

Negotiation of Gender Roles and Family Resilience in Female-Breadwinner Households in Palenggiyan

Moh. Mokhlis^{1*}, Ludfi²

¹²Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al Mujtama Pamekasan, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: mouchlizjr@gmail.com

Article Info	Abstract
Received: 10-07-2026 Revised: 28-08-2026 Accepted: 29-08-2026 Published: 30-08-2026 Keywords: female breadwinner; gender role negotiation; family resilience; Islamic Family Law; Madura	The female breadwinner phenomenon illustrates a shift in the configuration of family economic contributions where the woman becomes the primary provider, while the husband's income is relatively lower or unstable. This study analyzes the construction of the female breadwinner role, the factors driving the shift in women's economic contributions, the process of gender role negotiation, and the implications for family resilience in Palenggiyan Village, Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency. A qualitative approach with a case study design was employed, involving 10 married couples (20 informants) selected purposively. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observation, and documentation, and subsequently analyzed using Reflexive Thematic Analysis. The analysis utilized perspectives on gender role negotiation and family resilience, while interpreting principles of Islamic Family Law—specifically <i>mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf</i> (harmonious living), <i>ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn</i> (spousal rights and obligations), <i>syūrā</i> (mutual consultation), and <i>mubādalah</i> (reciprocity). The findings indicate that the female breadwinner role emerges through a compensatory mechanism addressing the husband's economic limitations alongside the expansion of the woman's economic capacity. This shift in economic contribution does not automatically transform gender relations; rather, it prompts negotiations regarding economic contributions, domestic work, child-rearing, and decision-making. From an interpretive standpoint, this pattern reflects a spousal relationship grounded in mutual respect, shared responsibility, consultation, and cooperation—values embodied in Islamic Family Law principles. Negotiation strengthens family resilience through income stabilization, flexibility, communication, and cooperation, despite the potential for a double burden. The contribution of this research lies in formulating the conceptual relationship between changes in economic contribution, gender role negotiation, and family resilience, positioning changes in economic contribution as the initial condition, gender role negotiation as the relational mechanism, and family resilience as the adaptive outcome within the process of transforming family relationships.
Info Artikel	Abstrak
Kata Kunci: perempuan pencari nafkah utama; negosiasi peran gender; ketahanan keluarga; Hukum Keluarga Islam; Madura	Fenomena <i>female breadwinner</i> menunjukkan perubahan konfigurasi kontribusi ekonomi keluarga ketika perempuan menjadi kontributor utama, sementara pendapatan suami relatif lebih rendah atau tidak stabil. Penelitian ini menganalisis konstruksi female breadwinner, faktor pergeseran kontribusi ekonomi perempuan, proses gender role negotiation, dan implikasinya terhadap family resilience di Desa Palenggiyan, Kecamatan Kedungdung, Kabupaten Sampang. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus terhadap 10 pasangan suami-istri (20 informan) yang

dipilih secara purposive. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur, observasi, dan dokumentasi, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan Reflexive Thematic Analysis. Perspektif gender role negotiation dan family resilience digunakan dalam analisis, sedangkan prinsip Hukum Keluarga Islam—*mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf, ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn, syūrā, dan mubādalah*—digunakan secara interpretatif. Hasil menunjukkan bahwa female breadwinner terbentuk melalui mekanisme kompensasi atas keterbatasan ekonomi suami dan ekspansi kapasitas ekonomi perempuan. Pergeseran kontribusi ekonomi tidak otomatis mentransformasi relasi gender, tetapi mendorong negosiasi kontribusi ekonomi, pekerjaan domestik, pengasuhan, dan pengambilan keputusan. Secara interpretatif, pola tersebut mencerminkan relasi suami-istri yang diarahkan pada penghormatan, tanggung jawab bersama, musyawarah, dan kerja sama sebagaimana terkandung dalam prinsip Hukum Keluarga Islam. Negosiasi memperkuat family resilience melalui stabilisasi pendapatan, fleksibilitas, komunikasi, dan kerja sama, meskipun berpotensi menimbulkan beban ganda. Kontribusi penelitian ini terletak pada perumusan hubungan konseptual antara perubahan kontribusi ekonomi, negosiasi peran gender, dan ketahanan keluarga, dengan menempatkan perubahan kontribusi ekonomi sebagai kondisi awal, gender role negotiation sebagai mekanisme relasional, dan family resilience sebagai outcome adaptif dalam proses transformasi relasi keluarga.



Copyright© 2026 by Author(s)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

INTRODUCTION

Changes in the social and economic structures of families have driven a transformation in the division of roles between men and women within the household. Women are increasingly engaged in various productive activities—whether as formal employees, entrepreneurs, or informal sector workers—and their contributions to family income have become increasingly significant. This trend is linked to rising household needs, job insecurity, shifts in the structure of employment opportunities, and the necessity for families to develop multiple income sources (Afrizal & Polelah, 2021). In the context of contemporary families, women's economic participation can therefore no longer be viewed merely as a source of “secondary income”; in certain situations, it may even surpass the husband's earnings. These changes demonstrate the family's ongoing adaptation to socio-economic dynamics while simultaneously paving the way for more diverse patterns of role distribution (Arsal et al., 2026; Asrori, 2024; Gorlatykh & Abramov, 2025).

One manifestation of this phenomenon is the emergence of the female breadwinner—a situation where a woman or wife becomes the primary earner and makes the largest economic contribution to the family. This role can arise from various circumstances, such as the instability of a husband's employment and income, a husband's limited capacity to work, income disparities based on profession, or the growth of women's economic capacity through their own employment and business ventures (Drago et al., 2005; Kowalewska & Vitali, 2021; Sánchez-Mira, 2024). Research indicates that the shift toward the wife becoming the primary breadwinner represents a form of structural family adaptation to economic pressures and the instability of the husband's income (Nazar et al., 2025). Other findings show that women in Muslim rural communities can actively assume the role of primary breadwinner driven by economic necessity, family responsibilities, and the ability to adapt to structural conditions (Usmany et al., 2025). Thus, the female breadwinner phenomenon does not merely signify a reversal of traditional roles but serves as a form of family response to changing economic and social conditions.

However, the emergence of the female breadwinner introduces more complex issues when viewed through the lens of traditional gender role constructs. In conventional role divisions, men are typically cast as breadwinners and primary economic providers, whereas women are predominantly associated with domestic tasks and caregiving. When a wife becomes the primary breadwinner, the boundaries between the public and domestic spheres become increasingly fluid, prompting families to reorganize the distribution of responsibilities. While this shift can lead to a more adaptive division of roles, it may also generate tension if a woman's increased economic responsibility is not accompanied by a redistribution of domestic work and caregiving duties. Consequently, the issue of the female breadwinner concerns not only who earns the highest income but also how the change in a woman's economic status is negotiated within the marital relationship.

Changes in women's economic status do not always correlate directly with shifts in power relations within the family. A woman may serve as the primary breadwinner without gaining greater control over resource management or family decision-making. Research indicates that an increase in a wife's economic role as the primary breadwinner is not necessarily accompanied by increased participation, awareness, or control for women within the family (Yanto & Huda, 2025). Consequently, there may be a gap between changes in economic roles and the transformation of gender relations. At the same time, women who act as primary breadwinners may continue to shoulder domestic chores and caregiving responsibilities, resulting in a double burden. Other research findings suggest that this situation can be linked to role strain, work-family conflict, psychological distress, and social stigma, although social support, resilience, and adaptive strategies can help women cope with these pressures (Krisnawan & Tanaya, 2025). These findings demonstrate that a woman's dominant economic contribution does not automatically signify the creation of egalitarian gender relations.

From the perspective of family resilience, economic capacity is a crucial foundation; however, family resilience cannot be reduced merely to the ability to generate income or meet material needs. It also encompasses the family members' ability to adapt to change, maintain constructive communication and relationships, share responsibilities, manage conflict, and sustain family functioning in the face of stress (Fathoni, 2021). Consequently, a family with a relatively strong income source does not necessarily possess robust resilience if it fails to manage shifting roles and internal conflicts. Conversely, a family can maintain its stability by fostering cooperation and employing adaptive strategies, even when facing economic constraints. In the context of the female breadwinner model, shifts in income distribution must be understood in relation to the family's ability to reorganize economic, domestic, caregiving, and decision-making responsibilities.

On this basis, the negotiation of gender roles serves as a crucial mechanism for understanding the relationship between female breadwinners and family resilience. Such negotiation enables husbands and wives to reconfigure the division of responsibilities based on the family's actual circumstances—including who contributes to the household income, how earnings are managed, how domestic chores are allocated, who handles childcare, and how family decisions are made. Negotiation also demonstrates that a shift in women's economic status does not yield identical consequences for every family. In some families, this change may foster cooperation and a more flexible division of responsibilities, whereas in others, it may generate tension if traditional role norms persist (Belinda & Handayani, 2023). Thus, the negotiation of gender roles can be viewed as a process that bridges the gap between changes in the family's economic structure and the family's capacity to maintain its stability, functionality, and continuity.

A number of previous studies have examined the phenomenon of female breadwinners and shifting gender roles from various perspectives. Research indicates that the transition of wives into primary breadwinners can be understood as a form of structural adaptation oriented toward

maṣlahah (public interest or well-being) within Muslim families (Nazar et al., 2025). Other studies show that women in Konang, Galis, Pamekasan, become primary breadwinners not only due to their husbands' limited income but also because of a sense of responsibility toward their families and an ability to adapt to socio-economic conditions (Usmany et al., 2025). Further findings reveal that women who become breadwinners through migrant work can contribute positively to meeting family needs, yet this also entails specific consequences for domestic life (Ismanto et al., 2018). Overall, these studies demonstrate that the female breadwinner phenomenon is an adaptive response to changing family economic conditions, while also impacting the division of roles and the relational dynamics between partners.

Studies on the relationship between changing women's roles and family resilience present varied findings. Research indicates that women acting as breadwinners can strengthen family economic resilience through income diversification, financial management, and adaptive strategies; however, this shift can also entail a double burden and social challenges (Fahmi et al., 2026). Other studies show that the female breadwinner role can lead to psychological stress and work-family conflict when economic, domestic, and social responsibilities converge upon women (Krisnawan & Tanaya, 2025). In the context of Madurese families, research reveals that women assume both productive and domestic roles when husbands migrate, yet they continue to face male symbolic dominance and patriarchal norms (Fauzan & Harianto, 2025). Nevertheless, these studies demonstrate that women develop adaptive strategies and create opportunities to negotiate more equitable roles in order to sustain the family. Collectively, these findings indicate that family resilience is shaped by the interplay of economic capacity, social support, the division of responsibilities, and the family's adaptive capabilities.

