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Protection of Women's Rights through the Implementation of Taklik Talak: A Gender-Based Study in Solok Regency

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Abstract

The main issue is the application of taklik talak as a mechanism for protecting women's rights based on gender in Solok Regency. The objectives of this study are to identify and analyze the reasons why husbands abandon their wives for two consecutive years, as specified in the first point of taklik talak; to examine wives' understanding of the implementation of taklik talak; and to explore the strategies employed by wives to meet their needs while their husbands are absent in Solok Regency. The type of research used is field research employing a qualitative approach. The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. The data collection techniques used were interviews and documentation. The data analysis techniques employed included data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions. The technique used to ensure data validity was data source triangulation. The results of this study identified four reasons why husbands leave their wives: economic problems, conflicts with their wives and the involvement of a third party, differences in education, and the personalities of both partners. Wives' understanding of the implementation of taklik talak varies; some understand it substantively, some are aware of its existence without knowing the legal protections it entails, and some do not understand it at all. Finally, the strategies employed by wives to meet their needs while their husbands have left them

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include starting their own business, seeking assistance from parents, extended family, and the Bundo Kanduang. A husband leaving his wife constitutes a violation of the taklik talak; this situation should serve as a legal protection mechanism for the wife, yet the wives' varied understanding of it has prevented these rights from being fully utilized. A gender-based approach emphasizes that women's vulnerability due to abandonment requires fair protection. Wives' survival efforts through self-employment and support from their surroundings reflect women's social protection strategies amidst the continued weakness of formal protection. Therefore, further outreach is needed regarding the divorce clause as an instrument for protecting women within marriage.

Keywords: Conditional Divorce, Protection of Women, Gender-Based

INTRODUCTION

In Islamic family law in Indonesia, taklik talak is a normative instrument which aims to provide protection for women's rights in marriage. Taklik talak is pledged by the husband at the time of the marriage contract as a form of commitment not to act arbitrarily towards his wife and as a preventive mechanism against unfair divorce.(Yuniria et al., 2022)Conceptually, the existence of taklik talak (religious divorce) aligns with the principle of justice in Islamic law, which places women as subjects who must be protected. However, in practice, the implementation of taklik talak is often suboptimal. This is reinforced by the increasing divorce rate in Indonesia, which reached approximately 400,000 cases in 2022–2023, in which women are often the disadvantaged parties (Afrizal & Harmen, 2025). This condition indicates that while normatively, protection instruments are available, empirically, they are not yet fully effective in ensuring justice for women.

This phenomenon is also observed locally in Solok Regency, particularly in the districts of Junjung Sirih, X Koto Singkarak, and Bukit Sundi. Data shows a decline in the marriage rate from 2022 to 2024, indicating a social shift in community marriage patterns. Conversely, there was an increase in the number of wives abandoned by their husbands without clear responsibilities from 2023 to 2024, based on preliminary surveys in several districts. This situation demonstrates a contradiction between the routine recitation of sighat taklik talak (divorce vows) in every marriage contract and the social reality that still places women in a vulnerable position. Thus, this phenomenon reflects not only legal issues but also interrelated social, cultural, and economic issues.

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The urgency of this research lies in the need to evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of taklik talak (religious divorce) as an instrument of legal protection for women. Although taklik talak is formally read out in the marriage contract, many couples consider it a formality without a thorough understanding of its substance (Hasan et al., 2022; Yuniria et al., 2022). Consequently, when violations of the taklik talak occur, women lack adequate access to assert their rights. Furthermore, divorce is often a challenging choice for women due to economic and psychological pressures, as well as the social impact on children and the family (Kusmardani et al., 2022). Therefore, this research is crucial to assess the extent to which taklik talak truly functions as a means of protection, rather than simply a normative symbol in marriage.

In terms of novelty, this study offers a different approach compared to previous research. Previous studies tended to examine taklik talak from the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence (Maqasid Syariah) and the principles of Islamic law (Safrizal, 2023), the effectiveness of its implementation in general (Hasan et al., 2022), and as a conceptual protection instrument (Fauza & Afandi, 2023; Saberiani, 2021). Meanwhile, this study specifically highlights the implementation of taklik talak in the local context of Solok Regency using a social and gender perspective, particularly in the case of wives abandoned by their husbands. This approach is important because legal practice cannot be separated from the cultural context of society, particularly in the Minangkabau community, which has a strong customary system.

The research gap lies in the absence of studies that integrate the legal norms of taklik talak (das sollen) with social reality (das sein) specifically at the local level. Previous research has not thoroughly examined how taklik talak is implemented in real life and how sociocultural factors influence its effectiveness. In fact, in Solok Regency, cases of women being abandoned without adequate legal protection despite having declared taklik talak are still found. This gap demonstrates the need for research that is not only normative, but also empirical and contextual. Therefore, this research is expected to provide theoretical contributions to the development of Islamic family law studies and practical contributions to formulating more effective strategies for protecting women. The purpose of this study is to analyze the implementation of taklik talak as a protection for women's rights within the family, particularly for abandoned wives in Solok Regency.

METHODOLOGY

This research is a field research with a qualitative approach that aims to understand in depth the phenomenon of the implementation of taklik talak in protecting women's rights in Solok

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Regency. The research was conducted in three sub-districts, namely Junjung Sirih Sub-district, X Koto Singkarak Sub-district, and Bukit Sundi Sub-district, considering the increasing cases of wives abandoned by their husbands and the absence of similar research in the region. The research period lasted from July 2025 to February 2026, covering the stages of proposal preparation, seminars, research implementation, and writing the results. The main instrument in this study was the researcher herself supported by interview guidelines, a mobile phone for documentation, and stationery for recording important data. Data sources consisted of primary and secondary data, where primary data was obtained from 13 wives abandoned by their husbands and 7 husbands, while secondary data came from the Head of the KUA in the three sub-districts, parents of informants, and community leaders (Bundo Kanduang).

