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Force Majeure and the Duty of Spousal Maintenance: A Sociological Jurisprudence Study of Semeru Eruption Survivors in Lumajang

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Abstract:

The recurring eruptions of Mount Semeru have created a critical disjuncture between Islamic law's normative requirement that husbands provide spousal maintenance (*nafkah*) and the socioeconomic realities faced by disaster-affected families, yet limited research has examined this intersection through a sociological jurisprudence lens. This study analyzes the implementation of husbands' maintenance obligations under force majeure conditions among Semeru eruption survivors in Supiturang Village, Lumajang Regency. Using a qualitative juridical-sociological methodology, data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation from seven informants—including husbands, wives, and community leaders—and analyzed descriptively and analytically using triangulation. The findings reveal that, while the normative obligation remains legally binding, its implementation is adjusted to actual economic capacity through economic adaptation strategies, wives' participation in productive activities, and community social support. From a sociological jurisprudence perspective, law operates adaptively and contextually in responding to the social dynamics of disaster-affected communities, with nafkah implementation interpreted not formally but in accordance with principles of justice, benefit, and capability. These findings underscore the necessity for responsive legal policies and community-based family economic assistance programs tailored to the socioeconomic vulnerabilities of force majeure-affected communities.

Keywords: *Sociological Jurisprudence, Force Majeure, Nafkah, Disaster Survivors*

Abstrak:

Erupsi berulang Gunung Semeru telah menciptakan kesenjangan kritis antara kewajiban normatif hukum Islam bagi suami untuk memberikan nafkah dan realitas sosial-ekonomi yang dihadapi keluarga terdampak bencana, namun penelitian yang mengkaji persimpangan ini melalui perspektif sociological jurisprudence masih terbatas. Penelitian ini menganalisis pelaksanaan kewajiban nafkah suami dalam kondisi force majeure pada masyarakat penyintas erupsi Semeru di Desa Supiturang, Kabupaten Lumajang. Menggunakan metodologi kualitatif yuridis-sosiologis, data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan dokumentasi dari tujuh informan—terdiri dari suami, istri, dan tokoh masyarakat—serta dianalisis secara deskriptif-analitis dengan menggunakan teknik triangulasi. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa meskipun kewajiban normatif tetap mengikat secara hukum, implementasinya mengalami penyesuaian kontekstual berdasarkan kemampuan ekonomi aktual melalui strategi adaptasi ekonomi, partisipasi istri dalam aktivitas produktif, serta dukungan sosial dari masyarakat. Dari perspektif sociological jurisprudence, hukum bekerja secara adaptif dan kontekstual dalam merespons dinamika sosial masyarakat terdampak bencana, dengan implementasi nafkah yang tidak dimaknai secara formalistik, melainkan berdasarkan prinsip keadilan, kemaslahatan, dan kemampuan. Temuan ini menegaskan perlunya kebijakan hukum responsif dan program bantuan ekonomi keluarga berbasis

komunitas yang disesuaikan dengan kerentanan sosial-ekonomi masyarakat terdampak force majeure.
Kata Kunci: *Sociological Jurisprudence, Force Majeure, Nafkah,Penyintas Bencana*

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Introduction

Since the beginning of 2021, successive major eruptions of Mount Semeru have triggered a profound socioeconomic crisis for the people of Lumajang, East Java, especially those in the severely affected Supiturang Village, where lahars and pyroclastic flows have not only razed thousands of homes but also systematically eroded the community's economic bedrock (Paripurno et al., 2024). For most of these families, whose livelihoods depend on rain-fed agriculture and small-scale sand mining, the disaster has resulted in the total loss of productive assets, from croplands buried under volcanic debris to the obstruction of access to mining zones, thereby destabilizing the family's primary source of income (Rosyadi et al., 2024a). This factual background raises a critical yet underexplored legal question in Islamic family law: how should a husband's absolute *nafkah* (maintenance) obligation be interpreted when a natural disaster directly incapacitates his ability to earn (Jamal Abd. Nasir, 2024)? While much of the current discourse focuses on post-disaster physical rehabilitation, the legal and social mechanisms for spousal support within surviving families remain largely absent from the literature, creating a gap between normative legal texts and on-the-ground realities (Setiawati et al., 2025; Shofi & Bin Budin, 2024). Addressing this disconnect is relevant not only for advancing the field of sociological jurisprudence but also for developing responsive legal policies that prioritize justice and proportionality over rigid formalism, ensuring that the duty to provide for a family does not become an impossible burden during a humanitarian crisis.

