, these factors serve as crucial indicators for maintaining the economic stability and overall welfare of polygamous families within the Aceh Rayeuk community.

Keywords: Productive Maintenance, Polygamous Marriage, Family Economy, Qur'anic Perspective, *Bil Ma'rūf*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji praktik pemberian nafkah produktif dalam pernikahan poligami di Aceh Rayeuk dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui pendekatan studi empiris dan analisis tematik interpretatif untuk menganalisis ayat-ayat hukum al-Qur'an dalam pemberian nafkah. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam dengan pelaku poligami, aparatur gampong, serta tokoh mukim, disertai observasi terhadap praktik ekonomi keluarga di beberapa gampong dan kemukiman di wilayah Aceh Rayeuk. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa nafkah dalam keluarga poligami tidak hanya dipahami sebagai pemenuhan kebutuhan konsumtif, tetapi juga diarahkan pada bentuk produktif seperti modal usaha, pengelolaan lahan pertanian, investasi properti, aset perikanan, serta pembiayaan pendidikan anak. Pendekatan tematik interpretatif mengungkap bahwa praktik tersebut dimaknai sebagai strategi keberlanjutan ekonomi sekaligus implementasi prinsip keadilan dalam poligami. Dalam perspektif ayat-ayat hukum, temuan ini selaras dengan konsep bil ma'rūf dalam Al-Qur'an yang menekankan pemberian nafkah secara layak, proporsional, dan sesuai konteks sosial-ekonomi. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa keberhasilan nafkah produktif sangat dipengaruhi oleh manajemen keuangan, partisipasi istri, serta kondisi ekonomi lokal, dan menjadi indikator penting dalam menjaga stabilitas serta kemaslahatan keluarga poligami di masyarakat Aceh Rayeuk.

Kata Kunci: *Nafkah Produktif, Pernikahan Poligami, Ekonomi Keluarga, Perspektif al-Qur'an, Bil Ma'rūf*

A. Introduction

Maintenance is frequently defined as a financial contribution made by one individual to another who is entitled to receive it. Maintenance is generally intended to fulfill fundamental needs, including clothing, food, and shelter.¹ The obligation of maintenance is typically based on two factors: genealogical relationships (*nasāb*) and marital relationships (*muṣāharah*). In the context of marriage, maintenance may be classified into two categories: physical and spiritual. The maintenance discussed in this study refers specifically to physical maintenance rather than spiritual maintenance.²

A range of strategies are employed by husbands in order to provide for their families. Certain provisions are made on a daily, monthly or annual basis. It is evident that this particular matter is neither specified by the Qur'ān nor the hadiths.³ The subject of financial maintenance is addressed in classical *fiqh* books (*kitab kuning fikih*), which contain rigid rules that have been established as a result of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) by scholars.⁴ These scholars have done so in accordance with the circumstances, situations, conditions, and locations in which they lived.

In order to generate a sufficient income, it is incumbent upon a family to utilize all of its potential. Consequently, within the context of a family unit, the husband frequently assumes the role of the primary income generator. However, it is important to acknowledge that, in certain instances, the responsibility of providing for the family is shared by both the husband and wife.⁵ It is not uncommon for the wife to assume a predominant role in this regard, acting as the primary provider for the family.⁶

In this context, an interesting phenomenon occurs in polygamous marriages, both polygamous marriages that are recorded in state documents (marriage certificates) and polygamous marriages that are not officially registered (unregistered marriages). In general, the husband, as the head of the household, is responsible for providing financial maintenance in the form of money or goods, such as rice and other daily necessities, for his wife and children. However, this is not invariably the case. Another model that is also prevalent in the Aceh *Rayeuk* community is where the husband provides business capital according to the

¹ Azanya Abraham Maslow, *Alimony: Modern Principles, Enduring Biases*, 39 (2025).

² Sawsan Muhammed Hilal, 'Alimony of Relatives Between Sharia and Law', *European Scholar Journal (ESJ)*, 2.12 (2021), pp. 114–22; Iman Fadhilah Iman and others, 'Exploring the Monogamy Principle in the Samin Community's Customary Marriages in Kudus: Harmonisation of Tradition and State Law', *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 23.2 (2024), pp. 281–304, doi:10.18326/ijtihad.v23i2.281-304.

³ A H M Ershad Uddin, 'The Practice and Legitimacy of Misyar Marriage: A Critical Analysis Within Islamic Law', *Yakin Dogu Universittesi Islam Tetkikleri Merkezi Dergisi: The Journal of Near East University Islamic Research Center*, 2.2 (2023).

⁴ Mohd Hazwan Ismail, Nur Sarah Tajul Urus, and Syekh Muhd Taufiq A. Rasyid, 'Settlement of Arrears of Alimony Payments Through Negotiations Family Support Division at The Shariah Court', *International Journal for Studies on Children, Women, Elderly and Disabled*, 24 (2025), pp. 21–26; Toha Andiko, Isna Mutia, and Nazaryani Nazaryani, 'THE RULING ON WISHING MERRY CHRISTMAS TO NON-MUSLIMS: AN ANALYSIS OF M. QURAIISH SHIHAB'S INTERPRETATIONS', *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu'ashirah*, 21.1 (2024), p. 139, doi:10.22373/jim.v21i1.20040.

⁵ Iqbal Subhan Nugraha and Abdul Aziz, 'Obligation of Madiyah Maintenance After Divorce: Perspectives of Islamic Law and Positive Law', *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic and Legal Theory*, 2.4 (2024), pp. 1865–81.

⁶ Hotnidah Nasution and Ahmad Rifqi Muchtar, 'Negotiating Islamic Law: The Practice of Inheritance Distribution in Polygamous Marriages in Indonesian Islamic Courts', *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, 2024, pp. 125–44, doi:10.24090/mnh.v18i1.10921.