The data collection technique was carried out through semi-structured interviews that allowed researchers to dig for in-depth information and documentation in the form of sighat taklik talak contents in the marriage book. The data obtained were then analyzed using the Miles and Huberman model which includes data reduction, data presentation in narrative form, as well as drawing conclusions and verification (Sugiyono, 2018). Data reduction was carried out by selecting relevant and important information, then presented systematically for easy understanding, and then conclusions were drawn based on the findings in the field. To ensure the validity of the data, this study used a source triangulation technique by comparing information from various informants, so that the data obtained was more valid, consistent, and reliable.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reasons a Husband Leaves His Wife for Two Consecutive Years as Stipulated in the First Point of the Taklik Talak in Solok Regency

Based on the research conducted, four reasons were found for husbands leaving their wives for two consecutive years in Solok Regency, namely as follows:

1. **Economic problems**

The first reason a husband leaves his wife is due to economic problems. This was conveyed by six informants, namely ZK, TY, BJ, JM, MG and SR. An interview with ZK (November 4, 2025) revealed his despair due to consecutive crop failures: “Tigo kali masak padi dulu, ndak ado untuang nan ambo tarimo” (Meaning: Three harvests always fail and do not produce any results) which is exacerbated by the burden on the wife’s family where “Rang gaeknyo batambah pulo ka adiak-adiaknyo sado mancaliak ka ambo surang” (Meaning: Meanwhile, my parents-in-law and my siblings-in-law all depend only on me). This inability makes “Bini lah balain caro caliak nyo”

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(Meaning: The wife's attitude has changed (become less polite) because of the economic conditions), so she chooses to withdraw and live in her parents' house.

A similar condition was felt by TY (interview, November 10, 2025) who stated: "Sasak raso dado ambo ko" (Meaning: I feel pressured), even though I have worked hard "Basitungkin di pasa" in the midst of online sales competition "Fight manggaleh batambah via cellphone", his wife still demands many things because "Sado nan terlihat dek mato nyo tu nio ka dibalinyo." The pressure of the most basic living needs also became a reason for escape for BJ (interview, October 29, 2025), who felt "Mancari ka makan sagak lah ka susah" (Meaning: It is very difficult to find work now), to the point of buying "Bareh jo sabun indak taagiah" (Meaning: I cannot afford to buy rice and soap) for his wife, which forced him to leave for a while.

From a wife's perspective, her husband's departure leaves uncertainty. JM (interview, November 9, 2025) recounted her husband, who was originally a "Batukang" (meaning: construction worker) and eventually migrated to earn a living, but ended up losing contact with her husband, who said, "Indak ado lai kaba baanyo" (meaning: There was no news about him) and her husband's family also said, "Ndak ado nan maagiah uni jawaban" (meaning: Didn't provide any information). MG (interview, October 26, 2025) stated, "Dek indak ado terlihat nan ka makan lai, tu nyo pai jam maninggaan ambo" (meaning: Seeing that there was no longer a source of income, that's why my husband left me). Lastly, SR (interview, November 5, 2025) described her husband's departure as an accumulation of frustration after being dismissed from his job due to conflict, which made her husband "Paniang ndak bakajalehan" (Meaning: Depressed) until he finally decided to "Pai sajo inyo tibo-tibo" (Meaning: Suddenly leave) without a clear direction.

Based on these results, it was found that economic problems in this case in the form of failure in business, unemployment, being laid off from work and pressure from the wife's family which made the husband the sole breadwinner of the family were the reasons why the husband left his wife for up to two years in a row.

2. Disputes with wife and third party interference

The next reason a husband leaves his wife is a dispute between husband and wife and in-laws who interfere in household affairs. This was conveyed by five informants, namely DP, MG, BJ, P, and LS. An interview with DP (November 10, 2025) in his statement stated that he felt his freedom of movement was limited by his wife's excessive suspicion. He said: "Nan namonyo ambo mancari pitih ka sawah urang, indak mungkin ndak mangecek jo kawan samo karajo, dek bini ambo, mancaliak ambo mode tu, berang-berang indak katantu sajo nyo ka ambo", meaning that

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as a farm laborer, communication with coworkers is something impossible to avoid, but it actually triggers his wife's anger for no clear reason. Feeling that his wife's harsh words almost triggered physical violence, he chose to go to his mother's house.

The wife's perspective, LS (interview, November 9, 2025), addressed the social etiquette issue of her husband, who often joked excessively with other women. She tried to remind him, "Uni mancubo maingek an laki uni, supayo jan talampau bana bagarah jo bini urang," with the intention of ur husband maintaining his dignity and good name by not joking excessively with other people's wives. However, this reprimand actually triggered objections and arguments, until finally her husband left the house as he pleased.

This is different from BJ (interview, October 20, 2025), who felt his dignity as head of the family was being eroded by the interference of his in-laws. He recounted: “Mintuo ambo ko kok tadangan gak kareh suaro sagetek inyo ikuik pulo manyalahan ambo, namonyo urang gaek pasti lah anaknyo sajo nan bana di kapalonyo”, meaning his in-laws always interfere and blame him whenever there is a small dispute. His wife’s unwillingness to live independently out of their parents’ house made BJ feel unable to cope any longer and preferred to live alone. BJ’s in-law, P (interview, October 26, 2025) stated: “Kok anak ambo jo lakinyo bacakak, ambo mancubo maingek an, malu jo urang sampiang rumah” (Meaning: If my son and daughter-in-law fight, I try to give them advice and stop them, because I’m embarrassed if the neighbors hear).