The context of Sampang and Madura provides an important empirical basis for further exploring this issue. Research on female farmers in Patapan Village, Torjun District, Sampang Regency, reveals that women's income contributes 41.71% to the total family income, highlighting the significant economic role women play in sustaining the household (Auliya et al., 2023). These findings indicate that women's economic engagement has become a crucial component of family economic strategies in rural Sampang. In the broader context of Madura, research shows that women assume both productive and domestic roles in families where husbands have migrated (Fauzan & Harianto, 2025), while other studies indicate that women in Pamekasan can take on the role of primary breadwinner with family support and social acceptance (Usmany et al., 2025). However, existing research has largely focused on women's economic contributions, the factors driving them to become breadwinners, the "double burden," and adaptation strategies. There is still limited research specifically explaining how the position of the female breadwinner is negotiated within the husband-wife relationship and how the outcomes of such negotiations relate to family resilience.

Thus, prior research has provided significant insights into the economic factors driving the emergence of female breadwinners, as well as into gender role changes, women's economic contributions, economic resilience, the double burden, and family adaptation. However, these studies have tended to examine these aspects in isolation. There remains a lack of research analyzing female breadwinners, gender role negotiation, and family resilience as an interconnected process. Changes in women's income do not automatically explain shifts in family dynamics. A more fundamental issue concerns how couples renegotiate responsibilities when the wife becomes the primary earner—specifically, whether this shift is accompanied by a redistribution of domestic chores, childcare, and decision-making, and how the outcomes of such negotiations influence the family's ability to cope with stress and sustain the household. Therefore, the research gap addressed here lies in the insufficient explanation of gender role negotiation as the mechanism linking a

woman's status as the primary breadwinner to family resilience, particularly within the context of rural Muslim families in Madura.

Palenggiyan Village in Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency, serves as a significant empirical setting for examining this issue, as the female-breadwinner families in the area exhibit diverse backgrounds and configurations. Preliminary research data on ten families indicate that wives became primary breadwinners under varying circumstances. In some families, this role stemmed from the husband's unstable employment, income dependent on seasons or order volumes, or declining job opportunities. In other families, the role emerged due to the growth of the woman's business, wage disparities between professions, the husband's health issues, or reduced productivity due to age. This diversity demonstrates that the female-breadwinner role does not arise from a single causal pattern but rather represents a family's response to varying economic conditions and life-cycle stages. Furthermore, the families studied had marriage durations ranging from three to 25 years and family sizes ranging from no children to five children. This diversity of characteristics allows the study to examine how changes in women's economic roles are negotiated within various family life contexts and how this process relates to family resilience.

Based on this issue, this study aims to analyze the position of women as female breadwinners, examine the process of negotiating gender roles within the family, and analyze the implications of such negotiations for family resilience in Palenggiyan Village, Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency. The study contributes by viewing the female breadwinner role not merely as a shift in the primary income earner, but as a phenomenon that can drive a reconfiguration of responsibilities, relationships, and adaptation strategies within the family. Conceptually, the study posits that the impact of a female breadwinner on family resilience is not automatic; rather, it is shaped by how husbands and wives negotiate the division of economic, domestic, child-rearing, and decision-making responsibilities. Thus, this research expands the study of women as primary breadwinners by integrating economic, gender-relational, and family resilience dimensions within the context of rural Muslim families in Madura.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design (Hasan et al., 2022; Sugiyono, 2023) to gain an in-depth understanding of the female breadwinner phenomenon—specifically regarding the factors driving the shift in women's economic contributions, the process of negotiating gender roles, and the implications for family resilience—in Palenggiyan Village, Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency. A qualitative approach was selected because the female breadwinner phenomenon involves not only the magnitude of income contribution but also the experiences, interpretations, interactions, and role-adjustment processes unfolding within family life. The case study design was utilized because the research focuses on this phenomenon within a specific socio-cultural context, thereby enabling a contextual and profound understanding without aiming for statistical generalization (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018).

The study was conducted in Palenggiyan Village, Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency—a location selected purposively because it is home to families where the wife's economic contribution exceeds that of the husband. This context offers an empirical setting to examine how shifts in women's economic standing unfold within family life and how couples respond to these changes by restructuring their roles and responsibilities. The choice of location also took into account the characteristics of rural Madurese society—specifically its strong ties to familial, social, and religious values—allowing changes in women's economic roles to be understood not merely as an economic issue, but as part of the dynamics of family relationships.

Informants were selected using purposive sampling based on experience and knowledge relevant to the research focus (Patton, 2023; Sugiyono, 2023). The primary informants consisted of 10 married couples (20 individuals) experiencing a “female breadwinner” dynamic. The selection criteria were as follows: (1) the couple was married and resided in Palenggiyan Village; (2) the wife held a job, profession, or productive business; (3) the wife’s economic contribution to meeting household needs exceeded that of the husband; (4) this arrangement was an established part of the family’s economic pattern rather than a merely temporary situation; and (5) the couple was willing to share information regarding their family life experiences. The ten couples varied in terms of marriage duration (ranging from 3 to 25 years) and family size (ranging from having no children to having five). This diversity provides a varied context for understanding the processes of gender role negotiation and family resilience. General family characteristics and the couples’ economic conditions are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. General Characteristics of Informant's Family

Code	Couple's Initials S/I	Duration of Marriage	Year of Marriage	Descendants
PS-01	AHM–RUM	12 years old	2014	2 children
PS-02	BUD–NHS	8 years old	2018	1 children
PS-03	MNR–WSL	15 years old	2011	3 children
PS-04	KDM–DWI	5 years old	2021	do not yet have children
PS-05	MJK–HRS	20 years old	2006	4 children
PS-06	ILH–RHM	10 years old	2016	2 children
PS-07	YUD–WLN	7 years old	2019	1 children
PS-08	DED–SLT	18 years old	2008	3 children
PS-09	ARF–LAI	3 years old	2023	do not yet have children
PS-10	ZNL–KDJ	25 years old	2001	5 children

Source: Primary Research Data (2026)

Table 1 illustrates the diversity of the informants' family characteristics, with marriage durations ranging from 3 to 25 years and family sizes ranging from having no children to having five. This diversity provides a range of family contexts for understanding the experience of female breadwinners, particularly given that shifts in women's economic contributions occur at different stages of marital life and under varying family circumstances.

Table 2. Characteristics of Female Breadwinner Families

Code	Couple's Initials	Age S/I	Work		Factor of the Wife Having a Higher Income
			Husband	Wife	
PS-01	AHM–RUM	38/35 years old	Construction Worker	Office Cleaner	Husband has unstable employment
PS-02	BUD–NHS	34/31 years old	Driver	Snack Business Owner	Wife's income is more stable
PS-03	MNR–WSL	43/40 years old	Farmer	Rujak Vendor	Husband's income is seasonal
PS-04	KDM–DWI	30/28 years old	Farmer	Madura Shop Owner	Wife's business is growing
PS-05	MJK–HRS	48/45 years old	Contract Teacher	Catering Business Owner	Wife's business income is higher
PS-06	ILH–RHM	36/34 years old	Private Sector Employee	Pharmacist	Difference in professional income

PS-07	YUD–WLN	33/30 years old	Welder	Private Bank Employee	Husband's income has declined
PS-08	DED–SLT	46/42 years old	Chicken Farmer	Animal Feed Distributor	Wife's business turnover is higher
PS-09	ARF–LAI	29/27 years old	Courier	Tailor	Husband's health condition limits his work
PS-10	ZNL–KDJ	55/51 years old	Vegetable Vendor	Minimarket Owner	Husband's productivity has declined due to age

Source: Primary Research Data (2026)

Table 2 shows that the female breadwinner scenario arises in diverse employment contexts. These variations include the husband's job instability, seasonal income, the growth of the wife's business, income disparities based on profession, and a decline in the husband's economic capacity due to health issues or age. In this study, the female breadwinner scenario is defined as a situation where the wife is the primary economic contributor in the household; this does not imply that the husband is entirely unemployed or makes no economic contribution.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentation (Sugiyono, 2023). Interviews were conducted either separately or jointly—depending on circumstances and the informants' willingness—to obtain a balanced perspective from both husband and wife. The interviews focused on several aspects, including the background of the wife becoming the primary breadwinner, experiences regarding changes in economic contributions, the couple's views on the division of roles, domestic work and childcare, income management, family decision-making, communication and negotiation processes, and family strategies for coping with economic pressures and household needs. Documentation served as supporting data, particularly for understanding family characteristics, the informants' occupations or businesses, and other information relevant to the research context. Incorporating the perspectives of both husband and wife allowed the study to capture the female breadwinner phenomenon as a relational experience rather than merely an individual experience for the woman. These three techniques were used complementarily to strengthen data triangulation.

Analytically, this study employs two primary perspectives: gender role negotiation and family resilience. The gender role negotiation perspective is used to understand how couples reconfigure responsibilities—including financial provision, domestic chores, child-rearing, resource management, and decision-making—when the wife's economic contribution increases. Meanwhile, the family resilience perspective is utilized to analyze the family's capacity to maintain its functions, adapt to change, manage economic and relational stressors, and devise strategies for household sustainability. Principles of Islamic Family Law—specifically *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* (harmonious and kind cohabitation), *ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn* (spousal rights and obligations), *syūrā* (mutual consultation), and *mubādalah* (reciprocity)—serve as an interpretive lens to understand these role shifts within a framework of mutual respect, cooperation, and the fulfillment of family responsibilities. In this approach, Islamic Family Law is not treated as the primary object of study, but rather as a perspective that enriches the interpretation of empirical findings.

The data were analyzed using Braun & Clarke's Reflexive Thematic Analysis across six stages: (1) familiarization with the data through repeated reading and reviewing of interview transcripts; (2) generating initial codes representing relevant information; (3) developing initial themes from clusters of related codes; (4) reviewing and refining themes based on the entire dataset; (5) defining and naming the themes; and (6) formulating interpretations and the research report (Braun & Clarke, 2022). A cross-case analysis was conducted by comparing the experiences of ten families to identify patterns, similarities, differences, and variations regarding the factors leading to the female breadwinner phenomenon, the process of gender role negotiation, and the

implications for family resilience. The analysis yielded three primary thematic foci: (1) the construction of the female breadwinner role and factors driving role shifts, (2) gender role negotiation within the family, and (3) the implications of this negotiation for family resilience.

The validity of the findings is reinforced through the principle of trustworthiness, comprising credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Citriadin, 2020; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is strengthened via source triangulation by comparing information provided by husbands and wives within each couple and—where available—cross-referencing it with supporting documentation. The analysis process was conducted reflectively, involving a review of codes and themes against the dataset as a whole to ensure consistency between empirical data and the researcher's interpretations. Dependability and confirmability were maintained by recording the research process and documenting the stages of analysis, thereby allowing the theme-development process to be traced. Meanwhile, transferability is enhanced by presenting the research context and informant characteristics in detail, enabling readers to assess the findings' relevance to family contexts sharing similar social characteristics.