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business potential that the wife wants to pursue. From this capital, the wife develops her own business and uses the proceeds to meet her own needs. In this particular instance, the husband does not seek a proportion of his wife's business earnings.⁷

The practice of providing financial maintenance, as previously mentioned, is referred to this study as 'productive maintenance' and is commonly observed in families practicing polygamy in Aceh *Rayeuk*. Preliminary studies conducted in Aceh *Rayeuk* revealed that 113 polygamous marriages were in existence, 47 of which provided their spouses with productive maintenance.⁸ This occurrence represents a novel phenomenon that has not been previously documented.

Despite the novelty of this phenomenon within Acehnese society, productive maintenance has been widely discussed by scholars. For instance, Moh. Afandi's research examined the compatibility of productive maintenance with the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāshid al-sharī'ah*).⁹ Furthermore, he extended his study to the practice of productive maintenance in polygamous families in Pamekasan.¹⁰ In another context, M. Schaubert contributed to the academic discourse through a comprehensive analysis of the regulatory framework governing productive maintenance within German family law.¹¹

Despite the fact that a considerable body of research on productive maintenance has been conducted by a number of scholars, previous studies have tended to focus on normative aspects and the *maqāshid al-syarī'ah* without delving deeply into its social practices within polygamous families in Aceh.¹² Moh. Afandi's research for instance, emphasizes the alignment of productive maintenance with the objectives of Islamic law,¹³ whereas the study in Pamekasan focuses on the patterns of implementing maintenance within polygamous families in general.¹⁴ Concurrently, M. Schaubert's study examines the regulation of productive maintenance within the German family law system, which functions within a social, cultural, and legal framework distinct from that of Indonesian Muslim society.¹⁵ Consequently, there remains an evident academic gap regarding the manner in which the practice of productive maintenance is executed, deliberated, and comprehended within the context of polygamous families in the Aceh *Rayeuk* community, which is distinguished by its distinctive socio-religious characteristics.¹⁶

⁷ Samani Sam'ani and others, 'Pragmatism of Polygamous Family In Muslim Society: Beyond Islamic Law', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 7.1 (2023), pp. 321–40, doi:10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.15874.

⁸ Salman Abdul Muthalib, 'Pemenuhan Nafkah Bagi Keluarga Jamaah Tabligh Di Montasik Aceh Besar', *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga*, 5.1 (2022), pp. 504–5.

⁹ Moh. Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari'ah', *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law*, 3.1 (2021), pp. 40–53.

¹⁰ Moh. Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Pada Keluarga Poligami Dalam Perspektif Sosia-Religius', *Hakam: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Ekonomi Islam*, 8.2 (2024).

¹¹ Marianna Schaubert, 'Do Alimony Regulations Matter inside Marriage? Evidence from the 2008 Reform of the German Maintenance Law Do Alimony Regulations Matter inside Marriage? Evidence from the 2008 Reform of the German Maintenance Law' (ZBW - Leibniz-Informationzentrum Wirtschaft, 2018).

¹² Luthfi Auni and Nidawati Nidawati, 'The Semiotic Meaning and Philosophy of Symbols in the Gayo Ethnic Marriage Processions in Central Aceh', *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 11.1 (2023), pp. 39–58, doi:10.26811/peuradeun.v11i1.811; Darmawan Darmawan and others, 'Marriage Dispensation and Family Resilience: A Case Study of the Bener Meriah Shariah Court, Aceh Province', *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 22.2 (2022), doi:10.15408/ajis.v22i2.28827.

¹³ Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Pada Keluarga Poligami Dalam Perspektif Sosia-Religius'.

¹⁴ Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari'ah'.

¹⁵ Schaubert.

¹⁶ Siti Marlina and Haris Mubarak, 'JOINT PROPERTY AFTER DIVORCE IN POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGE: Comparative Research in Indonesia and Malaysia', *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 22.2 (2022), doi:10.30631/alrisalah.v22i2.1289.

The novelty of this study can be attributed to three main aspects. Firstly, this study examines productive maintenance not merely as a normative obligation of the husband, but as a family economic strategy based on the empowerment of wives in polygamous households. Secondly, this study employs an Islamic legal sociology approach to examine the relationship between classical *fiqh* norms and the social practices of contemporary Aceh society. Thirdly, the present study offers novel empirical evidence indicating that within a sample of 113 polygamous families in Aceh *Rayeuk*, 47 families adopt a productive maintenance model by providing their spouses with business capital. This data suggests a shift in maintenance patterns from a consumptive model to a productive one. The present study hypothesizes that the practice of productive maintenance in Aceh polygamous families is not merely a form of economic adaptation, but also a representation of society's reinterpretation of the concept of maintenance within Islamic law.

Based on the background outlined above, this study seeks to answer two main questions. First, how is productive maintenance practiced in polygamous marriages within the Aceh *Rayeuk* community? Second, how is productive maintenance implemented in polygamous families in Aceh *Rayeuk*?

The present study employs a qualitative method with an empirical approach and thematic-interpretive exegesis (*tafsīr maudū'ī*).¹⁷ The empirical approach is utilized to comprehend the practice of productive maintenance in polygamous families directly within the community, while the thematic-interpretive approach is employed to analyze Qur'anic verses related to polygamy, maintenance, justice, and the husband's responsibilities toward his wife. A comprehensive compilation of all pertinent verses was undertaken, followed by a meticulous contextual analysis. This analysis incorporated the insights of classical and contemporary scholars, along with a critical examination of social developments in modern society.¹⁸

This study was conducted among the Aceh *Rayeuk* community, which is dispersed throughout the province of Aceh. For the purposes of this study, the Aceh *Rayeuk* community was limited to those residing within the territorial boundaries of Aceh Besar Regency, a region characterized by strong and distinctive cultural traits, particularly in family and customary practices.¹⁹ The present study involved 113 informants, consisting of men practicing polygamy, their wives, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and village officials. The selection of informants was conducted using purposive sampling, with a focus on individuals deemed to possess a comprehensive understanding and direct experience in the provision of productive support within polygamous households.