The wife also expressed her complaint about her husband's behavior, which she considered neglectful and disrespectful of her feelings. MG (interview, October 26, 2025) complained about her husband's stubbornness and his prioritizing his gadgets (cellphone) over personal hygiene after work. She said: "Nan laki ambo ko sering indak mangarati jika ditununjuk an ka nan bana, nan kareh ka inyo sajo nan bana, duduak balamo-lamo mancaliak hape", which means that her husband does not want to be directed to good things and prefers to play on his cell phone until late at night. Then "Kakadang mancaliak takah itu rang raek ambo lai mancubo maingek an bagai" (Meaning: Sometimes seeing my husband's behavior like that, my parents also try to give him advice). Instead of changing, her husband just left her after being reprimanded.

Based on information from the informant, it was found that the reason the husband left his wife for two years in a row was because of frequent disputes in the household and interference from a third party, namely the in-laws, when the couple was arguing.

3. Differences in education

Educational differences were another reason why husbands left their wives in Solok

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Regency. This was based on statements from four informants, namely UB, AR, DA, and SN. UB (interview, November 11, 2025) chose to leave because he felt belittled by his smarter wife, who only graduated from elementary school (SD) while his wife graduated from high school (SMA). In his statement, he said: “Indak di haragoi bana ambo ko, bia lah nyo rasoan surang dulu” (Meaning: I am not respected as a husband because of my limitations, let her experience life on her own first). On the other hand, AR (interview, November 4, 2025) left his wife because he felt unable to deal with her slow thinking, stating: “Iyo angkek tangan ambo kok ka sampai mati jo inyo” (Meaning: I give up if I have to spend the rest of my life with her because she is very difficult to understand).

The wife also provided information. DA (interview, November 5, 2025) said that being abandoned because of her intention to teach her husband how to do business was considered arrogant, in her statement she said: “Uni pulo di kecek an indak maharagoi laki, sudah tu batinggan se uni mode ko kini” (Meaning: I was accused of not respecting my husband because he thought he was the smartest, until finally I was just abandoned). Meanwhile, SN (interview, November 2, 2025) experienced neglect because of her slow thinking pattern, until her husband left without a message, she said: “Kato bengak se nan indak kalua dari muncuang nyo, sudah tu inyo pai indak ado kaba” (Meaning: Only the word “stupid” was not uttered by him to insult me, then he disappeared without a word).

Based on interviews with the informants above, it was found that differences in education, such as the wife having a higher level of education than the husband or vice versa, were the next reason for the husband to leave his wife, even for two years in a row, even though before marriage the differences were not a problem between each other.

4. Personality factors of the couple

The final reason a husband leaves his wife is due to personality factors. This is based on the results of interviews with four informants, namely KL, DP, FY and LS. From the husband's side, as expressed by KL (interview, October 29, 2025), he felt that his wife only thought about her personal desires without considering the real situation, in his statement he said: "Nan inyo nio sadoe harus dapek indak manenggang susah ambo" (Meaning: Whatever her wishes must be fulfilled without caring about my difficulties as a husband). This tension peaked when social concern was lost, especially when his wife "Indak namuah manoloang amak ambo nan sakik" (Meaning: Does not want to help care for my sick mother).

A similar statement was made by DP (interview, November 10, 2025), who felt his freedom

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of movement was restricted by suspicion. For him, hard work seemed worthless because “Apopun nan ambo karajoan salah taruih di mato bini” (Meaning: Whatever I do is always wrong in my wife’s eyes). He felt pressured because his wife “Indak nio mangarati kondisi ambo nan paha mancari pitih” (Meaning: Doesn’t want to understand my difficult situation in earning a living).

The wife also provided information in this case. FY (interview, October 27, 2025) described how her husband had a tough and closed character. For her, her husband was someone who was “Murah tasingguang kalau disabuik an salahnyo” (Meaning: Very sensitive when reprimanded for his mistakes). In addition to deadlocked communication, she also complained about her husband’s attitude of “Pilik bana untuak mambali kaparaluan kami baduo” (Meaning: Very stingy in financing both of our needs). Further information from LS (interview, November 9, 2025). She was often accused of being possessive, even though she only wanted to protect the family’s honor. She felt “Disabuik talampau Jealous, Padohal Laki Ambo Talampau Lapeh Jo Padosi Lain” (Meaning: I was accused of being too jealous, even though my husband was too free with other women). Ultimately, communication worsened because her husband “Indak nio dangaan saran ambo” (Meaning: Wouldn’t listen to my advice).

Based on interviews with the informants above, it was found that the final reason the husband left his wife for two years in a row was due to personality factors, this was in the form of mental disorders in the partner, namely excessive suspicion, selfishness and lack of empathy.

Wives' Understanding of the Implementation of Divorce in Solok Regency

Based on the research conducted, there are three forms of wives' understanding of the implementation of taklik talak in Solok Regency, namely as follows:

1. **Understanding substantively**

Wives understand the meaning and purpose of taklik talak, which is not just a sentence recited after the marriage contract, but a legal mechanism that provides protection when the husband neglects his obligations. This was obtained from interviews with four wives who were abandoned by their husbands, namely DA, MY, LS and FY. Informant DA (interview, November 2, 2025) explained that her understanding was based on direct observation during the marriage contract. She stated: “Uni mandangaan, mancaliak ditando tanganani, dan paham makasuik shigat taklik talak ko, kalau tajadi nan dibacoan tu, uni bisa mamintak carai” (Meaning: You heard, saw it signed, and understand the meaning of this shigat taklik talak, if what was said happens, you can file for divorce). In line with that, MY (interview, November 5, 2025) gained this understanding through pre-marital counseling, saying: “When I was getting married, the KUA officer explained

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how to build a harmonious family, I understand that if my husband does something bad, I can report the problem."