A careful mapping of prior studies reveals that while scholars have extensively examined family resilience in post-disaster settings, the specific intersection of force majeure and husbands' maintenance obligations (*nafkah*) within Islamic family law remains strikingly underexplored (Rozaki et al., 2022; Sari et al., 2023). Existing research has substantially illuminated how disaster-affected families demonstrate economic adaptability, with women assuming expanded roles in sustaining household stability when male breadwinners face livelihood disruptions. Similarly, studies on family resilience among survivors of the Mount Semeru eruption have primarily focused on physical and psychological recovery at relocation sites, emphasizing economic vulnerability as the most severely affected aspect of family life (Rosyadi et al., 2024b). However, what remains absent from this body of literature is a systematic legal-sociological investigation into how nafkah obligations are interpreted, negotiated, and implemented when natural disasters—legally recognized as force majeure events—directly incapacitate husbands' income-generating capacities. Prior works in contract law have established that volcanic eruptions qualify as force majeure circumstances that excuse or modify performance obligations (Prabowo & Nurjihad, 2023), yet Islamic family law scholarship has not meaningfully engaged with this

doctrinal parallel regarding spousal maintenance. Furthermore, while recent interdisciplinary studies have begun integrating maqāṣid al-sharīʿah with ecological justice frameworks in post-pandemic societies (Rizaldy & Sopalo, 2026), the specific question of how force majeure affects the implementation of husbands' economic duties toward their wives remains a critical lacuna. It is precisely this gap—the absence of empirical and theoretical attention to nafkah obligations under disaster-induced force majeure conditions—that this study addresses, offering a sociological jurisprudence perspective grounded in the lived experiences of survivors of the Mount Semeru eruption in Lumajang.

Given the persistent gap between normative nafkah obligations and the socio-economic realities of disaster-affected families, this study seeks to answer a pressing and underexplored question: how do Muslim husbands and their communities interpret and implement spousal maintenance duties when a natural disaster, legally recognized as force majeure, fundamentally impairs the husband's capacity to earn a living? The question arises from the simple observation that while Islamic family law texts clearly mandate a husband's responsibility to provide, they offer little guidance on how to proportionally adjust this duty when external catastrophic events, such as the recurring Semeru eruptions, strip away the very means of fulfilling it. Addressing this is not merely an academic exercise but an urgent necessity, as the continued normative insistence on full maintenance risks victim-blaming and ignores the complex survival strategies that families develop. Drawing on the lived experiences of survivors in Supiturang Village, this research specifically examines two interconnected problems: first, what economic adaptation strategies do households employ to sustain themselves when the primary breadwinner's income is lost or severely reduced due to the eruption? Second, how does the local community, including wives and leaders, normatively re-evaluate a husband's "failure" to provide, shifting the standard of responsibility from the outcome of full provision to the good-faith effort made under impossible circumstances? By answering these questions through a sociological jurisprudence lens, this study does not intend to absolve husbands of their duties but to demonstrate how legal principles of justice (ʻadalah) and capability (wusʻah), as embedded in Quranic injunctions, are contextually activated in times of crisis, thereby moving the discussion from a rigid "all-or-nothing" rule to a more humane, capacity-based standard for post-disaster family law.

This study makes three original contributions to the intersection of Islamic family law, disaster studies, and sociological jurisprudence, moving beyond purely doctrinal or purely economic analyses. First, unlike previous research that has largely treated post-disaster family resilience as a matter of psychological coping or material survival (Izzalqurny et al., 2025; Parrott et al., 2023), this study brings the legal obligation of nafkah into the center of the discussion, demonstrating that even under force majeure, the husband's duty does not simply disappear but undergoes a contextual transformation based on actual capacity and collective family effort (Murdiana et al., 2025). Second, whereas existing literature on force majeure has been almost exclusively confined to commercial contracts and civil law obligations (Palmer, 2022; Symons, 2022), this research extends the doctrine's applicability into the domestic sphere of Muslim family law, showing how disaster survivors themselves reinterpret legal responsibility not as a fixed, absolute command but as a flexible, good-faith standard that prioritizes effort over outcome (Begum et al., 2024; Nafisah et al., 2024; Zahrebelna et al., 2024). Third, and most importantly, this study contributes empirical evidence from a specific disaster-affected community in Lumajang, thereby grounding

abstract legal debates in the lived voices of husbands, wives, and local leaders (Rosyadi et al., 2024a). By doing so, the research offers not only a corrective to the "law in books" approach that dominates much of Islamic family law scholarship but also provides a replicable socio-legal framework for understanding how religious obligations are negotiated, adapted, and sustained when nature itself makes full compliance impossible.