The data for this study was collected through a combination of methods, including in-depth interviews, field observations, and document analysis. The validity of the data was enhanced through a combination of source triangulation, methodological triangulation, and member checking with multiple key informants.²⁰ The field data was analyzed using interactive analysis techniques, which included data reduction, data presentation, and the gradual drawing of conclusions. The present study employed this method in order to gain a

¹⁷ Muhammad Shohib, 'Moderate Islamic Education Through The Interpretation of Moderate Verses in The Tafsir Al-Ibriz by KH Bisri Mustofa', *Qalamuna - Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial Dan Agama*, 14.1 (2022), pp. 349–68, doi:10.37680/qalamuna.v14i1.4213.

¹⁸ Misran Ramli and others, 'Unveiling Illegal Marriages in Aceh: Examining the Role of Unofficial Qadi', *El-Mashlahah*, 14.2 (2024), pp. 409–30, doi:10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i2.8887.

¹⁹ Mizaj Iskandar, Nurdin MH, and others, 'EXTRAJUDICIAL TREND IN SHARIA LAW ENFORCEMENT : CUSTOMARY JUSTICE OR VIGILANTISM ?', *Petita: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Syariah*, 9.2 (2024), pp. 624–40.

²⁰ Noeng Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian, Rake Sarasin*, Empat (Raka Sarasen, 2011), XXXVII.

comprehensive understanding of productive livelihood practices, wives' independence, and the dynamics of family harmony in polygamous households within Acehese society.

B. Maintenance Provision in the Qur'an: an Analysis

The term maintenance in the Qur'an is etymologically derived from the Arabic word *nafaqah*, which signifies expenditures, support, and dependents.²¹ In the field of family law, maintenance refers to: (1) the financial maintenance provided by a husband to his wife for her sustenance and livelihood; and (2) funds allocated for daily household needs and expenses. Based on this definition, all financial maintenance given to a wife to fulfill her daily living needs may be categorized as maintenance.²² In summary, the term *maintenance* denotes the provision of adequate food, clothing, and accommodation for individuals who are under one's care and responsibility.²³

With regard to terminology, scholars generally share a similar understanding of maintenance. Al-Nawāwī defines maintenance as the provision of sustenance for oneself or others, including food, drink, and other essential needs.²⁴ Likewise, Al-Rāfi'ī conceptualizes maintenance as the provision of food, clothing, and shelter for those under one's care.²⁵ Based on these definitions, maintenance may be understood as any material support provided by a husband to his wife, children, and other family members as part of his responsibility to fulfill their needs. Such maintenance includes the provision of food, clothing, and housing, and becomes obligatory following the conclusion of a valid marriage contract. The purpose of maintenance is to ensure that the individual responsible is able to meet the basic needs of those under his care.

Islam, as a religion of civilization, instructs its adherents to strive diligently to satisfy their needs. Islam unequivocally condemns idleness, particularly in the context of reliance on the benevolence of others for subsistence. Moreover, Islam considers working to earn a living to be an act of worship.²⁶ The procurement of a livelihood to satisfy the requirements of oneself, one's spouse, and one's dependents constitutes a component of the obligations undertaken by Muslims. Consequently, Islam acknowledges it as a form of worship that is accompanied by substantial rewards. In a hadith, the Prophet is quoted as stating that, "Within Islam, there is one particular sin for which no expiation is possible through praying, alms, fasting, or pilgrimage. The only means of atonement for this sin is to strive diligently to provide for one's family."²⁷

²¹ Wahbah al-Zuhaili, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuhu*, IV (Dar al-Fikr, 2014), VIII; Aiyub Aiyub and Isna Mutia, 'Muhammad Quraish Shihab's Methodology in Interpretation of The Qur'an', *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu Ashirah*, 20.1 (2023), p. 1, doi:10.22373/jim.v20i1.16891.

²² Wan Nor Izzati Wan Nor Anas, Normadiyah Daud, and Wan Mohd Khairul Firdaus Wan Khairuldin, 'The Stance of Alimony or Maintenance for Working Wives within Working Period: An Analysis from the Qualified Jurists (Muftis)', *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 7.4 (2017), pp. 214–22, doi:10.6007/IJARBS/v7-i4/2800.

²³ Taufiqurohman Taufiqurohman and Nelli Fauziah, 'The Evaluation of Maqāsid Asy-Syari'ah on Discourses of the Islamic Family Law', *El-Ussrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga*, 6.1 (2023), p. 81, doi:10.22373/ujhk.v6i1.13035.

²⁴ Abu Zakaria Mahyuddin Al-Nawawi, *Minhaj Al-Thalibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Muftin Fiqh Al-Imam Al-Syafi'i*, Dar Al-Hikmah (State Institute for Islamic Studies Curup, 1996), IX, doi:10.29240/jhi.v9i1.9701.

²⁵ Abu al-Qasim Al-Rafi'i, *Al-Muharrar Fi Fiqh Al-Imam Al-Syafi'i* (Maktabah Tawfiqiyah, 2003), VI.

²⁶ Reni Yuvita Amanda, Mizaj, and Boihaqi, 'Hukum Adat Aceh Dan Perlindungan Anak: Penyelesaian Kasus Kekerasan Di Gampong Deah Raya Banda Aceh', *Jarima: Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Hukum Pidana*, 1.2 (2025), pp. 181–95, doi:10.22373/jarima.v1i2.767.

²⁷ Abu Zakaria Mahyuddin Al-Nawawi, *Syarah Shahih Al-Muslim* (Dar Al-Hadits, 2006), XXIII, doi:10.31958/juris.v23i1.10824.