Another statement was given by FY (interview, October 27, 2025) that this understanding gave her the strength to act when left without certainty. She said: "Uni tantu kalau lah ditinggaan mode ko uni bisa mauruih bapisah, sangkek tu dijalehan dek pak pangulu tantang shigat taklik ko, uni bisa batindak, ndak manarimo duduak rancak sajo" (Meaning: You know that if you are left like this, you can take care of the divorce, at that time the head of the marriage registrar explained about this shigat taklik, you can take action, not just stay silent). Lastly, LS (interview, November 9, 2025) highlighted the aspect of gender justice in divorce, where he understood that wives also have the same rights to file for divorce, he stated: "Uni tau tugas laki bini dan bini bisa pulo manuntuik carai, shigat taklik ko salah satu caroe baa bisa manuntuik carai, apolai kalau lah dipadian bantuak uni ko" (Meaning: You know the obligations of husband and wife and the wife can also file for divorce, shigat taklik is one way to file for divorce, especially if it has been left like this brother).

Such factors are supported by socialization from the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), this is in the form of education about the importance of signing the taklik talak script in every marriage process and providing material about the rights and obligations of husband and wife in marriage guidance activities. This is based on interviews with three Heads of KUA in Solok Regency, namely AM (Head of KUA Junjung Sirih District), BD (Head of KUA X Koto Singkarak District, and BE (Head of KUA Bukit Sundi District). In his statement AM (interview, October 23, 2025) said: "Brief education is given before the marriage contract because it brings great benefits to the bride and groom later." Furthermore, BD (interview, October 21, 2025) and BE (interview, October 20, 2025) stated: "The taklik talak material is also inserted in marriage guidance as an effort to create a harmonious and strong household, although in the end the decision to sign the shigat is entirely left to the agreement of the bride and groom without any element of coercion."

However, the wife faced obstacles in the further process. DA (interview, November 2, 2025) said: "Uni alun talok mandanga kato jando dari muluik urang-urang ko lai" (Meaning: My sister is not ready to be called a widow by the surrounding community). Then MY (interview, November 5, 2025) said: "Rang gaek jo mamak ambo manyuruah basaba dulu, kok bisa di paelok-paelok juo, ibo ka anak kato dia" (Meaning: My parents and uncles told me not to rush into a divorce, if it can still be fixed, it is better to try to do so, because it will be a shame for the child). Next, LS (interview, November 9, 2025) said: "Kok bacarai ambo baa kato urang beko, patang pas baralek lah bagadang-gadang." (Meaning: How will society view me if I file for divorce, because

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when I got married I threw a festive party).

Overall, the results above indicate that the four wives recognized that the shigat taklik talak (divorce agreement) was not merely a formality, but rather a legal guarantee that allowed them to make legal decisions when they were ignored, as in this case, for two consecutive years. Unfortunately, these wives faced obstacles in taking further steps, including negative perceptions of divorce and pressure from their families to maintain their marriage.

2. Knowing that there is a divorce agreement without understanding the legal protection in it

Based on the results of interviews with three informants, namely wives who were abandoned by their husbands, a uniform pattern of understanding was found where the wives were aware of the existence of the shigat taklik talak, but only to that extent without understanding the legal protections contained therein. This ignorance often stems from a lack of attention during the marriage ceremony. As expressed by SN (interview, November 2, 2025), the euphoria of marriage makes the material delivered by the registrar not well absorbed: "Ambo wakatu manikah dulu iyo indak tangguang sanang e la, jadi pas nikah tu baa nan kacapek salasai sajo lai, a nan di keceak an dek pagulu ambo angguak an sajo, tamasuak mambacoan taklik talak ko." (Meaning: When I got married, I felt very happy, so during the marriage ceremony I wanted to finish quickly, whatever the registrar said I agreed to, including the process of reading the shigat taklik talak).

A statement from AS (interview, November 7, 2025) explains that she only realized the value of the shigat taklik talak as legal evidence after her husband left her, even though she did not know the procedures for processing it: "Iyo baru tantu dek ambo kalau iko nga bisa jadi bukti kok nio ka bapisah, tapi itu, nan caro-caro baa sabagai alahnyo indak tantu pulo dek ambo." (Meaning: I just found out that taklik talak can be evidence if you want to separate, but regarding the provisions and methods, I don't know about that yet).

In addition to administrative obstacles, this emerging understanding often encounters socio-cultural barriers. Although informants such as JM (interview, November 9, 2025) have begun to read and understand the contents of the taklik talak written in the marriage book, their desire to implement it is hindered by societal stigma: “Nan itu lai tabaco dek uni di tulisan nan ado di lakang surek nikah, tapi itu, baa ka kecek urang nan banyak, kok padusi nan bakareh hati ka bacarai.” (Meaning: I have read the taklik talak written in the writing on the back of the marriage book, but if I file for divorce, how will people view it if the woman insists on getting a divorce).

Based on the results of interviews with the three informants above, it was found that wives

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who were abandoned by their husbands knew that the reading of the taklik talak was part of the marriage contract procession and was included in the marriage book, but they did not understand its legal function as an instrument for protecting women's rights when a violation of commitment by the husband occurred.