Method

This study employed a qualitative approach using a juridical-sociological methodology (Creswell, 2014), examined through the perspective of sociological jurisprudence (Sellers & Arrigo, 2022). This descriptive-analytical research explored the gap between the normative provisions concerning husbands' maintenance obligations and their implementation under force majeure conditions following the eruption of Mount Semeru. The study was conducted in Supiturang Village, Pronojiwo District, Lumajang Regency, from February to March 2026. Informants were selected using purposive sampling based on their direct experience with the socioeconomic impacts of the Mount Semeru eruption and their relevance to the research objectives. The study involved seven informants consisting of four husbands, one wife, and two community leaders. All informants had resided in Supiturang Village for more than five years and had been directly affected by the eruption through livelihood disruption, economic losses, housing damage, or relocation.

Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews, while secondary data were collected from legislation, the Compilation of Islamic Law, Islamic legal literature, scientific publications, and other relevant references. Data collection techniques included semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and documentation. To ensure data validity, source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from husbands, wives, and community leaders, while method triangulation was carried out by comparing findings derived from interviews, observations, and documentation. The collected data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman model, including data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Intissar & Rabeb, 2015).

Results And Discussion

Result

4.1: Socioeconomic Realities of Survivor Families

The goal of the investigation was to gain a thorough grasp of how livelihood commitments are implemented under force majeure circumstances that are impacted by the social dynamics of communities affected by disasters (Tri Suci Ulamatullah et al., 2022). The structure of community life has been upset by this, especially the financial aspects of families that rely on steady employment. The bulk of the residents of Supiturang Village rely on agriculture and sand mining for their livelihoods, which reflects this reality in their daily lives. Frequent eruptions have temporarily decreased family finances and interfered with employment activities.

Interviews with four spouses of survivors of the Mount Semeru eruption who provided for their families yielded the following findings:

> *First*, one source, Arifin, a sand miner, said: *When an eruption happens, he frequently stops working. His family's income is directly impacted by this circumstance. Despite this, he still finds odd jobs while mining to fulfill*

his position as a breadwinner. The most crucial factor, in his opinion, is that the work must be halal and able to support the family. The family also depends on relatives who live in unaffected areas and help from evacuation posts to meet their daily necessities.

Second, this illness also affected Herman, a sand miner. According to him: *His family's basic necessities were temporarily satisfied by remittances from relatives outside the area and logistical support from evacuation posts, even though his work activities were suspended owing to the eruption.*

Third, Irawan said that his family's financial circumstances were extremely worrisome after being affected by multiple Mount Semeru eruptions. Irawan said:

He used to be a chili farmer, but in November 2025, freezing lava destroyed his home and farmland, causing him to suffer a more complicated loss. His salary and the family's financial security were both harmed by the loss of land as a source of production. He changed careers to become a sand miner after things started to get better.

Fourth, Supangat, a former home-based plant seed vendor, encountered a like circumstance. According to Supangat:

He and his family were moved to permanent housing (HUNTAP) in Sumbermujur Village after the lava destroyed their home. In order to adjust to the post-disaster circumstances, he changed jobs after moving, working as a sand miner in Gumukmas Hamlet. This shift shows that in order to continue a sustainable way of life, households must undergo economic transformation in addition to the physical parts of housing that are impacted by disasters.

In these situations, family heads took a variety of steps to continue providing for their basic requirements, including using social assistance and finding other jobs. The husband did not bear the entire financial burden of the family during the eruption; several wives actively contributed to the stability of the household's finances. One such instance was Asiyah, the sand miner Arifin's wife, who described:

Her husband's mining operations were suspended during the eruption, which affected the family's main source of income, but the family managed to survive. This was made possible by the fact that Asiyah operated a small grocery store out of her house, which was not immediately impacted by the calamity. As a result, this alternate source of income was essential to preserving the family's financial stability and making up for any gaps left by her husband's primary job's disturbance.