Within the context of domestic life, Islam stipulates that the husband is obligated to provide financial maintenance to his wife and dependents. The foundation for this obligation is rooted in the Qur'an, hadith, and ijma' (consensus) of scholars. In the Qur'an, Allah states: *"It is imperative that the placement of wives is determined by their residence, with this decision being made in accordance with one's financial circumstances. It is equally crucial to ensure that no undue hardship is imposed upon the wives through restrictions on their movement. In the event of a pregnant wife being divorced, it is incumbent upon the husband to provide for her until the birth of the child. In the event that they undertake the act of breastfeeding your children on your behalf, it is essential that appropriate compensation is provided to them. It is imperative that consultation takes place between individuals on all matters. In the event of encountering difficulties, an alternative woman may assume the role of breastfeeding the child on behalf of the first woman"*. (QS. At-Ṭalāq: 6). The aforementioned verse elucidates that it is the husband's responsibility to provide his wife with adequate accommodation within the constraints of his means. It is imperative to refrain from any actions that could potentially cause upset or distress to one's spouse, particularly in the context of providing unsuitable accommodation or permitting others to reside with her.

In another verse, Allah also states: *"Mothers shall breastfeed their children for two full years, for those who wish to complete breastfeeding. The onus, therefore, falls upon the father to provide sustenance and attire to the mother in a reasonable manner"*. As stated in verse 2:33 of the second chapter of the Qur'an, known as Al-Baqarah. In the context of Qur'anic exegesis, Al-Baqarah verse 233 stipulates that fathers are obligated to provide for their mothers, encompassing both their attire and sustenance, in a manner deemed suitable. The Qur'anic text offers an illustration of the mother as a vessel for her children, with the father as the owner of that vessel. Consequently, it is incumbent upon the father/husband to provide for his wife and children, who are under his responsibility, and to care for and nurture them.²⁸

In accordance with the contents of the Qur'an, the Prophet is also reported as having said: *"It is imperative to exercise caution and demonstrate reverence for Allah in matters pertaining to women. It is imperative to acknowledge that the aforementioned individuals are regarded as a trust bestowed upon you by Allah. Consequently, it is permissible to engage in intimate relations with them, as stipulated within the divine decree. Consequently, it is incumbent upon the individual to provide them with sustenance and attire in a manner that is consistent with the principles of dignity and respect"*.²⁹

The husband's obligation to provide for his wife, as stipulated in the verses of the law, is based on the principle of separation of property between husband and wife. This principle is predicated on the line of thinking that the husband is the breadwinner, and the income he earns is his full right. Moreover, within this marital context, the husband assumes the role of the primary breadwinner. As stated in Al-Nisa': 34, *"Men have the authority to make decisions on behalf of their wives in exchange for the financial support they provide"*. Conversely, the primary responsibility of a wife is not to be the breadwinner. Within the context of marriage, the wife's role is that of the recipient of financial maintenance.³⁰

The fundamental principle of providing for one's spouse is rooted in the sacramental bond of matrimony. Consequently, the husband's responsibility to provide for his wife is

²⁸ Al-Rafi'i, VI.

²⁹ Al-Nawawi, XXIII.

³⁰ Jason Hung, 'Indonesia's Anti-Extramarital Sex Legislation: Why and How Should Policymakers Respond to Prostitution', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 31.3 (2023), pp. 417–22, doi:10.1332/175982721X16911706077120.

independent of her economic status. In summary, even if the wife's economic situation is more stable, while the husband's is the opposite, the husband is still obliged to provide for his wife. The Islamic scholars are in agreement that it is obligatory for a husband to provide for his wife if she has reached puberty, unless she commits *nusyūz* (rebellion).³¹

With regard to the question of the amount of financial maintenance, it is notable that there are no verses or hadiths that explicitly, clearly and definitively mention a specific amount. In the Qur'an, the term *bil makrūf* (appropriate manner) is employed, which is widely interpreted by scholars to denote the provision of clothing, sustenance, and shelter that is commensurate with the wife's needs and aligned with local standards.³² Nevertheless, a divergent interpretation of the term "*bil ma'rūf*" has been posited by certain scholars, who contend that it should be evaluated in accordance with the husband's capacity to financially support his family.³³

1. Polygamy and Productive Maintenance Practices

In the Islamic context, polygamy is defined as the marital union of a male individual with multiple female partners, with a maximum of four permitted under Islamic law.³⁴ This union is subject to the stipulation that the spouses be treated equitably, particularly with regard to the provision of financial maintenance, clothing, housing, and other material necessities. This fairness extends to all wives, irrespective of social class or birth. From a Sharia perspective, polygamy is permitted, but only in circumstances deemed to be urgent by Islamic jurisprudence, and on the condition that the husband is able to fulfil the rights of his wives fairly. Polygamy is not an obligation, but rather an alternative that should only be practiced if the situation allows and the husband can guarantee fair treatment of all his wives.³⁵

In Islam, polygamy is permitted under certain circumstances as an alternative to be pursued in the event of specific challenges arising in the context of household life. In situations where a wife is indisposed and unable to fulfil her marital duties, or is infertile and unable to bear children, it is essential to consider the implications on the marital relationship and the potential impact on spousal relations. The fulfilment of the husband's sexual needs, which require more than one wife, is also a crucial factor to consider, as is the impact of other factors that can disturb inner peace. The primary objective of this consideration is to prevent the husband from falling into adultery or other immoral behavior that is clearly prohibited by religion.³⁶ The purpose of polygamy is thus to provide a lawful path for the husband, provided that he can treat all his wives fairly.³⁷

In the context of polygamy, the issue of providing for multiple spouses is a contentious matter that frequently gives rise to domestic discord. The husband's equitable

³¹ Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Pada Keluarga Poligami Dalam Perspektif Sosia-Religius'.

³² Mohamad Omar Mansu, Zaini Nasohah, and Amir Abrar Abd Latif, 'Imprisonment as a Penalty for Non-Compliance with Alimony Orders: From the Perspective of Mashlahah and Mafsadah', *BITARA International Journal of Civilizational Studies and Human Sciences*, 8.4 (2025), pp. 83–96.

³³ Afandi, 'Nafkah Produktif Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari'ah'.

³⁴ Hilal.

³⁵ Nasa'y Azis, Rispalman, and Tika Anggraini, 'Polygamy in the Perspective of Tafsir Al-Ahkam and Islamic Law: An Examination of the Gayo Luwes Community in Aceh, Indonesia', *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 7.3 (2023), pp. 1682–1707, doi:10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.20021.