3. Don't understand at all

Based on the results of interviews with wives whose husbands left them, a significant pattern of misunderstanding was found regarding the existence and function of the shigat taklik talak in marriage. This was based on interviews with six informants, namely SR, KR, MG, NZ, DL and HT. This was revealed in SR's statement (interview, November 5, 2025), who felt that the reading of the taklik talak was only part of the completeness of the procession. He stated: "Wakatu akek ado nan dibacoan dek uda sasudah ijab kabul, ambo indak mangarati makasuiknyo, ambo mayangko nan dibacoan tu sabagai palengkap sajo." (Meaning: During the marriage contract, there was something read by the husband after the ijab qabul, I did not understand the meaning, I thought what was read was only a complement).

In line with this, HT (interview, October 27, 2025) and KR (interview, November 3, 2025) compared the reading of the taklik talak to a routine ceremony at school that has no deep meaning for the bride and groom. Even though they listened, they still did not grasp the message, in their statement they said: “Uni mandangaan pas shigat taklik talak dibacoan, tapi indak tantu makasuiknyo, bak kato uni nan babacoan tu takah urang mambacoan pancasila.” (Meaning: You listened to the shigat taklik talak being read, but you didn’t understand what it meant, you thought it was like someone reciting the Pancasila).

Lastly, this lack of understanding is also evident in how the wives responded to the physical documents signed by their husbands. MG, DL (interview, October 26, 2025), and NZ (interview, October 31, 2025) admitted to not understanding the meaning of the shigat taklik talak at all, stating: “Ambo indak mangarati apo nan tatulih di ateh karateh nan batando tangani iko, indak ado tatangkok dek ambo makasuiknyo lah.” (Meaning: I don’t understand what is written on this signed paper, I don’t understand what it means).

Based on the results above, it was found that most informants considered the process of reading the taklik talak only as a formality without understanding the legal consequences and legal protection contained therein.

A Wife's Strategy for Coping with Needs While Her Husband Is Abandoned in Solok Regency

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Based on the research conducted, three efforts were found by wives to cope with their needs while being left by their husbands in Solok Regency, namely as follows:

1. **Doing independent business**

Economic independence is one strategy for wives abandoned by their husbands in Solok Regency. Interviews with four informants revealed that they chose independent businesses to meet their living expenses. In this case, DA (interview, November 5, 2025) chose to utilize space in her home by trading. She explained: "I opened a small shop in front of my house so I could buy my living expenses." (I mean, "I opened a small shop in front of my house so I could buy my living expenses.")

Meanwhile, MY (interview, November 2, 2025) and LS (interview, November 9, 2025) used their morning time to sell traditional food at the local market to meet their daily needs, they said: “Sambia manjago anak, ambo manjua gorengan jo kue kariang pado pagi hari di pasa.” (Meaning: While looking after my children, I sell fried food and pastries in the morning at the market).

Special skills are also important capital, as was done by HT (interview, October 27, 2025). She relies on sewing services to finance her child's educational needs: "I receive wages for sewing clothes if someone from the village orders them, which is enough to cover my child's school fees. If there aren't any, I look for other alternatives, namely working as a farm laborer." (Meaning: I receive wages for sewing clothes if someone from the village orders them, which is enough to cover my child's school fees. If there aren't any, I look for other alternatives, namely working as a farm laborer).

Based on the interviews above, it was found that wives abandoned by their husbands in Solok Regency automatically become the family's breadwinners. The husband's absence as breadwinner forces the wife to take over full economic responsibility for the household's survival. This is achieved through various independent businesses such as trading, sewing, and working as a farm laborer.

2. Get help from parents and extended family

The close kinship system in Solok Regency provides a strong social safety net for wives abandoned by their husbands. Interviews with six informants—SR, AS, JM, KR, DL, and FY—showed that support from parents and extended family members, including uncles and aunts, extends beyond moral support to material resources, such as the use of family assets like rice paddies, fields, and businesses.

Informants SR (interview, November 5, 2025), AS (interview, November 7, 2025), and FY (interview, October 27, 2025) revealed that the existence of their parents' rice fields is their main

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source of income. They explained, "My parents' rice fields are large, so we don't have to buy rice, it really helps our economy." (This means: My parents' rice fields are large, so we don't have to buy rice, it really helps our economy). This was also conveyed by AS's parent, DN (interview, November 7, 2025) who said: "Ambo sarahan hasil sawah nan ambo punyo untuk supik, dek inyo ditinggaan dek lakinyo." (This means: I handed over the rice field harvest to my child, because her husband just left her).

A similar statement was felt by JM (interview, November 9, 2025) who relies on the produce from his uncle's fields, he said: "The results of the onion field jo lado mamak acok diagiahan ka ambo untuak dijua baliak atau memasak" (Meaning: The results of my uncle's onion and chili fields are often given to me to resell or cook). This was also conveyed by JM's uncle, SP (interview, November 9, 2025) in the statement: "Untuak manoloang kamanakan ambo, bialah lado jo bawang ambo inyo pagunoan." (Meaning: To help my nephew, I give him some of the chili and onion harvest).

Support also comes from the family-owned business sector. DL (interview, 26 October 2025) and KR (interview, 03 November 2025) explained the convenience they got through the shop owned by their mother and aunt: "Amak jo etek ado usaho manggaleh di pasa, kok nio balanjo tingga ambiak se di kadai baliau" (Meaning: Mother and aunt have a trading business at the market, if you want to shop, just take it at their shop). This statement is in line with what was conveyed by DL's parent, MS (interview, 26 October 2025), namely: "From pado mancaliak, the child indak eats, bialah apo nan ado di kadai di ambiaknyo." (Meaning: It's better for my child to take the necessities from the store, rather than not eating).