In these circumstances, household demands change through a variety of adaption techniques rather than being exclusively reliant on the spouse as the primary provider. These tactics include switching jobs, taking advantage of other employment opportunities, receiving social aid from organizations and refugee camps, and receiving financial support from other family members, such as wives who have other sources of income.

The following table summarizes the interview results in order to provide light on the socioeconomic circumstances of the families of eruption survivors.

Table 1. Socioeconomic Conditions of Eruption Survivor Families

informant	original job	impact of the eruption	Economic Adaptation	External Support
Arifin	Sand miner	Activities stopped, income lost	Odd jobs (halal)	Refugee camps & families
Herman	Sand miner	Activity stops	-	Postal logistics assistance &

				family deliveries
Irawan	Chili farmer	Houses and land swept away by lava (Nov 2025)	Turned into a sand miner	-
Supangat	Plant seed seller (WFH)	Houses swept away by lava, HUNTAP relocation	Turned into a sand miner (Gumukmas)	-
Asiyah (Arifin's wife)	Grocery store	Not directly affected	Stable alternative source	Covering husband's deficit

4.2: Dynamics of Fulfillment of Livelihood in Force Majeure Conditions

The force majeure event affected household income patterns, according to interviews with a number of Mount Semeru eruption survivors. The informants continued to see income as the husband's duty, which they must work to provide within their limits, despite the family's financial deterioration as a result of the disruption to income sources. The following modifications show these dynamics.

Disruption of Income Sources

According to field research, the eruption caused significant disruptions to the community's economic operations, especially for the heads of households who are the main providers of income. According to informants Arifin and Herman, who are sand miners, their jobs frequently ceased during eruptions, which led to less than ideal family income. Irawan, on the other hand, suffered more complicated losses when cool lava carried away the area that had been utilized for his chili farm, depriving him of both a source of income and a source of production. Supangat, a vendor of seedlings, encountered a like circumstance.

Economic Adaptation Strategy

Even though their main source of income was disrupted, the majority of heads of families who survived the Mount Semeru eruption continued to work, according to observations and interviews. In order to continue providing for their families, informants looked for other jobs, such as working in distant villages that were not impacted by the eruption. This case shows that financial limitations brought on by the eruption do not absolve the family of their obligation to support themselves; rather, they promote changes in household tactics to satisfy their wants in accordance with the family's real capacities.

Internal Household Collaboration

Based to field research, the eruption led to changes in household roles. Wives assumed responsibility for preserving the family's financial stability when their husbands' earnings declined as a result of job disruptions. One of the wives of an eruption survivor, Asiyah, kept operating her grocery business as a backup source of income during the catastrophe. In light of the financial strain brought on by the Mount Semeru eruption, this scenario shows how wives' financial contributions are viewed as a means of cooperation and a family survival tactic.

Forms of External Social Support

For survivors to overcome the stress and difficulties of everyday life, external social support is just as important as internal cooperation, especially in the context of post-disaster economic recovery. According to interviews, families' fundamental

requirements were temporarily satisfied by evacuation stations' logistical support when work operations stopped. Financial help from family members who lived outside of the impacted areas also demonstrated other types of social support. In addition to using help from relatives outside the community who were unaffected, some family heads found labor possibilities in other villages as a kind of social network-based support.

These results demonstrate that the surviving households' means of subsistence were impacted by the force majeure situation brought on by Mount Semeru's eruption. In order to continue providing for their families, researchers found that the majority of household heads did not quit their jobs but instead looked for other jobs, including working as laborers in unaffected areas. When their main source of income was disrupted, they had to adjust economically in a number of ways, such as finding another job, having other family members help with home expenses, and using social support from the neighborhood. These circumstances show that livelihood fulfillment in crisis scenarios happens adaptively based on each surviving family's actual capabilities.

The research findings are summarized in tabular form below to help families of Mount Semeru eruption survivors understand the dynamics of livelihood fulfillment under force majeure situations.