This study adheres to research ethics principles by safeguarding the confidentiality of the informants' identities and personal information. Prior to the interviews, each couple was informed about the study's objectives, the data collection process, the use of information, and their right to participate in or withdraw from the study. Informant identities were excluded from the research report and replaced with couple codes (PS-01 through PS-10), while the identities of husbands and wives were designated by three-letter initial codes. Information regarding economic conditions and family life was utilized only insofar as it related to the study's objectives. All data were treated confidentially and used for academic purposes, in accordance with the principles of informed consent, confidentiality, and respect for the informants (Moleong, 2021).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Female Breadwinner Construct and Factors Driving Role Shifts

Research findings indicate that the female breadwinner role in families in Palenggiyan Village does not follow a uniform pattern. Among the ten families studied, while women contributed more income than their husbands, this situation did not necessarily mean the husbands had completely lost their economic role; most husbands continued to work and contribute according to their capabilities. The shift primarily concerned the proportion of economic contributions—specifically when the wife's income became more stable, larger, or better able to sustain household needs than the husband's. Thus, the female breadwinner role in this study is not understood as the wife completely replacing the husband's economic position, but rather as a change in the configuration of economic contributions within the family. This distinction is crucial because a shift in who provides the primary income does not automatically signal a comprehensive change in the division of responsibilities, authority, and gender relations.

In the case of PS-01, for instance, the husband works as a construction laborer with income dependent on the availability of work, whereas the wife works as an office cleaner with a relatively stable income. This situation makes the wife's earnings a more reliable economic source for meeting household needs. The husband from PS-01 explained: *"If I get construction work, I have an income, but if no one calls me, I don't. Sometimes I work a full week; other times, there is no work for days. My wife, on the other hand, receives a salary every month. So, for fixed, recurring expenses, we usually rely more on my wife's income"* (PS-01 AHM, 2026). This statement indicates that the wife's role as a breadwinner does not stem from the husband being completely unemployed, but rather from the disparity in income stability. The wife's income offers greater certainty for covering routine expenses, whereas the husband's income fluctuates. A similar pattern is observed in PS-02. The husband works as a driver

whose income depends on receiving orders, while the wife runs a snack business. The wife from PS-02 described this division of economic contribution simply: *"My husband still works and brings money home. It's just that it isn't guaranteed; it depends on whether or not he gets orders. As for my business—thank God—it generates a more regular income. So, when it comes to household expenses, especially the fixed monthly ones, I usually shoulder the greater share"* (PS-02 BUD, 2026).

These two cases demonstrate that the "female breadwinner" construct within the informants' families is shaped by actual economic function rather than solely by employment status. A husband can still be viewed as working and fulfilling his family responsibilities, even if his proportional contribution is smaller than his wife's. In other words, the "breadwinner" category in this context is relative and relational: the position emerges from a comparison of the partners' respective capacities to provide economic resources, particularly in meeting routine household needs. These findings also reveal that shifts in economic contribution can occur without necessarily being preceded by explicit changes in gender values or identities.

A different pattern, yet one with similar consequences, was observed in the case of PS-03. The husband works as a farmer with income tied to the agricultural season, whereas the wife sells *rujak* (fruit salad), generating income on a more regular basis. PS-03's husband explained: *"Farming doesn't generate money every day. We plant and tend the crops, then wait for the harvest. So, there are times when we earn money and times when we don't. My wife's rujak business brings in returns almost daily. The earnings may not always be large, but they are a huge help for daily needs"* (PS-03 MNR, 2026). These findings indicate that differing income rhythms help shape women's economic standing within the family. Structurally seasonal agricultural income necessitates other sources of revenue to sustain daily household needs. In this context, the wife's economic activity serves as a source of income that is more liquid and continuous. This demonstrates that the magnitude of economic contribution is not determined solely by the monetary value of the income, but also by its continuity, accessibility, and utility in meeting family needs. Thus, a shift in the "breadwinner" role can occur when a woman's economic resources play a more direct role in sustaining the household.

While the three aforementioned cases illustrate the emergence of a female breadwinner in response to the instability of the husband's income, cases PS-04, PS-05, and PS-08 demonstrate a different mechanism. In these families, the wife's economic standing improved because the business activities she owned or managed possessed a greater income-generating capacity. The wife in case PS-04, for instance, runs a *Toko Madura* (a type of local convenience store) that has grown over time. She explained: *"At first, the shop was small; the main goal was just to help cover household needs. Over time, the customer base grew, and the inventory expanded. Now, the earnings from the shop are indeed higher than my husband's income from farming. Consequently, the money from the shop is primarily used to meet the family's needs"* (PS-04 DWI, 2026). This statement demonstrates that the role of female breadwinner can arise through the expansion of a woman's economic capacity, rather than solely due to a decline in the husband's economic earning power.

A similar pattern is observed in the case of PS-05, where the wife runs a catering business while the husband works as a contract teacher. This disparity results in the wife's business income becoming the dominant source of earnings. The husband of PS-05 stated: *"I continue to work as a teacher, but my income is indeed smaller compared to my wife's business. The catering business yields a good return when there are many orders. So, I don't mind that my wife earns more. What matters is that it is all for the family."* (PS-05 MJK, 2026). This statement reveals another dimension of the "female breadwinner" construct: the partner's acceptance of shifts in economic standing. A wife's higher income is not necessarily perceived as a threat to the husband's position. In the case of PS-05, for instance, economic contribution is viewed through the lens of the family's well-being; consequently, the income disparity does not automatically become a source of competition between the spouses.

These findings are significant because they demonstrate that the social meaning of the “female breadwinner” is defined not only by income structures but also by how the couple interprets their respective contributions.

In the case of PS-06, the shift in economic standing is linked to differences in professions; the wife works as a pharmacist, while the husband is a private-sector employee. The wife from PS-06 explained: *“In terms of work, my income is indeed higher. That does not mean my husband fails to provide for the family or does not work. We have been aware of each other's earnings from the start. Since household needs are numerous, my income is also used for the family”* (PS-06 RHM, 2026b). These findings indicate that the position of a female breadwinner can emerge from the differing economic opportunity structures faced by men and women. When a woman holds a higher-paying profession, her objective contribution to the family economy can be greater. Thus, this phenomenon does not necessarily stem from a family economic crisis; rather, it can be a consequence of women's enhanced economic capacity—gained through education, professional careers, or access to higher-income employment.

Meanwhile, the case of PS-07 illustrates how shifts in market demand can alter the economic standing of a husband and wife. The husband works as a welder, while the wife is a private bank employee. As the demand for welding services declined, the wife's economic contribution became increasingly dominant. The husband (PS-07) explained: *“There aren't as many welding customers now as there used to be. Sometimes there is work, other times it's quiet. My wife works at a bank, so her salary is more consistent every month. So, for the time being, her income is indeed higher. I'm still working, but the work situation just isn't what it used to be”* (PS-07 YUD, 2026). This pattern demonstrates that shifts in the breadwinner role can be driven by external factors beyond the couple's direct control, such as market conditions and service demand. In other words, female economic dominance does not necessarily reflect a pre-planned shift in gender orientation; rather, it can emerge situationally as a family's response to changing economic circumstances.

In the case of PS-08, a notable factor is the growth of the wife's business as an animal feed distributor. Contrasting with the pattern of the husband's employment vulnerability, this case demonstrates that a woman's economic success can generate a new, larger source of family income. The husband of PS-08 stated: *“My wife's business is indeed larger now. I still tend to the livestock, but the income from feed distribution is greater. So, when it comes to family needs, we simply use the available funds. It doesn't matter who contributes more, because it all goes back to the family.”* (PS-08 DED, 2026). The PS-08 case illustrates that the acceptance of a female breadwinner can coexist with the husband's continued economic contribution. This reinforces the finding that a shift in women's economic standing does not automatically equate to a reversal of gender hierarchies. What changes first is the configuration of economic resources, whereas the division of responsibilities and the couple's relational dynamics may evolve at different rates. Thus, the female breadwinner model creates space for negotiating roles; it is not, in itself, proof that gender relations have become equal.

The final two cases, PS-09 and PS-10, demonstrate that shifts in the breadwinner role are also linked to the life cycle and the husband's physical capacity. In the case of PS-09, health limitations prevented the husband from working the same hours as before, leading the wife to assume a larger share of the economic burden. The wife of PS-09 explained: *“My husband actually still wants to work as usual, but his health condition means he cannot work for long periods. It would be unfair to force him. So, I try to supplement our income through sewing. The main thing is that our needs are met while my husband adjusts to his condition”* (PS-09 LAI, 2026). Meanwhile, in the case of PS-10, the husband's advancing age reduced his productivity as a vegetable vendor, whereas his wife owned a minimarket with greater economic potential. The husband of PS-10 described the situation: *“I used to be strong enough to make rounds and do the shopping myself. Now that I'm older, I don't have the same energy I once did. My wife*

has a busier shop that generates more income. So, most of our earnings now come from her business. I still help out however I can” (PS-10 ZNL, 2026).

Both cases demonstrate that the female breadwinner role can emerge through a process of adaptation to the family life cycle. When the husband's productive capacity is limited, the wife's economic contribution increases to ensure that household needs continue to be met. Interestingly, this process does not automatically erase the husband's identity as the person responsible for the family; he continues to contribute within his capacity, while the wife expands her own contribution. This pattern illustrates that, in practice, family responsibility does not always operate through a rigid division of roles but can be adjusted based on the actual capabilities and circumstances of each partner.

Overall, the data reveal two primary mechanisms behind the emergence of female breadwinners in Palenggiyan Village. The first is a compensatory mechanism, wherein women increase their economic contribution in response to their husbands' unstable, declining, or limited income—as observed in cases PS-01, PS-02, PS-03, PS-07, PS-09, and PS-10. The second is a mechanism involving the expansion of women's economic capacity, where women earn higher incomes due to business growth or professional advantages—as seen in cases PS-04, PS-05, PS-06, and PS-08. This distinction demonstrates that the female breadwinner phenomenon in Palenggiyan cannot be reduced to a simple narrative of “husbands' inability to provide” and “wives taking over the role.” Instead, this position arises from a more complex interplay of factors, including the husbands' employment conditions, the women's economic capacity, market opportunities, professions, health, age, and the need to ensure the family's continued well-being.

These findings extend existing research indicating that the shift of wives into the role of primary breadwinner represents a form of adaptation by Muslim families to economic pressures and the instability of husbands' incomes (Nazar et al., 2025). While such adaptation is indeed observed in the context of Palenggiyan, this study reveals a broader range of driving factors—extending beyond husbands' economic constraints to include women's income stability, business growth, professional diversification, changes in health status and age, and shifts in market demand. This broader perspective demonstrates that economic adaptation is not merely defensive—undertaken to offset a husband's income shortfall—but can also be expansive when women possess the opportunities and economic capacity to grow their contributions.