Based on the results above, it was found that in Solok Regency, businesses owned by large families, whether in the form of rice fields, plantations, or trade, which are managed with the principle of mutual assistance (tolerance) are useful for ensuring that the needs of wives and children left behind by their husbands are still met.

3. Support from Bundo Kanduang

In an effort to address the needs of women left behind by their husbands, wives in Solok Regency not only engage in independent efforts, but in this case the existence of Bundo Kanduang as a traditional women's institution plays a role in providing emotional and economic protection. This support was directly felt by the wives who were left behind by their husbands who served as informants in this study. NZ (interview, October 31, 2025) revealed that the presence of Bundo Kanduang provided a spiritual space that eased her mental burden. She explained: "Bundo Kanduang maajak kami mangaji jo bakumpua sasamo padusi, ambo pun dapek bantu barupu

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bareh jo gulo dari dia" (Meaning: Bundo Kanduang invited us to study the Quran and gather with other women, I also received assistance with rice and sugar from her). Similarly, MG (interview, October 26, 2025) and SN (interview, November 2, 2025) felt that Bundo Kanduang was a source of motivation to remain empowered. They said: "He (Bundo Kanduang) maagiah semangai supayo kami stoic jo mandiri dek ditinggaan laki" (What this means is: Bundo Kanduang gave us encouragement so that we would be stoic and independent because our husbands had left us).

The perspectives of the supporters, namely the Bundo Kanduang (WI, MA, and YS), explained how the assistance mechanism is actually implemented in the community. Bundo Kanduang WI (interview, November 12, 2025) emphasized the aspect of maintaining dignity and customary values. She said: “We Bundo Kanduang taruih manjago komunikasi jo mangingek-an para istri supayo pintar manjago diri” (Meaning: We Bundo Kanduang always maintain communication and remind our wives to be good at taking care of themselves). Meanwhile, to address difficult economic needs, Bundo Kanduang MA and YS (interview, November 8, 2025) provided solutions through community empowerment. They explained: “Jika ado dunsanak kami nan rendah dek ekonomi, kami mancubo manoloang mangumpuan sagetek rasaki atau aktivitas nan bisa mambantu nyo mancari tambahan pitih” (Meaning: If any of our sisters are experiencing economic difficulties, we try to help by collecting money or doing activities that can help them earn extra money).

Based on the above results, it was found that wives abandoned by their husbands in Solok Regency also meet their needs through emotional, economic, and spiritual support from Bundo Kanduang. This support includes providing motivation for independence, providing a space to vent to maintain mental health, and initiating activities to foster family financial stability.

DISCUSSION

Reasons Why a Husband Leaves His Wife for Two Consecutive Years as Stipulated in the First Point of the Taklik Talak in Solok Regency

A husband's abandonment of his wife for two consecutive years constitutes a fundamental violation of the marriage bond, as established by Islamic teachings and Indonesian positive law. The reasons cited by husbands for this behavior, according to this study, include: economic problems, marital disputes and third-party interference, educational differences, and personality factors. A husband's failure to bear the economic burden directly violates his obligation to provide for his wife and his role as a husband (Asrori, 2024). The obligation to provide for his wife is absolute, encompassing food, clothing, shelter, and other household expenses (Elimartati, 2020).

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Imam al-Qurtubi explained that a wife has the right to sustenance and clothing, whether she is breastfeeding or not. Sustenance and clothing are given in exchange for the right to tamkin (the husband's ability to have sexual intercourse with his wife) (Afrinal, 2022). A husband's failure to provide for his wife and family for two years, which also violates the taklik talaq (divorce agreement), constitutes a serious disregard for the commands of sharia (Asriani & Haddade, 2021). The relationship between economic hardship and long-term neglect, i.e., two consecutive years, can be explained by the collapse of the husband's role (Aditya &Fatma, 2020). The poverty rate puts serious pressure on husbands who are characterized as sole breadwinners (Afrizal, 2025).

Husbands facing such a crisis often choose an escape mechanism, abandoning their wives for up to two years, as a way to avoid ongoing conflict and the reality of their financial failure (Aditya, 2020). This action is an easier and less confrontational response than facing their wife's demands or going through a formal divorce process, which entails costs and post-divorce responsibilities (Hasan, 2022). This abandonment reflects the collapse of the family's physical resilience in terms of meeting the needs of clothing, food, and shelter (Fauza &Afandi, 2023).

(Khairunnisa el at, 2023) in her writing explains that one form of gender inequality is marginalization (economic exclusion). In gender analysis, the case of a violation of the taklik talak (divorce decree), which in this study involves a husband leaving his wife for two consecutive years, demonstrates marginalization, a condition where a wife is marginalized or does not receive the support she deserves from her husband.

A husband's abandonment of his wife for two consecutive years due to financial problems is not the best solution for both parties (Saberiani, 2021). If the husband is truly at a dead end in meeting the family's needs, there are other solutions available, including seeking assistance from close family or the National Zakat Agency (BAZNAS). Furthermore, neglect for two years is an indication that the conflict, based on excessive jealousy and third-party interference, has reached emotional saturation, according to the results of this study (Aripin, 2023). The husband, who in this case failed to fulfill his leadership role in resolving the conflict constructively, chose a non-legal solution: leaving. The duration of the husband's absence indicates a complete rejection of marital responsibilities (Zurwanty et al., 2021).