³⁶ Mizaj Iskandar Usman and others, 'Adultery Offenses in Indonesia's New Penal Code: Examining the Influence of Islamic and Customary Law', *Juris (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)*, 24.1 (2025), pp. 73–84, doi:10.31958/juris.v24i1.13208.

³⁷ Gandi Liyorba Indra, M. Yasin Al Arif, and Abdul Qodir Zaelani, 'The Ideal Age For Marriage in The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and Psychology', *Al-Adalah*, 20.1 (2023), p. 1, doi:10.24042/adalah.v20i1.11598.

approach to providing for his wife is an indispensable prerequisite. In practice, there is frequently an absence of fairness in the manner in which spouses provide for one another, which can result in domestic disputes and, ultimately, the dissolution of the marriage.³⁸

As an alternative solution aimed at preventing potential conflicts in polygamous marriages, some husbands provide business capital or productive assets to their wives in order to support the development of economic enterprises. The profits generated from these businesses are subsequently allocated to the wives as a form of maintenance. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as productive maintenance.³⁹

In general, productive maintenance within this model is implemented based on an agreement between the husband and wife. Such agreements are commonly made verbally, either before marriage, during the marriage, or after the establishment of the household. Once the agreement has been established, the husband is obliged to provide a certain amount of maintenance to the wife, which is then utilized as business capital. The wife subsequently assumes responsibility for managing the maintenance according to her expertise and capabilities.⁴⁰

After providing productive maintenance, the husband subsequently ceases to provide additional support to his wife and does not request a share of the profits from the business. The spouse is responsible for the independent management of the business, and the profits are utilized for personal requirements. In the event of a loss in the business, the husband's attitude in the agreement varies. It has been observed that certain individuals are willing to assist in the financial rehabilitation of their spouses, while others are prepared to offer reasonable financial assistance. This attitude demonstrates that the husband continues to prioritize his wife's needs, despite having previously demonstrated a pattern of providing productive maintenance. This scenario has the potential to engender conflict if the husband opts to relinquish his responsibilities following the provision of productive maintenance. This situation frequently results in the dissolution of the marriage.⁴¹

The provision of productive support is typically undertaken by spouses who possess specific aptitudes and competencies in domains such as work or entrepreneurship. It is important to note that not all households possess the capacity to implement such a productive support system. A number of factors have been identified as contributing to a wife's capacity to manage a productive income, namely: The factors under discussion are as follows: education and skills, nutrition and health, talent and innate abilities, motivation and ability, and opportunities to work.⁴²

A significant proportion of women aspire to generate their own income by engaging in various forms of employment that align with their individual competencies and interests. A proportion of these individuals opt to pursue a career in the field of trading, while others elect to engage in professional activities within the broader public sphere. The factors that influence this choice include: The motivation for women to seek financial independence from their spouses can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, the desire to supplement inadequate household incomes, owing to the husband's limited financial resources.

³⁸ Nasution and Muchtar.

³⁹ Mizaj Iskandar Usman, 'Sharia Financial Institutions Compliance Towards Islamic Principles in Performing Intermediation Functions', *Al-Iqtishad: Jurnal Ilmu Ekonomi Syariah*, 14.1 (2022), doi:10.15408/aiq.v14i1.25632.

⁴⁰ Mizaj Iskandar, Azhari Yahya, and others, 'Law Enforcement of Jinayat Cases in Syar'iyah Court in Aceh Province Indonesia During Covid-19 Pandemic', *UUM Journal of Legal Studies*, 14.2 (2023), pp. 457–82, doi:10.32890/uujls2023.14.2.2.

⁴¹ Iram Rubab and others, 'Polygamy in Islam: Cultural Pressures and Religious Justifications in Pakistan', *Islamic Thought and Civilization (JITC)*, 11.2 (2021).

⁴² Maslow.

Secondly, the aspiration to establish autonomy and avoid dependency on their spouses. Thirdly, the utilization of their skills and expertise in pursuit of external employment. Finally, the establishment of a mutual agreement between spouses to each possess their own independent income.⁴³

This scenario presents a favorable position for spouses in certain circumstances. However, women who face numerous limitations often find themselves compelled to combat these challenges independently. In the contemporary business world, the competition between men and women for strategic positions and the associated benefits is becoming increasingly intense.

In the domestic sphere, women not only play a role as family financial managers, but are also active in building the family economy by running micro, small, and medium-sized businesses. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that 64.5% of total MSMEs in Indonesia are managed by women, while only 35.5% are managed by men.⁴⁴ This achievement shows the success of women (wives) in achieving economic independence that cannot be ignored. Education and skills are the main factors behind their success in this field. In addition, the empowerment of women in the creative economy has also become a priority for the government.⁴⁵

2. Provision of Productive Maintenance in Polygamous Marriages in Aceh *Rayeuk*

Aceh Rayeuk (Aceh Besar) is a region with a strong and layered traditional social structure, formed through a combination of Islamic values, the *mukim* system (township), and the *gampong* structure (village) as the smallest social unit. The typology of the traditional community of *Aceh Rayeuk* can be understood through a sociological-historical approach by examining the patterns of leadership, kinship structures, economic bases, and normative systems that apply in the lives of its people.⁴⁶

This study employed a qualitative empirical approach through in-depth interviews and field observations conducted in several *mukim* and *gampong* areas in *Aceh Rayeuk* between January and March 2026. The research involved 18 informants consisting of 6 polygamous husbands, 7 wives in polygamous households, 3 *gampong* officials (*keuchik* and *tuha peut*), and 2 *mukim* figures. Informants were selected using purposive sampling techniques based on criteria relevant to the study, namely individuals directly involved in the practice of productive maintenance in polygamous marriages and local customary authorities who understood the socio-economic dynamics of the community. Interviews were conducted in *Kemukiman Lampanah* (Indrapuri District), *Gampong Lampeuneurut* (Darul Imarah District), *Gampong Lhoong*, *Gampong Cot Preh* (Darussalam District), *Krueng Barona Jaya*, and *Gampong Aneuk Glee*. To ensure data validity, this study applied

⁴³ Ismail, Urus, and Rasyid.