These findings reinforce and extend previous research conducted in Konang Village, Galis, Pamekasan, which demonstrated that women assume primary economic roles through family responsibilities and adaptation to structural conditions (Usmany et al., 2025). While the adaptive nature of women's decisions remains a common thread, the context of Palenggiyan reveals that such adaptation does not always stem from the husband's limitations. In some instances, women emerge as the primary contributors precisely because they possess greater economic capacity. Thus, this study shifts the understanding of the “female breadwinner” construct—moving away from viewing it merely as a response to male economic “failure” toward seeing it as the outcome of shifting configurations in the couple's economic capacities. This shift is significant because it allows women's positions to be analyzed as a form of economic agency, rather than solely as a consequence of their husbands' vulnerability.

Findings from previous research in Patapan Village, Torjun, Sampang, are also relevant in this context. That research demonstrated that women make a significant contribution to the income of farming families (Auliya et al., 2023). Research in Palenggiyan expands upon these findings by showing that women's economic contributions not only affect the level of household income but also serve as a catalyst for the restructuring of roles within the family. When a wife becomes the primary source of income, the subsequent question shifts from merely the magnitude of her

economic contribution to how the couple manages domestic chores, childcare, income allocation, and decision-making. Thus, women's economic contributions serve as an entry point for understanding the relational transformation that forms the central focus of this study.

In the broader context of Madurese society, these findings should also be viewed alongside previous research on Madurese male migration and the double burden faced by women (Fauzan & Harianto, 2025). That research indicates that women may assume both productive and domestic roles when their husbands migrate, yet they continue to confront patriarchal constructs. In contrast, the informants in Palenggiyan generally live with their spouses, and the husbands continue to engage in economic activities. Consequently, the central issue is not merely the absence of men, but rather how couples respond to shifts in the proportion of economic contributions when both partners are present and actively engaged in productive work. This contextual difference is significant because it demonstrates that the negotiation of gender roles arises not only when men are physically or economically absent, but also when men continue to work yet contribute less economically than women.

At this juncture, the perspective of Islamic Family Law offers an interpretive framework for understanding the significance of these changes. Field findings indicate that a wife earning a higher income does not automatically negate the husband's contributions or responsibilities. This pattern can be understood through the principle of *ḥuquq wa wajibat al-ṣanjayn* (spousal rights and obligations), wherein marital life unfolds through a dynamic of mutual rights and responsibilities between partners (Nuraini, 2021). Among the informants, economic responsibility is not necessarily manifested through an equal division of monetary amounts, but rather through contributions tailored to each individual's capabilities and circumstances. Consequently, a shift in the breadwinner role need not be viewed as a deviation from the family structure, but rather as an adaptation of how family responsibilities are fulfilled in response to changing socio-economic conditions.

This interpretation also prevents the study from becoming trapped in a dichotomy between the “husband as breadwinner” and the “wife as breadwinner.” The data actually reveal a space between these two positions. Husbands continue to contribute, while wives may assume a larger share when circumstances require it or when their economic capacity is greater. From the perspective of *mu‘asyarah bi al-ma‘rif* (harmonious and kind marital conduct), such patterns can be understood through the quality of the relationship—built upon propriety, mutual respect, and cooperation—rather than defined solely by who generates the highest income (Hilmi, 2023). However, this normative reading must be framed as an interpretation of empirical practices, rather than a claim that all the informants' families have achieved fully egalitarian relationships.

Crucially, these findings indicate that women's growing economic contribution cannot simply be equated with an egalitarian gender transformation. Income and economic standing represent only one dimension of gender relations, whereas the division of domestic labor, caregiving, decision-making, control over resources, and social expectations constitute other dimensions. For instance, previous research shows that an increase in a wife's economic role is not always accompanied by a corresponding rise in equal participation, awareness, and control (Yanto & Huda, 2025). In the context of Palenggiyan, these findings are significant because they demonstrate that a shift in the breadwinner role should be understood as a condition that opens up space for negotiation, rather than as definitive proof that gender equality has been achieved.

Thus, the primary contribution of this subsection lies in asserting that a shift in the breadwinner role serves as the starting point for relational change, rather than the final outcome of a gender transformation. When a wife becomes the primary economic contributor, the family faces the need to adjust the division of responsibilities to align with these new circumstances (Ponirah et al., 2024; Widyasari & Suyanto, 2023). This is where the process of negotiating gender roles

becomes crucial—specifically, whether the wife's increased economic contribution is accompanied by a redistribution of domestic work and childcare, whether economic decision-making becomes more deliberative, and whether family responsibilities are viewed as a shared obligation. These questions cannot be answered through income data alone; instead, they must be explored through the lived experiences and practices of the household (Fahmi et al., 2026).

Theoretically, these findings give rise to the proposition that the role of the female breadwinner in Palenggiyan Village is an economic position characterized by its relational, contextual, and adaptive nature. It is relational because the position is defined by the comparative economic contributions of husband and wife; contextual because it is shaped by factors such as the type of work, market conditions, profession, health, age, and economic opportunities; and adaptive because it emerges as families respond to needs and changing life circumstances. This conceptualization expands the understanding of the female breadwinner—moving beyond the mere categorization of women as primary earners to viewing it as a shift in economic configuration capable of driving a restructuring of gender relations (Arsal et al., 2026). Thus, the findings from the ten informant families provide an empirical basis for analyzing the subsequent stage: how these shifts in economic contribution are negotiated regarding the division of domestic labor, childcare, resource management, and family decision-making.

Negotiating Gender Roles within the Family

The shift in women's status to that of female breadwinner does not automatically erase the established gender-based division of roles within the family. Research findings indicate that changes in economic contribution are accompanied by processes of adjustment and negotiation regarding the performance of domestic chores, childcare, financial management, and family decision-making. Thus, the central issue is not merely whether a husband accepts his wife's higher income, but rather how the couple alters, maintains, or redistributes responsibilities when the household's economic structure changes. In the context of Palenggiyan Village, these negotiations unfold in a practical and incremental manner, driven primarily by communication, agreements based on work conditions, and considerations of each partner's capabilities. These findings demonstrate that the transformation of women's economic status does not proceed linearly from a change in income to a change in roles; instead, it occurs through a relational process that allows couples to reinterpret their respective responsibilities. Consequently, negotiation serves as the arena where economic changes are translated into the practices of family life.

In some families, shifts in economic contributions are not perceived as a competition between husband and wife. The case of PS-01, for instance, illustrates how a husband's job instability combined with a wife's more stable income prompts the couple to organize the division of responsibilities based on actual capabilities. The husband does not stop working, even as the wife takes on a larger share of the economic contribution. In an interview, the PS-01 husband explained: *"Just because my wife earns more doesn't mean I have no responsibilities. I still work whenever there is work available. Regarding monthly expenses, my wife usually covers the larger share, while I contribute what I earn. So, we simply adjust to the circumstances"* (PS-01 AHM, 2026). This statement demonstrates that role negotiation does not occur through the abandonment of the husband's responsibilities, but rather through a redistribution of contributions based on each partner's economic capacity. The wife's higher income is accepted as a factual reality of the family, while the husband maintains his involvement in meeting household needs. Thus, economic changes do not automatically result in a complete transformation of role identities.

A similar pattern is observed in the case of PS-02, where the wife runs a snack business that generates more stable income than the husband's work, which relies on specific orders. Under

these circumstances, the couple adopts a flexible approach to sharing financial contributions. During the interview, the wife of PS-02 stated: *“Regarding household expenses, we don’t calculate exactly how much I contribute versus my husband. What matters is that our needs are met. If I have extra money, I cover the costs. If my husband gets an order and has funds, he contributes too. So, it doesn’t have to be the same amount every month”* (PS-02 NHS, 2026). This statement demonstrates that the couple does not use equal monetary amounts as the primary benchmark for fairness in contributions. Instead, contributions are understood proportionally, based on each partner's financial capacity and economic situation. In practice, the wife can assume a larger share of the financial burden without casting her husband as someone who has abdicated his responsibilities.

This pattern can be interpreted through the principle of *ḥuquq wa wajibat al-ṣanjayn* (spousal rights and obligations) in Islamic Family Law, which frames married life in terms of reciprocal rights and duties (Hafis et al., 2025; Kodir, 2023; Nuraini, 2021). In the empirical context of this study, the principle is not applied to mandate equal financial contributions from both husband and wife, but rather to examine how family responsibilities are upheld when their economic capacities differ. Thus, a change in the magnitude of the wife's economic contribution does not automatically absolve the husband of his responsibilities, just as a smaller contribution from the husband does not render his contribution valueless.

The economic position of women becomes increasingly complex when they not only take on a larger share of earning a livelihood but also continue to face expectations regarding domestic work. In this context, the role of the female breadwinner can lead to a “double burden” if increased economic contribution is not accompanied by an adjustment in the division of household chores. Research findings indicate that couples attempt to address this issue through a more situational division of labor; domestic tasks are not entirely shifted to the husband, but there is a tendency to share the workload when the wife's economic activities demand more of her time and energy.

In the case of PS-05, for instance, the wife runs a catering business with a workload that intensifies as orders increase. This situation necessitates her husband's support, particularly when business demands overlap with household needs. During the interview, the wife from PS-05 stated: *“When there are a lot of catering orders, I am indeed busier. My husband usually helps with whatever he can, especially regarding housework or the children's needs. I don’t have to do everything myself, because when there are many orders, my time is completely consumed by the kitchen”* (PS-05 HRS, 2026). This statement illustrates that the expansion of women's economic activities can prompt practical negotiations regarding domestic work. As the productive workload increases, the division of domestic labor must be adjusted to ensure the continuity of both the business and the household. In other words, the negotiation concerns not only “who earns the money” but also “who provides the time and effort” to ensure the family's daily life continues to function smoothly.

This pattern is also evident in families with children, particularly those with longer-standing marriages, such as PS-03, PS-05, PS-08, and PS-10. As family needs and caregiving responsibilities increase, coordination between partners becomes increasingly important. In the case of PS-08, for instance, the animal feed distribution business managed by the wife requires significant attention, while the husband continues to manage livestock operations. Under these circumstances, the division of tasks tends to be determined by whoever has more available time. During the interview, the PS-08 husband explained: *“If my wife is busy with distribution tasks, I help out with household chores that I can handle. If I am busy with the livestock, my wife adjusts accordingly. The division of tasks isn't the same every day. What matters is that the household and the children are well cared for”* (PS-08 DED, 2026). These findings indicate that the negotiation of gender roles within female-breadwinner families tends to be situational and dynamic. The division of tasks is not permanently fixed but can shift in response to workloads, children's needs, health conditions, and economic circumstances. This model

demonstrates that such families do not entirely abandon traditional role divisions but rather adapt them based on concrete needs.