The Prophet sallallaahu 'alaihi wasallam prohibited actions that cause harm in his words:

Meaning: "You must not endanger yourself and you must not endanger others."

The majority of Islamic jurisprudence scholars agree that prolonged neglect that causes harm gives the wife the right to request fasakh, or annulment of the marriage (Hamdiyah, 2024).

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Furthermore, differences in formal education levels between husband and wife are a contributing factor that ultimately triggers tension in the household, as explained in the previous discussion (Aripin, 2023). This condition then encourages a husband to violate the taklik talak (divorce agreement). Such educational disparities create fundamental differences in perspectives, expectations, communication patterns, and management of various aspects of family life (Ramadhani, 2024). The accumulation of these differences can weaken social stability within the family and ultimately increase the potential for more serious conflict.

The husband then claimed his departure was due to his wife's difficult and overly demanding behavior. This was further reinforced by signs that the wife exhibited traits of Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD), including excessive self-focus, a need for praise, and a lack of empathy and paranoia, characterized by high levels of suspicion and distrust (Fauzi, 2018). Although this has not been medically proven, the husband used these accusations as social and psychological justification to cover up his failure to manage domestic conflict, as discussed previously.

This factor should remind husbands that humans are created differently, each with their own strengths and weaknesses, and that no one is perfect (Nurani, 2021). From a gender perspective, husbands and wives have equal roles in creating a happy family life. Therefore, justice in the household will be achieved if both parties understand their respective rights and obligations. Therefore, gender cannot be used as an excuse for unfair behavior in family life.

Wives' Understanding of the Implementation of Divorce in Solok Regency

There are three forms of the wife's understanding of the implementation of taklik talak in Solok Regency, namely: understanding substantively the meaning and function of taklik talak, knowing that there is taklik talak without understanding the legal protection in it and not understanding it at all. Rosana said that in legal theory, legal awareness is considered the main requirement so that someone can use their protection rights effectively. The higher a person's knowledge of the law, the greater his or her chances of fighting unfair or what is usually called discriminatory treatment (Berliantha &Fasya, 2023). Such rights are very relevant for women, because this understanding gives them the courage to take legal action when their husbands neglect or violate their rights (Aini &Sholehah, 2024).

A contributing factor to this is the outreach provided by the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in Solok Regency. The Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) not only carries out administrative duties such as registering marriages, but also actively educates prospective brides and grooms about

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taklik talak (divorce vows) (Muannas, 2024). Through pre-wedding guidance, the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) explains the content, purpose, and consequences of taklik talak so that the bride and groom do not simply read it as part of a marriage contract but truly understand its meaning and legal implications (Yunarti, 2024). This education is crucial because many couples are unaware that taklik talak is a legally binding promise, especially for the husband (Hasan, 2022).

The second category in this study is a group of wives who are aware of the existence of taklik talak (divorce), but their knowledge is limited. They do not know what steps to take if a violation occurs, where to report it, and how to ensure their rights are legally recognized. A common misunderstanding found in the field is the assumption that if a husband does not return home and does not provide maintenance for two years, the divorce automatically falls into place. Many wives believe that religiously they are "free" from the bonds of marriage, so they feel no need to further process the legal process in the Religious Court (Agusnadi, 2024). As a result, they do not officially file for divorce and do not obtain a divorce certificate. However, without a divorce certificate, they are still legally registered as wives (Fauza& Afandi, 2023).

From a gender perspective, this burden is actually quite heavy for women. On the one hand, they must financially support themselves and their children after their husbands leave them. On the other hand, they are also burdened with the responsibility of navigating a complex legal process (Afifah, 2024). This situation illustrates that despite the law granting rights, women still face various obstacles, both in terms of knowledge, courage, and ability (Hamdiyah, 2024).

Furthermore, the informant did not understand what taklik talak was and how the rules for taklik talak worked in a marriage. Many married couples only know that the divorce taklik is read by the husband after the marriage contract, but do not understand the meaning and legal consequences contained in it (Muannas, 2024). As a result, the rules that should function as protection for wives are not implemented properly, because society considers divorce as a normal thing which does not need to be thought more deeply about (Nafik& Taufik, 2022).

A legal agreement, including the divorce agreement, can only function if the person signing it understands what the legal consequences are and are attached to the promise (Hasan, 2022). Public ignorance means that taklik talak is seen as a mere tradition or ceremonial symbol (Saberiani, 2021). Meanwhile, when the meaning is not understood, this rule loses its power to prevent arbitrary actions from the husband and ultimately does not provide the protection that the wife should get (Sodikhin el at., 2021).

When the taklik talak (divorce agreement) is considered merely a formality, it becomes easier for a husband to break his promise because he doesn't feel morally or legally bound (Nafik,

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2022). However, on the other hand, a wife who doesn't understand that she has the right to use the provisions of the taklik talak becomes hesitant and unaware that she can actually sue if abandoned (Aini, 2024). This situation is very detrimental to women, especially women who are already vulnerable to experiencing unfair treatment (Fauza& Afandi, 2023). In fact, the main function of taklik talak is to prevent neglect and injustice in the household (Hamdiyah, 2024).