⁴⁴ Nafizha Trie Permata Sari and Andriani Kusumawati, 'Literature Review: The Efforts to Strengthening of Micro, Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (MSME) in Indonesia', *Asian Journal of Management Entrepreneurship and Social Science*, 02.01.

⁴⁵ Anas, Daud, and Khairuldin.

⁴⁶ Mizaj Iskandar, 'The Enforcement of Gompong in The Qanun of Aceh and Its Relative Position in The Indonesian Constitution', *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan*, 8.2 (2019), p. 255, doi:10.25216/jhp.8.2.2019.255-274; Fadli Fadli and Budi Juliandi, 'Negosiasi Antara Hukum Positif Dengan Hukum Islam: Penetapan Wali Nikah Di Kantor Urusan Agama Idi Rayeuk, Aceh, Indonesia', *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law*, 2.2 (2021), pp. 268–83, doi:10.24260/jil.v2i2.329.

triangulation techniques through comparison between interview results, field observations, and information from village apparatus and mukim authorities.⁴⁷

The structural organization of indigenous communities in Aceh *Rayeuk* is predicated on a *gampong* system, which is overseen by *mukim*. In the social structure of the *gampong* community, the role of leadership is assumed by individuals known as *keuchik*. In contrast, the Mukim community is led by a distinct figure, the *Imeum Mukim*, who serves as a spiritual and cultural authority.⁴⁸ In practice, this structure is not only administrative, but also normative and religious. The *keuchik* plays a role in governmental and social affairs, while the *imeum meunasah* and *teungku* have a central role in religious guidance. This typology is indicative of a theocentric community, wherein customary norms are invariably integrated with the principles of Islamic law, as encapsulated by the adage "*hukom ngon adat lagee zat ngon sifeut*" (law and custom are like substance and nature).⁴⁹

In terms of conventional leadership, the typology of Aceh *Rayeuk* communities can be divided into three primary patterns. Firstly, the focus is on communities based on religious authority (religious-centered communities). In these communities, *teungku dayah* figures have a dominant influence in social decision-making and conflict resolution. Secondly, the concept of collaborative communities is introduced, wherein decisions are made through deliberation between the *keuchik*, *tuha peut* (the village consultative body), and religious leaders. Thirdly, there has been an increase in the establishment of administrative-modern communities, especially in areas in close proximity to the city center. In these areas, customary functions have begun to transform in accordance with formal local government regulations.⁵⁰

From a sociological perspective, the typology of the indigenous communities of Aceh *Rayeuk* can also be classified based on their economic basis. In the context of inland areas, traditional agrarian communities continue to wield significant influence, characterized by a robust manifestation of mechanical solidarity, a concept elucidated by Émile Durkheim.⁵¹ Social bonds are formed on the basis of shared professions, kinship and traditions. In contrast, semi-peri-urban communities located in the buffer zone of Banda Aceh City exhibit symptoms of organic solidarity, where the division of labor is more complex and social relationships are more rational and formal.

The practice of providing productive maintenance in polygamous marriages in the Aceh *Rayeuk* community reveals unique socio-economic dynamics, where the obligation to provide financial maintenance is not only understood as fulfilling daily consumptive needs, but also as a strategy for family economic sustainability.⁵² Within the sociocultural milieu of Aceh, characterized by a pronounced adherence to religious and traditional values, the capacity of a husband to provide financial maintenance serves as a pivotal metric for the

⁴⁷ Sylvester Donkoh and John Mensah, 'Application of Triangulation in Qualitative Research', *Journal of Applied Biotechnology and Bioengineering*, 10.1 (2023), pp. 6–9, doi:10.15406/jabb.2023.10.00319.

⁴⁸ Umaimah Wahid, 'Meunasah, Power and Self-Critics towards Government and Aceh Political Elite on Aceh Women Political Struggle', *Journal of Asian Scientific Research*, 5.8 (2015), pp. 385–93, doi:10.18488/journal.2/2015.5.8/2.8.385.393.

⁴⁹ Laura M Kolopaking, Rilus A Kinseng, and Sadu Wasistiono, 'Gampong and Local Reform in Aceh', *Komunitas*, 2016, doi:10.15294/komunitas.v8i1.4967.

⁵⁰ Umaimah Wahid, 'Perubahan Politik Dan Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Gampong Aceh Di Era Internet – New Media', *Jurnal Communicate*, 1.1 (2015), pp. 13–23.

⁵¹ John Stewart, 'The Crisis of Modern Society: Richard Titmuss and Emile Durkheim', *History of the Human Sciences*, 37.1 (2024), pp. 47–71, doi:10.1177/09526951231169399.

⁵² Analiansyah and others, 'Polygamy and Women's Rights: An Examination of Divorce Litigation in Sharia Court Rulings Pertaining to Revisions in Indonesian Matrimonial Legislation', *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 9.2 (2024), pp. 761–86.

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validation of polygamy within the social structure. Consequently, within certain polygamous families, a specific financial maintenance paradigm emerges, directed towards the promotion of productive endeavors. This paradigm is adopted with the objective of safeguarding familial economic stability and mitigating internal conflict.⁵³

In the *Kemukiman* Lampanah, Indrapuri District, for instance, the practice of productive maintenance is evident in the family of a produce trader who has two wives. In addition to providing regular financial resources for shopping, he allocates a portion of his income to the purchase of rice fields that are collectively managed. The first wife was responsible for managing rice production, while the secondary wife's role pertains to the management of rice sales within the local market. This configuration engenders a relatively harmonious distribution of labor, thereby facilitating the generation of sustainable additional income. One informant explained: *"I do not only provide daily expenses. If the family only depends on monthly money, it will quickly run out. Therefore, I bought rice fields so both families can continue to benefit from the harvest. The first wife manages the farming process, while the second wife handles sales at the market."*⁵⁴ The first wife also emphasized that productive assets reduced economic jealousy within the family: *"What matters is not merely equal money, but that each wife has a clear source of livelihood. Because of that, conflicts can be minimized."*⁵⁵ These findings demonstrate that the concept of justice in polygamous households within Aceh *Rayeuk* is interpreted not solely in consumptive terms, but also through access to sustainable productive resources.