From the perspective of Islamic family law, this pattern aligns closely with the principle of *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf*—that is, building a marital life in a manner that is good and proper, while remaining mindful of one's spouse's circumstances (Hilmi, 2023). Empirical findings indicate that, in the lives of the informants, this principle manifests more as a practice of mutual assistance than as a rigid division of tasks. Husbands assist with domestic chores when their wives face increased economic burdens, while wives adjust their responsibilities when their husbands encounter heavy work demands. Consequently, *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* in this context can be understood as a relational orientation that allows for the negotiation of roles based on family needs, rather than solely on gender. A more substantive dimension of gender negotiation lies in decision-making. Higher income has the potential to enhance women's bargaining power (Utami, 2016); however, research findings indicate that a significant economic contribution does not automatically make the wife the sole decision-maker. In many families, strategic decisions continue to be discussed jointly. Thus, changes in women's economic standing tend to create a need for establishing collaborative decision-making patterns rather than resulting in a shift of authority from husband to wife.

In the case of PS-06, the income disparity stems primarily from differences in profession, as the wife works as a pharmacist while the husband is a private-sector employee. This situation does not automatically make the wife the sole decision-maker for the family. During the interview, the husband of PS-06 explained: *"My wife's income is indeed higher, but we still discuss family decisions together. We usually talk over matters regarding the house, our children's needs, or major expenses beforehand. It isn't the case that the person earning more money gets to make all the decisions"* (PS-06 ILH, 2026). This statement illustrates a distinction between economic authority and decision-making authority. While income is a crucial family resource, control over that resource does not automatically translate into dominance across all aspects of household life. This scenario also demonstrates the multifaceted nature of gender transformation: shifts in income distribution can occur without corresponding changes in the structure of authority.

In the case of PS-04, the wife's business success is not automatically viewed as grounds for placing all family decision-making authority in her hands. During the interview, the wife of PS-04 stated: *"It is true that the income from the shop is now higher, but important decisions are still discussed. My husband still has a say. If I have plans for the business or if there is a major need, we discuss it first so that neither of us feels like we are acting alone"* (PS-04 DWI, 2026). This pattern demonstrates that negotiation does not necessarily equate to conflict or a power struggle. Negotiation can occur through a communication process that allows the couple to maintain a shared sense of ownership regarding family decisions (Utami, 2016). In this context, the wife's higher income serves as a resource that expands the family's capacity without transforming the husband-wife dynamic into a relationship defined by economic dominance. These findings regarding decision-making also highlight the relevance of the *shūrā* principle in Islamic Family Law. *Shūrā* is understood not merely as a form of formal consultation, but as the practice of considering one's spouse's views before making decisions that affect the family (Wafa & Zuhdi, 2023). For PS-04 and PS-06, the wife's substantial income is not used as a basis to monopolize decision-making; instead, these greater economic resources are integrated into a process of mutual discussion. This indicates that economic standing and decision-making authority are two dimensions that can operate relatively independently of one another.

One of the most compelling aspects of the research findings is how couples preserve the husband's identity and self-worth when the wife earns a higher income. Under traditional gender constructs, men are often positioned as the primary breadwinners; consequently, a wife's dominant economic status can potentially create symbolic tension (Nashihah & Maunah, 2025). However,

among the informants' families, this situation tends to be negotiated through a reinterpretation of the husband's responsibilities. A husband need not be the highest earner to be viewed as playing a significant role within the family. This is evident in the case of PS-07. The wife's income as a bank employee is more stable than the husband's earnings as a welder, a trade currently facing a decline in demand. During the interview, the husband (PS-07) stated: *"I don't feel threatened just because my wife earns more. It is true that work is slow for me right now, but I keep trying to work. To me, what matters is that I remain responsible and stay committed to the family. If my wife contributes more, that is simply our current situation"* (PS-07 YUD, 2026). This statement demonstrates that the meaning of "being a husband" is not defined solely by being the primary earner. Responsibility is understood more broadly as active involvement in the family's well-being. Thus, a practical redefinition of economic masculinity is taking place, although this does not necessarily imply that patriarchal constructs have completely vanished.

This demonstrates that negotiation occurs not only regarding the division of labor but also at the level of meaning and identity. When a husband can maintain a sense of responsibility without necessarily being the primary earner, the position of a female breadwinner need not be perceived as a threat to male identity. Instead, the husband's role can be defined through broader forms of contribution—such as working within his capacity, assisting with domestic chores, engaging in childcare, and participating in decision-making. This pattern reveals a shift from measuring contribution based on monetary value to one based on function and responsibility (Widyasari & Suyanto, 2023). These findings are significant when compared to previous research highlighting increased participation, awareness, and control within the family (Yanto & Huda, 2025). Such similarities indicate that economic changes and shifts in power relations are distinct processes. However, the study in Palenggiyan reveals a more specific mechanism: changes in women's economic standing do not automatically transfer authority; instead, this authority is negotiated through the distribution of contributions, domestic work, childcare, and decision-making. Thus, this study extends prior research by demonstrating that the relationship between economic contribution and power relations is indirect, mediated by negotiation practices in daily life.

These findings also offer a different perspective on previous research regarding Madurese women in the context of male migration (Fauzan & Harianto, 2025). In that earlier research, women performed both productive and domestic roles while remaining dependent on their migrating husbands, all within a context where patriarchal norms remained influential. In contrast, among families in Palenggiyan, husbands and wives share the same household space and both engage in economic activities. Consequently, negotiation arises not primarily as a response to a husband's absence, but as a process of restructuring the relationship as the wife's economic contribution increases. This contextual difference is significant because it demonstrates that the gendered burden borne by women does not arise solely when a husband is physically absent. Even when the husband is present and working, a "double burden" can emerge if changes in the woman's economic contribution are not accompanied by adjustments to domestic responsibilities.

When compared to previous research (Nazar et al., 2025), the findings of this study reinforce the view that a shift in the wife's role to that of primary breadwinner can serve as a form of family adaptation. However, this study reveals that such adaptation entails a significant relational dimension. Economic adaptation must translate into agreements regarding the division of labor, childcare, and decision-making. In other words, economic adaptation is not complete simply because the family's financial needs are met; it truly takes effect only when the couple successfully reorganizes their domestic life in a manner acceptable to both parties. The findings from Palenggiyan also expand upon earlier research concerning female farmers in Patapan Village, Sampang—which highlighted the substantial contribution of women to household income (Auliya

et al., 2023). While that previous research primarily demonstrated the importance of women's economic contributions to family well-being, the present study goes further by examining the relational consequences of such contributions. Specifically, as women's economic contributions increase and become the primary source of income, a need arises to restructure domestic work, childcare, resource management, and decision-making processes. Thus, women's economic contribution acts as a starting condition, whereas role negotiation serves as the mechanism determining how this change is integrated into family life.

From the perspective of *mubadalah* (Hafis et al., 2025; Kodir, 2023), these findings further demonstrate that the husband-wife relationship within the informants' families is not invariably built upon a logic of rigid role division, but rather on the principle of reciprocity. A wife's economic contribution may be greater during a particular period, while the husband's contribution in other areas remains vital. Similarly, when one partner faces limitations due to work, age, or health, the other assumes a larger share of responsibilities. Reciprocity in this context does not imply that all tasks must be divided equally; rather, it positions both partners as active agents who share responsibility for the family's well-being.

From the perspective of the social construction of gender, these findings indicate that role changes unfold through a non-linear process. While shifts in women's economic contributions can indeed drive adjustments in family life practices, such changes do not always align with the transformation of deeply ingrained gender norms. Norms regarding the positions of husbands and wives, the division of domestic labor, and familial authority may persist even as economic contribution structures shift. Consequently, families with female breadwinners exist in a transitional state where economic structures have evolved, yet certain gender constructs remain intact (Wizda & Akbar, 2023). It is within this context that negotiation becomes a crucial relational mechanism, allowing for simultaneous economic change and the persistence of gender norms without necessarily triggering open conflict (Belinda & Handayani, 2023). Accordingly, the negotiation of gender roles within the informants' families can be understood through three primary patterns. *First*, the negotiation of economic contributions, wherein husbands and wives adjust the nature and scale of their contributions based on their respective capabilities, employment opportunities, and income stability. *Second*, the negotiation of the division of domestic labor, where household chores and childcare duties no longer strictly adhere to fixed role allocations but are instead adapted to the productive workloads borne by each partner. *Third*, the negotiation of authority and identity, wherein a wife's higher income does not automatically result in a complete shift in authority or negate the husband's role in decision-making and the fulfillment of family responsibilities. These three patterns demonstrate that negotiation is not merely a process of task allocation or adjustment to economic needs; rather, it is a multidimensional process playing out across the material, practical, and symbolic dimensions of household life.

Crucially, these findings serve as a reminder that flexibility in role allocation is not necessarily synonymous with gender equality. When negotiations are conducted solely to ensure the family continues to function, there is a possibility that women may still shoulder a heavier domestic burden, even if their economic contribution is dominant. Therefore, the success of such negotiations cannot be measured merely by the absence of conflict or a husband's acceptance of his wife's income. More importantly, success lies in whether the negotiations result in a proportional division of responsibilities, relatively equal decision-making power, and recognition of both partners' contributions. In this regard, principles of Islamic Family Law provide a vital normative framework for assessing the quality of these negotiations. *Mu'asyarah bi al-ma'ruf* emphasizes good and proper relations (Hilmi, 2023); *huquq wa wajibat al-zanjayn* affirms the existence of mutual responsibilities within marital life (Nuraini, 2021); *syūrā* establishes a foundation for decision-

making through consultation (Wafa & Zuhdi, 2023); and *mubādalāh* reinforces a perspective of reciprocity in fulfilling family responsibilities (Hafis et al., 2025; Kodir, 2023). These four principles do not imply that shifts in economic roles must result in an identical division of roles between husband and wife. Rather, they help clarify that a fair division can be contextual, provided it is grounded in responsibility, respect, communication, and reciprocity.

These findings indicate that the present study not only confirms but also modifies the results of previous research. Earlier studies have shown that the female breadwinner role can emerge in response to economic pressure and contribute to family well-being. This study adds that the mechanism linking changes in economic contribution to family stability is the process of role negotiation. A wife's higher income serves as a resource for family resilience only if the couple can convert it into cooperation, shared responsibilities, communication, and mutually acceptable decision-making. Therefore, a woman's economic contribution does not carry a singular relational meaning; its impact on the family depends on how the couple manages this shift within the structure of their domestic life.