A Wife's Strategy for Coping with Needs While Her Husband Is Abandoned in Solok Regency

The wives' strategies for coping with their needs while their husbands were away in Solok Regency were threefold: starting independent businesses, seeking assistance from their parents and extended family, and receiving support from their mother, the mother of the Kanduang. These independent businesses were not solely driven by personal desire, but rather a response to the pressing economic situation resulting from their husbands' abandonment, which also impacted their ability to provide a decent living (Hamdiyah, 2024). In the context of family life, income is a crucial factor in household sustainability (Afrinal& Darmawan, 2022). By working independently, women attempt to fill the void left by their husbands so that their families can maintain a stable livelihood (Aziz, 2024). This phenomenon also demonstrates that women do not position themselves as weak and passive, but rather strive to develop their economic potential to survive in less-than-ideal conditions (Dwijaya& Suciyani, 2023).

Regarding wives who earn a living, a hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim tells of a wife, Zainab, the wife of Abdullah, who worked diligently and spent her earnings on her family in need. The Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) praised her and said she received two rewards:

Meaning: "He gets two rewards, the reward of kinship and the reward of zakat."

Rasulullah sallallaahu alaihi wasallam also allowed a woman, namely Jabir bin Abdullah's aunt, who had been divorced (during the iddah period) to leave the house to harvest dates:

Meaning: "Please harvest your dates, because perhaps (with the results) you can give charity or do good." (Elimartati, 2018)

Furthermore, extended family support also serves as a preventative mechanism against the ongoing impacts of husband neglect (Alimuddin, 2022). When a husband's livelihood is not met, the extended family does not remain silent but instead takes over as temporary economic support. This action also indicates an awareness that the survival of women and children should not be interrupted simply because a husband fails to fulfill his obligations (Sukmawati, 2025). This situation is highly relevant to the character of traditional societies that still uphold the values of togetherness and solidarity (Zarwanty et al., 2021).

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Such behavior is in accordance with the words of Allah Ta'ala in surah an-Nisa' verse 36:

It means "...And be good to both parents and close relatives..."

Furthermore, the role of Bundo Kanduang holds a very strategic position in helping the survival of wives abandoned by their husbands in Solok Regency. The support provided is not only limited to material assistance such as food access, but also includes moral support through mental strengthening, emotional counseling, and providing advice based on tradition and religion. This role demonstrates that Bundo Kanduang is not merely a cultural symbol, but also an active social actor ensuring that women do not fall into a state of decline (Yunarti, 2017). Their presence provides a sense of security, a sense of being valued, and enables women to maintain resilience in the face of social and economic pressures resulting from husband abandonment (Yunarti, 2018).

This action is in accordance with the words of Allah Ta'ala in surah al-Maidah verse 2:

وَتَعَاوَنُواْ عَلَى ٱلْبِرِّ وَٱلتَّقْوَىٰ ۖ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُواْ عَلَى ٱلْإِثْمِ وَٱلْعُدْوَٰنِ

Meaning: "And help you in (doing) virtue and piety, and do not help in committing sins and transgressions."

When linked to the theory of taklik talak, the presence of Bundo Kanduang can be understood as a form of customary response to the husband's violation of his obligations. Persuasively, taklik talak provides legal legitimacy for women to demand their rights if their husband abandons the family (Fauza& Afandi, 2023). However, in the Minangkabau cultural context, problem resolution is not always directed directly to the formal legal realm, but rather is first managed through persuasive and collective customary mechanisms (Zurwanti el al, 2021). This demonstrates a harmonious relationship between custom and sharia, where custom serves as an initial social barrier before women resort to litigation in the Religious Courts (Hertasmaldi, 2023).

From a gender perspective, Bundo Kanduang's support reflects strong female solidarity and emphasizes that Minangkabau women are not passive when facing domestic problems (Wulan, 2024). Women's leadership roles within this customary structure demonstrate that women have significant authority, voice, and influence in determining the direction of problem solving (Sindi, 2024). This also serves as a form of resistance to gender injustice, as women are not left to face problems alone but are empowered by a social system that supports the protection of women's dignity. Thus, Bundo Kanduang's position is not merely symbolic, but functions as a culturally based gender empowerment mechanism (Yunarti, 2018).

This principle of justice is reflected in the role of Bundo Kanduang, who provides protection

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and support when women's livelihood rights are not met (Wulan, 2024). The principle of "Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah" demonstrates that customary and religious protection go hand in hand, ensuring that women are not completely vulnerable even when experiencing husband neglect (Sindi, 2024).

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study indicates that there are four main factors that cause husbands to leave their wives for two consecutive years in Solok Regency: economic problems, disputes and third-party interference, differences in education levels, and the couple's personality factors. Normatively, these conditions should be the basis for implementing taklik talak as an instrument of protection for wives. However, in social reality, this protection has not been optimal due to unequal gender relations and the weak economic and social position of women. Furthermore, wives' understanding of taklik talak varies, ranging from those who understand it substantively to those who do not understand it at all, which impacts women's inability to fight for their rights. To meet their living needs, abandoned wives tend to rely on independent businesses, family assistance, and support from traditional institutions such as Bundo Kanduang, indicating a shift in responsibility for livelihood from husbands to wives. This confirms that the implementation of taklik talak is not yet fully effective as an instrument of protection for women, so it is necessary to strengthen understanding, enforcement, and social support.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that the socialization of taklik talak (divorce resolution) be strengthened more systematically, not only during the marriage ceremony but also through ongoing education using language that is easily understood by the community, especially women. The Religious Affairs Office (KUA), religious leaders, and traditional leaders need to play an active role in providing a comprehensive understanding of the rights and obligations in marriage. Furthermore, synergy is needed between the government, traditional institutions, and women's organizations such as Bundo Kanduang in providing legal, social, and economic assistance to women abandoned by their husbands. These efforts are crucial so that women are not only able to survive difficult conditions but also have the courage and capacity to demand their rights fairly in accordance with applicable law.

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