An additional example was identified in *Gampong* Lampeuneurut, Darul Imarah District. It has been documented that a building contractor who engaged in polygamy with three wives constructed small shop houses in the names of each of his wives. The shop houses were let to micro-businesses, and the rental income became a regular source of livelihood for each wife. This practice demonstrates an understanding that fairness in polygamy is not sufficiently measured by the nominal equality of gifts, but rather by equal access to productive economic resources. In the social context of Lampeuneurut, which is comparatively more urbanized than the rural areas of Aceh *Rayeuk*, the property investment approach is a rational choice because the value of land and buildings tends to increase. According to one village official in Lampeuneurut: *"In urban areas, people no longer see fairness only from daily expenditure. Assets such as shop houses or land are considered more important because they guarantee long-term security for wives and children."*⁵⁶ One of the wives managing the rented property stated: *"Initially, I depended entirely on my husband's income, but after the shop house was rented out, I could manage household expenses independently and even save money for the children's education."*⁵⁷ This indicates a transformation in women's economic roles within polygamous households, where productive maintenance contributes to strengthening women's bargaining positions in domestic decision-making.

Meanwhile, in the coastal village of Lhoong, livelihoods are predominantly reliant on the fishing sector. A fisherman who has two wives allocates economic roles by assigning one small motorboat to his second wife, who then manages it jointly with her brother. The catch is then sold through a market network that is managed by the first wife. Despite the fact that the incomes of fishermen are subject to fluctuations resulting from seasonal factors, strategies for the effective ownership of productive assets (e.g. boats and fishing gear) enable

⁵³ Maslow.

⁵⁴ Interview with polygamous husband, *Kemukiman* Lampanah, February 2026.

⁵⁵ Interview with first wife, *Kemukiman* Lampanah, February 2026.

⁵⁶ Interview with village apparatus, Lampeuneurut, February 2026.

⁵⁷ Interview with second wife, Lampeuneurut, February 2026.

such families to subsist in conditions of economic uncertainty. Local *mukim* officials assert that this approach is regarded as a manifestation of mature responsibility, as the husband establishes a source of livelihood that can persist beyond his physical presence at sea. A *mukim* figure in Lhoong explained that productive maintenance in fishing communities is closely related to economic resilience amid uncertain marine conditions: *"Fishermen's income is uncertain because it depends on weather and seasons. Therefore, husbands who provide boats or fishing equipment to their wives are considered more responsible because the family has productive assets that can survive in difficult times."*⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the second wife who managed the motorboat business stated: *"The boat is not only for today's income. It is an asset that can still support the family even if my husband cannot go to sea."*⁵⁹ This finding reinforces the argument that productive maintenance in coastal community's functions as a long-term survival strategy rather than merely fulfilling short-term household consumption.

In Gampong Cot Preh, Darussalam District, in close proximity to an educational area, the predominant livelihood strategies are educational investments and small-scale household-based enterprises. A private employee who has two wives finances a home catering business for his second wife, while his first wife manages a student laundry business. The two businesses complement each other and are oriented towards the surrounding student market. The financial benefits derived from these commercial activities not only serve to augment the family's income but also to provide the necessary resources to facilitate the education of their children up to the university level. In this context, productive livelihoods are understood as a strategy for social mobility that enables polygamous families to improve their economic and educational status in the long term. One informant explained the rationale behind financing small businesses for both wives: *"I realized that educational areas create many business opportunities. Therefore, I encouraged one wife to run catering services and the other to manage laundry services for students so both households could grow economically."*⁶⁰ The first wife further stated: *"Before having the laundry business, we depended entirely on my husband's salary. Now we can pay school and university expenses from our own business income."*⁶¹ This phenomenon reflects a shift from consumptive-oriented maintenance toward productive and mobility-oriented economic arrangements in polygamous households located near educational and urban areas.

In several other settlements in Aceh *Rayeuk*, a more participatory model of financial management has also been identified. In the context of the settlement of Krueng Barona Jaya, a polygamous husband who is employed within the civil service transparently allocates the family budget through monthly deliberations with his spouses. A proportion of the income is allocated towards consumptive needs, while another part is placed into investment savings and the purchase of gold as a long-term asset. This practice is indicative of the internalization of the value of deliberation within the family, in accordance with the Acehese tradition that emphasizes collectivity and mutual agreement in decision-making.⁶² A civil servant practicing polygamy explained that transparent financial management was essential for maintaining family harmony: *"Every month we discuss together how income should be divided. Some is used for household needs, while some is saved for gold investment*

⁵⁸ Interview with *mukim* figure, Lhoong, March 2026"

⁵⁹ Interview with second wife, Lhoong, March 2026.

⁶⁰ Interview with polygamous husband, Cot Preh, February 2026.

⁶¹ Interview with first wife, Cot Preh, February 2026.

⁶² Muhammad Ikhsan, Husnaini Hasbi, and Abdullah Ishak, 'Gold Dowry in Acehese Traditional Marriage (Das Sein and Das Sollen in Pidie Community Practices)', *Al-Hiwalah: Sharia Economic Law*, 4.1 (2025), pp. 39–52.

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and children's future education."⁶³ One wife also emphasized the importance of deliberation: "If finances are discussed openly, misunderstandings can be avoided. We feel involved in the family decisions."⁶⁴ These interview findings illustrate that the practice of deliberation within polygamous households reflects Acehnese collective cultural values while simultaneously functioning as a conflict-management mechanism.