Theoretically, these findings demonstrate that gender role negotiation can be positioned as the mechanism mediating between changes in the family's economic configuration and the adaptation of family relationships. Changes in a woman's economic contribution create new conditions within the household, yet these conditions do not automatically dictate the subsequent nature of the relationship. Couples must first negotiate contributions, the division of labor, child-rearing, resource management, and decision-making authority. The outcome of this process may be a more flexible and adaptive reorganization of responsibilities, but it can also result in persistent inequality if the domestic workload is not also negotiated. Thus, changes in a woman's economic status should be understood as a condition that opens up space for change, while negotiation determines how that space for change is realized within family life.

This proposition clarifies the position of Islamic Family Law within the study. Principles of family law are not positioned as the sole explanation for the informants' behavior, but rather as an interpretive perspective for assessing and understanding the relational patterns emerging from empirical data. When couples divide responsibilities based on capacity, make decisions through mutual consultation, assist each other with domestic tasks, and maintain individual engagement in family life, these practices can be interpreted through the principles of *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* (harmonious coexistence), *syūrā* (mutual consultation), *ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-zanjayn* (spousal rights and obligations), and *mubādalāh* (reciprocity). Thus, empirical findings and the perspective of Islamic Family Law converge on the idea that family sustainability is determined not merely by who acts as the primary breadwinner, but by how such responsibilities are managed relationally. This process is crucial for understanding family resilience. Negotiations that yield flexibility in contributions, more adaptive divisions of labor, joint decision-making, and recognition of both partners' contributions can enhance the family's capacity to navigate change. Conversely, if a shift in women's economic status is not accompanied by a restructuring of responsibilities, the female breadwinner scenario may heighten the risk of a “double burden” and relational strain. Consequently, the subsequent question shifts from how couples negotiate roles to how the outcomes of such negotiations influence the family's ability to maintain its functions, withstand pressure, and adapt to change. This issue forms the basis of the analysis in the third subsection regarding the implications of gender role negotiations for family resilience.

Implications of Gender Role Negotiation for Family Resilience

Research findings indicate that the position of the female breadwinner has varied implications for family resilience. While the economic contributions of women in the ten informant

families generally bolstered the household's ability to meet economic needs, this influence did not operate in isolation. Family resilience appeared stronger when an increase in the wife's economic contribution was accompanied by the couple's ability to adjust the division of responsibilities, communication, and decision-making processes. Thus, the findings demonstrate that women's economic contributions serve as a resource for family resilience, whereas role negotiation acts as the mechanism determining how that resource is managed within the household. Consequently, family resilience is not merely a consequence of rising female income but is shaped by the couple's ability to manage role changes collectively and sustainably.

The most visible dimension is economic resilience. When a wife earns a higher or more stable income, the family gains additional resources to meet routine needs while also navigating economic uncertainty. This is particularly crucial for families where the husband's income is irregular, seasonal, or in decline. A woman's earnings thus serve as a stabilizing factor, ensuring the family is not entirely dependent on a single source of income. In the case of PS-01, for instance, the husband's income as a construction worker was not always guaranteed, whereas the wife earned a more consistent income. During the interview, the wife of PS-01 explained: *"Since I have a monthly income, I feel more at ease about covering routine expenses. When my husband has work, his earnings go toward household needs too. When he is out of work, at least my income is still there"* (PS-01 RUM, 2026). This statement illustrates that women's economic contributions act as a financial buffer for the family. A wife's earnings not only increase the total household income but also mitigate the risks associated with the instability of the husband's employment. With a more stable income source, the family is better equipped to maintain routine spending even when the husband's income fluctuates.

A more pronounced pattern is evident in the case of PS-03. The husband's income as a farmer is seasonal, whereas the wife's trading activities generate more frequent income. During the interview, the wife of PS-03 stated: *"If we relied solely on agricultural output, daily needs couldn't wait until harvest time. Earnings from trading cover daily shopping, children's needs, and other minor expenses. Then, when the harvest comes in, the proceeds can be used for larger expenditures"* (PS-03 WSL, 2026). These findings reveal a temporal diversification of income sources. The wife's income supports short-term needs, while the husband's seasonal income can be allocated for specific periodic requirements. This pattern demonstrates that distinct economic contributions can actually create a complementary mechanism between the couple.

A similar situation is observed in cases PS-05 and PS-08, where the wife's business generates a higher income than the husband's employment. In these families, the income from the woman's business is not merely used for consumption but also serves as a resource that supports the household's sustainability. The husband in case PS-05, for instance, explains: *"When there is a major need, my wife's business usually provides significant help. My earnings as a contract teacher are indeed limited. However, that does not mean I do not contribute; I still provide what I can, even though my wife's business has now become the larger source of income"* (PS-05 MJK, 2026). This statement demonstrates that economic resilience is built not through equal monetary contributions, but through the complementarity of resources. Each partner contributes according to their capacity, while the wife's higher income acts as a buffer when family needs exceed the husband's earning power.

These findings reinforce earlier research indicating that women acting as primary breadwinners contribute to family economic resilience through income diversification, financial management, and adaptive strategies (Fahmi et al., 2026). However, this study offers a more nuanced perspective by highlighting that women's economic contributions do not automatically generate resilience. Such income serves as a resource for resilience only when the couple successfully integrates it into managing family needs while maintaining a contribution pattern acceptable to both parties. In other words, the decisive factor is not merely the amount of the

woman's income, but also how that income is negotiated and utilized within family life. These findings also align with previous research conducted in Patapan Village, Torjun, Sampang, which identified the significant contribution women make to the income of farming households (Auliya et al., 2023). This commonality underscores the pivotal role women play in sustaining household economic stability. The study in Palenggiyan expands upon these findings by demonstrating that women's economic contributions carry relational consequences. When a woman becomes the primary economic contributor, the family not only gains additional resources but also faces the need to adjust the division of responsibilities, ensuring that this resource base is not built upon an undue concentration of burdens on the woman.

Crucially, the economic resilience gained through women's contributions presents two possibilities. On one hand, women's income enhances the family's capacity to cope with uncertainty. On the other, if women continue to bear the primary burden of domestic work and caregiving, this rise in income may come at the cost of an increased workload for them. Therefore, economic resilience cannot be divorced from the issue of how responsibilities are distributed within the family. These findings indicate that economic resilience has its limits unless accompanied by relational resilience. A family may become better able to meet material needs, yet simultaneously become vulnerable if women's increased economic contribution occurs without adequate support, a fair division of labor, and proper recognition. Consequently, women's economic empowerment programs should be viewed as part of a broader family resilience strategy rather than being solely focused on increasing income. Strengthening women's economic standing must go hand in hand with bolstering the family's capacity to share tasks, manage income, and make decisions collaboratively.

Family resilience is reflected not only in the ability to meet economic needs but also in the couple's capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. Research findings indicate that families with female breadwinners tend to develop flexibility in role allocation. Husbands and wives do not consistently perform the same tasks over time; instead, they adjust their duties based on work conditions, health, children's needs, and time availability. In the case of PS-08, for instance, the husband manages livestock operations while the wife handles animal feed distribution. When one partner faces an increased workload, the other assumes a portion of the household responsibilities. During an interview, the husband from PS-08 stated: *"If my wife has a lot of business to attend to outside, I do more to help at home. If I am busy with the livestock, my wife adjusts accordingly. There is no fixed division of labor that must always be followed. What matters is that household chores get done and the children's needs are met"* (PS-08 DED, 2026). This statement demonstrates that flexibility serves as a crucial mechanism for maintaining family functionality. The division of tasks is based on situational needs rather than rigid role definitions. In this context, negotiation enables the family to respond to changes without constantly arguing over who "ought" to perform specific tasks.

In the case of PS-09, this flexibility is linked to the husband's health condition. As the husband's ability to work declined, the wife increased her economic activity. However, this shift did not automatically eliminate the husband's involvement in family life. During the interview, the wife from PS-09 stated: *"Right now, I am the one primarily earning an income because my husband's condition prevents him from working as he used to. But he still helps out at home and takes care of tasks he is still able to manage. So, we simply adapt to the situation"* (PS-09 LAI, 2026). These findings demonstrate that family resilience is forged through an adaptive redistribution of responsibilities. A change in one partner's economic capacity is not viewed as a personal failure, but rather as a circumstance requiring a joint adjustment. This perspective enables the family to maintain its social functions despite shifts in the household's economic structure. In this context, family resilience is understood not merely as the ability to "endure," but as the couple's capacity to sustain family functions through relational

adjustments. When both husband and wife are willing to adjust their contributions, share tasks, and accept changes in each other's capacities, a shift in the breadwinner role need not be perceived as a threat to the family structure. On the contrary, such a change can serve as an opportunity to establish a more adaptive pattern of cooperation.

From the perspective of family resilience, this situation demonstrates that adaptability is a component no less important than economic capacity. A family may enjoy a relatively good income yet remain vulnerable if it lacks the communication mechanisms and division of responsibilities necessary to navigate change. Conversely, families with limited economic resources can sustain their households if they possess the ability to cooperate and adjust their roles. These findings reinforce earlier research identifying the shift in a wife's role as a form of social adaptation to changing economic conditions (Nazar et al., 2025). This study expands upon that concept of adaptation by showing that economic adaptation only achieves the significance of resilience when translated into relational adaptation. Thus, a change in the primary breadwinner does not mark the end of the adaptation process; rather, it serves as a juncture that necessitates the reorganization of family responsibilities.

These findings also differ in nuance from previous research on the psychological dynamics of female breadwinners within the context of Balinese patriarchal structures (Krisnawan & Tanaya, 2025). That earlier research emphasized risks such as role strain, psychological conflict, guilt, and the double burden. In the context of Palenggiyan, while such potential risks persist, some families have developed protective mechanisms through spousal support and flexibility in the division of tasks. This distinction demonstrates that the impact of being a female breadwinner is not deterministic; rather, it is heavily influenced by how family relationships respond to the shift. Thus, negotiation serves as an adaptive mechanism that transforms economic change into a more flexible family arrangement. The more effectively a couple can align the division of responsibilities with actual circumstances, the greater the likelihood that the shift in breadwinner status can be managed without causing serious disruption to family functioning.

Viewed through the perspective of Islamic Family Law, this pattern indicates that changes in women's economic contributions need not be framed as a conflict between the rights and obligations of spouses. The principle of *mu'asyarah bi al-ma'ruf* provides a normative foundation for a marital relationship built upon kind treatment, mutual respect, and propriety (Hilmi, 2023). In the empirical context of this study, this principle is reflected when couples do not use income disparities as a basis for belittling, dominating, or diminishing their appreciation for one another. Similarly, the principle of *ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn* (spousal rights and obligations) suggests that family responsibility is not defined merely by who earns the highest income, but rather by how each partner fulfills their respective responsibilities within the concrete context of family life (Nuraini, 2021).

Beyond economic resilience and flexibility in the division of tasks, research indicates that communication and cooperation are crucial elements in sustaining the marital relationship. A wife's higher income can potentially create conflict if perceived as a source of superiority or a means to dictate all family decisions. However, among the informants' families, the prevailing tendency is to maintain joint decision-making through communication. In the case of PS-06, for instance, the wife earns a higher income as a pharmacist. Nevertheless, decisions regarding family needs are not determined solely by the higher earner. During the interview, the wife from PS-06 stated: *"While I do earn more, that doesn't mean I make all the decisions myself. We still discuss matters concerning the children's needs or major expenses. If my husband feels something isn't quite right, we talk it over again. The important thing is not to let money harm the marital relationship"* (PS-06 RHM, 2026). This statement demonstrates that communication serves as a mechanism to prevent disparities in economic contribution from

escalating into relational inequality. Higher income does not automatically translate into greater authority; instead, the couple preserves a space for mutual deliberation regarding significant decisions. This pattern closely aligns with the principle of *syūrā* in Islamic Family Law, which can be interpreted to understand the importance of consultation in family decision-making (Wafa & Zuhdi, 2023). The findings from PS-06 show that economic resources do not automatically serve as a basis for dominating decision-making. Decisions concerning children's needs, major expenditures, and family issues remain matters for joint discussion. Thus, in the context of this study, *syūrā* is not positioned as a variable to be tested, but rather as an interpretive framework to explain the collaborative decision-making practices observed in families with female breadwinners.

A similar pattern is observed in the case of PS-04. The growth of the wife's business has increased her economic contribution, yet family decisions continue to be made jointly. During the interview, the husband of PS-04 stated: *"The shop certainly generates more income now, but family matters are still discussed together. I also retain my responsibilities as a husband. If there are major needs or family issues, we talk about them so that we are both informed"* (PS-04 KDM, 2026). These findings indicate that relational resilience does not hinge on equal economic contributions, but rather on the couple's ability to maintain mutual respect and involvement in family decision-making. In other words, income disparity does not necessarily lead to relationship imbalance provided there are effective communication mechanisms in place.

From the perspective of *mubadalah* (reciprocity), this pattern highlights the importance of reciprocal relationships in family life (Hafis et al., 2025; Kodir, 2023). A wife's greater economic contribution does not negate the husband's contribution, just as a husband's involvement in domestic tasks need not be viewed as a loss of his position within the family. Instead, what emerges is an exchange of contributions based on capabilities and needs. Consequently, the research findings suggest that an adaptive relationship is not built upon uniformity of contributions, but rather on mutuality in meeting needs and sustaining the family.

These findings align with previous research indicating that changes in women's economic status do not automatically lead to increased participation and control within the household (Yanto & Huda, 2025). The study in Palenggiyan suggests that this issue must be examined through the relational mechanisms linking economic resources to family authority. While higher income can strengthen a woman's bargaining position, whether that position evolves into dominance or becomes a shared resource depends on the negotiation processes and decision-making patterns established by the couple. Thus, economic changes become more constructive when couples are able to distinguish between economic contributions and relational authority. These findings also demonstrate that family resilience encompasses broader dimensions than economic resilience alone. A family may possess a relatively adequate income, yet if income disparities give rise to humiliation, conflict, or dominance, that economic stability does not necessarily translate into family resilience. Conversely, acceptance, communication, and cooperation can transform economic disparities into shared resources.

While negotiation generally contributes positively to family resilience, research findings also indicate certain limitations that warrant attention. The role of a female breadwinner still carries the potential for a "double burden" when women shoulder economic responsibilities while simultaneously maintaining the majority of domestic tasks. Consequently, a family's success in sustaining its income should not automatically be viewed as proof that role changes have resulted in an egalitarian relationship. This dynamic is particularly significant for families with children; the greater the demands of childcare and housework, the greater the need for a proportional distribution of responsibilities. Without such adjustments, women may face an accumulation of responsibilities, even as the family benefits economically from their contributions.

These findings align closely with prior research indicating the presence of role strain, psychological conflict, and a “double burden” among female primary breadwinners (Krisnawan & Tanaya, 2025). However, the context of Palenggiyan reveals that such burdens are not necessarily an inevitable outcome. Negotiation, spousal support, and flexibility in the division of labor can serve as factors that mitigate the potential for a double burden. Thus, the role of the female breadwinner presents an ambivalent dynamic regarding family resilience. On one hand, a woman's economic contribution enhances the family's capacity to withstand economic risks. On the other hand, if this contribution is not accompanied by a redistribution of responsibilities, the woman may instead become the focal point for the accumulation of family burdens. Consequently, family resilience depends not only on a woman's ability to generate income but also on the couple's ability to ensure a sustainable distribution of resources and responsibilities. Within the framework of Islamic family law, this situation demonstrates that family resilience is not built solely through the fulfillment of material needs, but also through relationships that uphold well-being, mutual respect, and a balance of responsibilities. The principle of *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* (living together in kindness) is relevant for understanding the importance of good treatment amidst shifting roles, while the principle of *mubādalah* (reciprocity) helps explain that the contributions of husband and wife can be reciprocal, aligned with their respective capacities and the family's needs. Thus, when a wife becomes the primary breadwinner, the normative issue is not merely whether this position inverts traditional role structures, but rather whether the change still allows the couple to conduct their family life through a relationship characterized by mutual respect and cooperation.

These findings also make a significant contribution to existing research—such as studies highlighting women's contributions to economic resilience (Fahmi et al., 2026), research viewing role changes as part of the family adaptation process (Nazar et al., 2025), and studies examining the rationale behind women assuming economic responsibilities to ensure family continuity (Usmany et al., 2025). They also engage with earlier research showing that increased economic contributions by women are not automatically accompanied by shifts in family control and participation (Yanto & Huda, 2025). This study integrates these findings by demonstrating that women's economic contributions, family adaptation, and gender relations do not unfold as isolated processes. Instead, they are interconnected through role negotiation, which determines whether increased economic contributions by women translate into family cooperation and resilience or, conversely, result in a double burden and relational strain.

The primary contribution of this study lies not in asserting that a female breadwinner invariably strengthens family resilience, but rather in explaining the relational conditions that allow women's economic contributions to effectively foster such resilience. Empirical findings indicate that an increase in a woman's economic contribution does not automatically yield positive outcomes for household life. Such contributions become more sustainable when couples are able to adjust the division of responsibilities, maintain open communication, share in decision-making, and accept shifts in economic contributions without using them as a basis to assert dominance within the marital relationship. Conversely, when changes in the family's economic structure are not accompanied by a reorganization of domestic and relational responsibilities, the increase in a woman's contribution risks becoming a source of a “double burden.” Accordingly, this study frames the female breadwinner role neither as a sole indicator of successful women's empowerment nor as a sign of the weakening or collapse of the male role within the family. A woman's position as the primary breadwinner represents a socio-economic condition that presents two distinct possibilities. On one hand, it can strengthen family resilience by diversifying income sources and enhancing the family's capacity to withstand economic pressures. On the other hand, this shift can give rise to tension and a double burden if it is not accompanied by a realignment of responsibilities

and gender expectations within the household. Therefore, the ultimate impact of this change is determined not merely by the magnitude of the woman's economic contribution, but by the quality of the couple's relationship and their ability to negotiate the shifting roles within their family life.

Based on the overall findings, a proposition can be formulated stating that family resilience in the context of a female breadwinner is not directly determined by the magnitude of the woman's economic contribution, but rather by the couple's ability to manage changes in that contribution through negotiation and the restructuring of responsibilities. The shift in breadwinner status represents a change in the household's economic structure; role negotiation serves as the relational mechanism responding to that change; and family resilience constitutes the adaptive capacity formed when such changes are managed through cooperation, flexibility, communication, and joint decision-making. The relationship among these three elements is dynamic and non-linear. A shift in economic contribution can strengthen resilience when the couple is able to translate it into cooperation and a redistribution of responsibilities, yet it can also heighten vulnerability if the change instead increases the woman's burden or exacerbates relational tensions.

From the perspective of Islamic family law, this process can be understood through the principles of *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* (living together in kindness), *ḥuquq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn* (mutual rights and obligations of spouses), *ṣūrā* (mutual consultation), and *mubādalah* (reciprocity). These principles provide an interpretive framework suggesting that family stability is not determined solely by who earns the highest income, but rather by how the husband and wife fulfill their responsibilities, engage in consultation, respect one another, and build reciprocal relationships while navigating changes in family life. Viewed through this lens, the female breadwinner is not seen as a deviation from the family norm, but rather as an empirical reality that requires management through adaptive and equitable relationships. Thus, the research findings demonstrate that gender transformation within the family unfolds in a gradual, negotiable, and contextual manner. Change does not necessarily entail the wife completely taking over the husband's role; instead, it involves adjustments regarding who makes the greater economic contribution, how domestic chores and child-rearing duties are shared, how decisions are reached, and how the couple maintains mutual respect and cooperation in their household life. Herein lies the study's key finding: family resilience stems not merely from a shift in who acts as the primary breadwinner, but from the couple's ability to negotiate the meanings, responsibilities, and consequences of such changes within their family life.

CONCLUSION.

This study identifies three key areas of focus: *First*, the female breadwinner phenomenon in Palenggiyan Village (Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency) represents a family economic configuration shaped by a shift in the relative economic contributions of husband and wife, rather than a complete replacement of the husband's economic role. The wife's position as the primary economic contributor emerges through two mechanisms: a compensatory mechanism responding to instability, seasonality, decline, or limitations in the husband's economic capacity; and a mechanism involving the expansion of women's economic capacity through business development and disparities in professional remuneration. These findings underscore that the female breadwinner role is relational, contextual, and adaptive, as it arises from the interplay of employment conditions, women's economic capacity, health and age factors, market changes, and the need to ensure the family's continued well-being.

Secondly, changes in economic contributions do not automatically result in a transformation of gender relations; rather, they prompt couples to engage in “gender role negotiation” by restructuring economic contributions, domestic work, childcare, resource management, and

decision-making. This negotiation proceeds flexibly, taking into account capabilities, time constraints, work conditions, health, and family needs, while a wife's higher income does not necessarily translate into dominance in decision-making. From the perspective of Islamic Family Law, this pattern can be understood through the principles of *mu'āsyarah bi al-ma'rūf* (harmonious and kind coexistence), *ḥuqūq wa wājibāt al-ṣanjayn* (mutual rights and obligations of spouses), *syūrā* (mutual consultation), and *mubādalah* (reciprocity)—principles that ground the spousal relationship in mutual respect, responsibility, consultation, and cooperation. Thus, gender role negotiation serves as a mechanism linking shifting economic configurations with the restructuring of family responsibilities, although this flexibility does not always signify the attainment of full gender equality, given the persistent potential for women to bear a “double burden.”