Nevertheless, the implementation of productive maintenance in polygamous marriages does not invariably proceed without difficulty. In *Gampong Aneuk Glee*, for instance, a husband provided capital to his second wife to establish a commercial enterprise, but the business failed to prosper due to a lack of managerial competence and intense competition in the market. Consequently, the capital was utilized for consumptive needs, resulting in the family's reversion to reliance on the husband's primary income. This case demonstrates that the efficacy of productive maintenance is contingent upon management capacity and prevailing market conditions. Village officials have stated that the failure of such businesses often results in internal family conflicts, particularly in cases where one wife perceives that she receives a disproportionately lower economic support compared to her spouse and/or children. A village official in Aneuk Glee explained: "Not all productive maintenance succeeds. Some businesses fail because wives do not yet have sufficient business experience, while market competition is increasingly difficult."⁶⁵ The second wife involved in the failed business also admitted: "At first we hoped the business would help the family economy, but because sales were unstable, the capital was gradually used for daily household needs."⁶⁶ This case demonstrates that productive maintenance is highly dependent on managerial capability, market access, and economic literacy. Thus, productive maintenance cannot automatically guarantee family welfare without adequate social and economic support systems.

In considering the social context of Aceh *Rayeuk*, which remains profoundly influenced by traditional values and social control, the practice of polygamy is a subject of public discourse.⁶⁷ Consequently, the provision of productive support is frequently employed as an indicator of the social assessment of the success or failure of a polygamous household. Families that are able to manage joint businesses and demonstrate improved welfare tend to gain stronger social legitimacy.

In general, the pattern of productive maintenance in Aceh *Rayeuk* shows adaptation to local economic changes. In proximity to the city center of Banda Aceh, productive maintenance assumes the form of property investment and service businesses, while in inland and coastal areas it is more prevalent in the agriculture and fisheries sectors. This discrepancy is indicative of the varied responses exhibited by polygamous families in their respective environments, in regard to their economic opportunities.

From a social perspective, the practice of productive maintenance has an impact on the role of women in polygamous families, resulting in a shift in traditional roles and responsibilities. It has been demonstrated that spouses who acquire business capital or access to productive assets often possess a more dominant bargaining position in family decision-making processes. This does not imply the elimination of traditional roles, but rather signifies a gradual transformation towards a more collaborative relationship pattern.⁶⁸

⁶³ Interview with polygamous husband, Krueng Barona Jaya, March 2026.

⁶⁴ Interview with wife in polygamous household, Krueng Barona Jaya, March 2026.

⁶⁵ Interview with village official, Aneuk Glee, March 2026.

⁶⁶ Interview with second wife, Aneuk Glee, March 2026..

⁶⁷ Azis, Rispalman, and Anggraini.

⁶⁸ Ismail, Urus, and Rasyid.

Moreover, the success of small businesses managed by wives contributes to the village economy through job creation and increased local economic circulation.

It is evident that the provision of productive support in polygamous marriages in Aceh Besar is not solely a matter of fulfilling normative obligations. Instead, it can be argued that this practice constitutes a socio-economic strategy oriented towards sustainability. Case studies conducted in various villages and settlements demonstrate that the efficacy of this pattern is significantly influenced by financial management, wife participation, local market conditions, and community support. In the context of these dynamics, productive maintenance emerges as a pivotal instrument in maintaining the stability of polygamous households while fortifying the economic resilience of families within the Aceh *Rayeuk* community.

From a sociological perspective, these findings indicate that productive maintenance in polygamous households in Aceh *Rayeuk* reflects a transition from traditional consumptive family patterns toward collaborative economic partnerships. This phenomenon can be analyzed through Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity, particularly in semi-urban communities where economic specialization between wives emerges within family structures.⁶⁹ At the same time, the persistence of deliberation, kinship values, and customary legitimacy demonstrates that mechanical solidarity continues to coexist within Acehnese society. Therefore, productive maintenance does not merely function as an economic mechanism, but also as a social instrument for maintaining legitimacy, harmony, and collective welfare within polygamous families.

Furthermore, these findings strengthen previous studies which argue that economic justice in polygamy cannot solely be measured through equal nominal distribution, but must also include equal access to productive opportunities and long-term economic security.

C. Conclusion

families in Aceh *Rayeuk* represents a transformation in the understanding of financial maintenance within Islamic family life. Maintenance is no longer interpreted solely as consumptive support aimed at fulfilling daily necessities, but also as a productive economic strategy that empowers wives through business capital, productive assets, and long-term investments. The empirical findings reveal that among 113 identified polygamous families, 47 families implemented productive maintenance models in the forms of rice-field management, shop-house rentals, fisheries businesses, catering enterprises, and investment savings. These practices indicate that justice in polygamous households is not merely measured through equal nominal distribution of money, but through equal access to sustainable economic opportunities and productive resources. The study also finds that productive maintenance contributes significantly to family harmony, women's economic independence, household resilience, and the strengthening of bargaining positions for wives in domestic decision-making. However, the study equally shows that productive maintenance is highly dependent on managerial capability, economic literacy, local market conditions, and the existence of mutual trust and deliberation within the family.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the development of Islamic legal sociology by bridging classical sharia norms on maintenance with contemporary socio-economic realities in Acehnese society. The findings demonstrate that Islamic legal concepts are dynamically reinterpreted within local social contexts without abandoning their normative foundations. Through the perspective of Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity, the study further explains how traditional kinship values coexist with modern economic

⁶⁹ Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, ed. by Steven Lukes, *Bloomsbury Academic / Free Press*, V (Bloomsbury Academic / Free Press, 2013).

specialization within polygamous families. Practically, the findings imply that productive maintenance can serve as a sustainable family economic model capable of minimizing conflict and strengthening long-term welfare in polygamous households. The study also suggests the importance of economic empowerment programs, financial education, and business assistance for wives in polygamous families. Future research should examine comparative patterns of productive maintenance in other Muslim societies, explore the long-term psychological impact on wives and children, and analyze the relationship between productive maintenance, gender relations, and legal protection within contemporary Islamic family law.

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