Third, the negotiation of gender roles has significant implications for family resilience, particularly through the strengthening of economic stability, diversification of income sources, flexibility in the division of responsibilities, communication, cooperation, and joint decision-making. Women's economic contributions can serve as a source of family stability; however, these benefits become more sustainable when couples are able to integrate economic resources into an adaptive division of responsibilities. Conversely, if an increase in women's economic contribution is not accompanied by a redistribution of domestic work, caregiving, and relational responsibilities, the female breadwinner role can lead to a “double burden” and undermine family resilience. Thus, the conceptual contribution of this study lies in affirming that a shift in economic contribution serves as a starting condition, gender role negotiation acts as a relational mechanism, and family resilience represents an adaptive outcome—one that does not occur automatically or linearly. In practical terms, strengthening family resilience requires more than just enhancing women's economic capacity; it must also be accompanied by improved communication, cooperation, a proportional division of responsibilities, and collaborative decision-making.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author extends gratitude to the informants and the community of Palenggiyan Village, Kedungdung District, Sampang Regency, for their time, openness, and valuable contributions throughout the research process. The author also expresses appreciation to all parties who provided assistance and facilitated the conduct of this research.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS STATEMENT

MM contributed to the conceptualization, research design, data collection, and drafting of the manuscript. L contributed to the development of the theoretical framework, data analysis and interpretation, critical editing, and refinement of the manuscript. Both authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript for publication.

AI USAGE STATEMENT

The use of artificial intelligence (AI) tools in the research and preparation of this manuscript was limited to supporting functions—specifically language editing, grammar checking, and enhancing the clarity and readability of the text. AI was not used to generate core ideas, conduct substantive analysis, interpret data, or draw scientific conclusions. The authors retain full responsibility for the originality, accuracy, validity, and academic integrity of the manuscript's entire content. AI tools are not listed as authors or contributors, in accordance with ethical principles in scientific publication.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest, whether financial or non-financial, that could influence the research process, data analysis and interpretation, or the preparation and publication of this article.

REFERENCES

- Afrizal, S., & Polelah. (2021). Multiple Women Roles in Family Economy Improvement (Case Study on Working Women at Kecamatan Padarincang Kabupaten Serang). *Ijsted*, 3(1), 53–62. <https://doi.org/10.52483/ijsted.v3i1.53>
- Arsal ... Som, H. M. (2026). Female Breadwinners and the Shifting Paradigm of Family Livelihoods in Indonesia: A Double Movement Approach. *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah*, 25(1), 131–150. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v25i1.16558>
- Asrori, K. (2024). Transformasi Qiwamah dalam Konteks Ekonomi Keluarga Modern (Ketika Istri Menjadi Tulang Punggung Keluarga). *Familia: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga*, 5(2), 153–178. <https://doi.org/10.24239/familia.v5i2.232>
- Auliya, A. F. ... Setyadi, T. (2023). The Contribution of Farmer Women in the Household Income of Rice Farmers in Desa Patapan Kecamatan Torjun Kabupaten Sampang. *Journal of Economics, Finance and Management Studies*, 06(06), 2726–2733. <https://doi.org/10.47191/jefms/v6-i6-36>
- Belinda, T., & Handayani, W. (2023). Strategi Negosiasi Peran Gender Suami Istri Dalam Keluarga Pamong Praja (Papa Momong-Mama Kerja) Di Purbalingga. *Lektur: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 5(3), 236–244. <https://doi.org/10.21831/lektur.v5i3.19173>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Citriadin, Y. (2020). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Suatu Pendekatan Dasar*. Sanabil.
- Drago, R. ... Wooden, M. (2005). Female breadwinner families: Their existence, persistence and sources. *Journal of Sociology*, 41(4), 343–362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783305058465>
- Fahmi, M. N. ... Rahman, M. (2026). Resiliensi Ekonomi Keluarga Dalam Pergeseran Peran Gender: Studi Tentang Perempuan Sebagai Breadwinner Di Desa Gintungan. *As-Sidanah: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 8(1), 200–214. <https://doi.org/10.35316/assidanah.v8i1.200-214>
- Fathoni, A. (2021). Family Resilience and Implementation of Islamic Family Jurisprudence on Millennial Muslim Families in Gresik, Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Law*, 2(2), 247–267. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v2i2.332>
- Fauzan, Z. S., & Harianto, S. (2025). Migrasi Laki-Laki Madura dan Beban Ganda Perempuan: Ketahanan Keluarga dalam Pusaran Ketergantungan. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial*, 11(2), 199–206. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jiis.v11i2.96925>
- Gorlatykh, A., & Abramov, A. (2025). Gender roles in the family: changing expectations and responsibilities. *Proceedings of the Southwest State University. Series: Economics. Sociology. Management*, 15(1), 247–259. <https://doi.org/10.21869/2223-1552-2025-15-1-247-259>
- Hafis, M. ... Rafia'aturrahmah. (2025). The Principle of Mubādalāh in Islamic Family Law: A Functional Sociological Approach to Reducing Domestic Conflict. *Ma'mal: Jurnal Laboratorium Syariah dan Hukum*, 6(4), 388–411. <https://doi.org/10.15642/mal.v7i5.477>
- Hasan, M. ... Arisah, N. (2022). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (M. Hasan, Ed.; Cet. I). Tahta Media Group.
- Hilmi, I. L. (2023). Mu'asyarah bil Ma'ruf Sebagai Asas Perkawinan (Kajian QS. Al-Nisa: 19 dan QS. Al-Baqarah: 228). *Misykat al-Anwar Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Masyarakat*, 6(2), 155–174. <https://doi.org/10.24853/ma.6.2.155-174>
- Ismanto, B. ... Ritonga, A. H. (2018). Istri Sebagai Pencari Nafkah Utama Dan Dampaknya Dalam Keluarga Perspektif Hukum Islam. *Fitrah: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman*, 4(2), 397–416.

<https://doi.org/10.24952/fitrah.v4i2.950>

- Kodir, F. A. (2023). *Qir'ah Mubadalah: Tafsir Progresif untuk Keadilan Gender dalam Islam* (Cet. V). IRCiSoD.
- Kowalewska, H., & Vitali, A. (2021). Breadwinning or on the breadline? Female breadwinners' economic characteristics across 20 welfare states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 31(2), 125–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928720971094>
- Krisnawan, P. A. A., & Tanaya, I. W. N. F. (2025). Dinamika Psikologis Female Breadwinners Dalam Konstruksi Sosial Patriarki Bali. *ACADEMLA: Jurnal Inovasi Riset Akademik*, 5(4), 433–440. <https://doi.org/10.51878/academia.v5i4.8386>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE Publications.
- Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (4th editio). Jossey-Bass A Wiley Brand.
- Moleong, L. J. (2021). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Cet. XXXX). Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nashihah, B. H., & Maunah, B. (2025). Habitus Patriarki Dan Kekerasan Simbolik: Dekonstruksi Stratifikasi Gender Dalam Kosmologi Jawa Tradisional. *SABANA: Jurnal Sosiologi, Antropologi, dan Budaya Nusantara*, 4(3), 530–537. <https://doi.org/10.55123/sabana.v4i3.6992>
- Nazar, H. S. E. S. ... Meidina, A. R. (2025). Negotiating Gender Roles: The Shift of Wives Role as the Main Breadwinners in Wijirejo Village, Indonesia. *YUDISLA: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum dan Hukum Islam*, 16(2), 215. <https://doi.org/10.21043/yudisia.v16i2.28517>
- Nuraini, S. M. (2021). Relasi Hak Dan Kewajiban Suami Istri Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Analitis Relevansi Hak Dan Kewajiban Suami Istri Berdasarkan Tafsir Ahkam Dan Hadits Ahkam). *Al-Syakhsyiyah Journal of Law and Family Studies*, 3(1), 98–116. <https://doi.org/10.21154/syakhsyiyah.v3i1.2719>
- Ponirah, A. ... Tiara Purnama Sari, Y. (2024). Perempuan dalam Ketahanan Ekonomi: Upaya Peningkatan Kualitas Keluarga. *Azz-Zahra: Journal of Gender and Family Studies*, 4(2), 133–149. <https://doi.org/10.15575/azzahra.v4i2.24171>
- PS-01 AHM. (2026a). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-01 AHM. (2026b). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-01 RUM. (2026). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-02 BUD. (2026). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-02 NHS. (2026). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-03 MNR. (2026). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-03 WSL. (2026). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-04 DWI. (2026a). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-04 DWI. (2026b). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-04 KDM. (2026). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-05 HRS. (2026). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-05 MJK. (2026a). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-05 MJK. (2026b). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.

- PS-06 ILH. (2026). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-06 RHM. (2026a). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-06 RHM. (2026b). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-07 YUD. (2026a). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-07 YUD. (2026b). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-08 DED. (2026a). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-08 DED. (2026b). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-08 DED. (2026c). *Negosiasi Peran Gender dalam Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-09 LAI. (2026a). *Implikasi Negosiasi Peran Gender terhadap Ketahanan Keluarga*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-09 LAI. (2026b). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- PS-10 ZNL. (2026). *Konstruksi Female Breadwinner dan Faktor Pergeseran Peran*. Wawancara Langsung.
- Sánchez-Mira, N. (2024). (Un)doing gender in female breadwinner households: Gender relations and structural change. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 31(4), 1196–1213. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12775>
- Sugiyono. (2023). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (Cet. XXVII). Alfabeta.
- Usmany, N. W. S. ... Rohman, M. M. (2025). The Role of Women as Breadwinners: A Case Study of Konang Galis Village, Pamekasan. *Adabuna: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pemikiran*, 4(2), 59–70. <https://doi.org/10.38073/adabuna.v4i2.2234>
- Utami, N. (2016). Pengalaman Komunikasi Keluarga Istri Yang Berpendapatan Lebih Besar Dari Suami. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 4(1), 95–108. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v4i1.7433>
- Wafa, A. M., & Zuhdi, M. H. (2023). Knitting Love, Resolving Disputes: The Best Design for A Sustainable Settlement of Islamic Law. *Edumaspul: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 7(2), 5657–5670. <https://doi.org/10.33487/edumaspul.v7i2.7404>
- Widyasari, A., & Suyanto, S. (2023). Pembagian Kerja dalam Rumah Tangga antara Suami dan Istri yang Bekerja. *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi*, 6(2), 209–226. <https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.6.2.209-226>
- Wizda, A. R., & Akbar, M. I. F. (2023). Kesenjangan dan Keadilan Gender pada Keluarga Pekerja. *Hawa: Studi Pengarus Utamaan Gender dan Anak*, 5(1), 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.29300/hawapsga.v5i1>
- Yanto, A., & Huda, M. (2025). Gender Dynamics in Muslim Families with Wives as the Main Breadwinner (A Study in Benda Village Sirampog Subdistrict Brebes Regency). *Al-'Allamah: Journal of Scriptures and Ulama Studies*, 2(2), 57–90. <https://doi.org/10.70017/al-allmah.v2i2.36>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (6th Editio). SAGE Publications, Inc.