Table 2. Dynamics of Livelihood in Force Majeure Conditions

Analysis Points	Description of Findings
Disruption of Income Sources	Eruption disrupts main jobs (mining/agriculture), temporary loss of income
Economic Adaptation Strategy	Looking for alternative work to meet family needs
Internal Household Collaboration	Wife helps with the economy (stall), psychosocial and spiritual support
External Social Support	Assistance for refugee posts, families, mutual cooperation

4.3: Community Interpretation of the Obligation to Provide Support in Force Majeure Situations

According to the findings of researchers' interviews with local community leaders, including Eko and Matsaleh, Head of Sumbersari Hamlet, the community as a whole showed compassion for husbands who were unable to meet their maintenance obligations following Mount Semeru's eruption.

According to Matsaleh, Head of Sumbersari Hamlet, he stated:

Because society understands the underlying cause of the handicap, it tends to tolerate this scenario. Despite the constraints, what matters is the husband's ongoing efforts to provide for the family.

Local community leader Eko had a similar opinion, saying: *Legal rules pertaining to the need to support oneself continue to be significant as standards for domestic life. However, its application is not always optimal in eruption-affected populations. It will take some time for many families to recover financially because they have lost their source of income.*

According to interview data, the community generally views a husband's incapacity to support his family during the Mount Semeru eruption as a result of force majeure circumstances that directly impair economic capacity rather than as

carelessness. These results point to a change in social assessment's focus from normative adherence to the duty to support the family to effort and the objective conditions encountered. In this situation, a husband's ability to sustain his responsibilities is determined by his efforts to continue being responsible for the family to the best of his ability rather than by the outcome of providing for the entire family.

Discussion

This study found that the force majeure condition caused by the recurring eruptions of Mount Semeru did not legally eliminate the husband's obligation to provide spousal maintenance (*nafkah*), but rather altered the manner in which this obligation was implemented in accordance with the husband's actual economic capacity. The disruption of primary income sources—particularly sand mining and chili farming—forced surviving households to develop multiple economic adaptation strategies, including seeking alternative employment in unaffected areas, utilizing social assistance from evacuation posts, and receiving financial remittances from relatives outside the disaster zone. Furthermore, the study revealed that wives actively participated in sustaining household economic stability during the crisis, not as a substitute for the husband's duty but as a collaborative survival strategy, as exemplified by Asiyah, who continued operating her small grocery store when her husband's mining activities ceased. Importantly, the local community demonstrated a compassionate interpretation of the husband's temporary inability to fully provide, viewing it as a consequence of uncontrollable disaster circumstances rather than as negligence or irresponsibility.

The social relevance of these findings becomes immediately apparent when considering that Indonesia remains one of the most disaster-prone nations in the world, with volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, floods, and tsunamis regularly displacing hundreds of thousands of families each year (Woen & Riyanti, 2025). Under Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management, volcanic eruptions are legally classified as natural disasters—events beyond human control and therefore constituting classic force majeure circumstances under both civil law and Islamic legal tradition (Mardiancia & Maharani, 2026). Yet, despite this legal recognition, existing family law regulations—including the Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI)—provide no specific guidance on how husbands' maintenance obligations should be adjusted when disasters render them temporarily or permanently incapable of earning a living (Dasopang et al., 2022). This regulatory silence creates a dangerous gap in which disaster-affected husbands may be unfairly stigmatized as "neglectful" even when they continue to make good-faith efforts to provide within severely constrained capacities (Mafaza & Kudus, 2025). Therefore, understanding how communities like Supiturang Village organically reinterpret nafkah obligations under force majeure offers critical lessons for legal reform in disaster-prone regions across the Global South.

From the perspective of Roscoe Pound's sociological jurisprudence, the findings of this study powerfully illustrate how "law in action" diverges from and adaptively reconstructs "law in books" when formal legal norms encounter extraordinary social realities (Nurfadilah et al., 2024). Article 80 paragraph (4) of the Compilation of Islamic Law states unequivocally that the husband is responsible for providing maintenance, kiswah, housing, and children's expenses, with the explicit qualification that implementation is tailored to his financial capacity (Ngulum et al., 2024). However, what constitutes "financial capacity" under force majeure is not defined in the written

law, leaving disaster-affected communities to negotiate this meaning themselves based on shared values of justice ('adalah), public welfare (*maslahah*), and mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) (Hasanah, 2026). The research demonstrates that the community reconstructed the husband's obligation not as an absolute duty to fully provide regardless of circumstances, but as a proportional duty measured by his genuine effort (*ikhtiar*) relative to his actual post-disaster capabilities (Haddoud et al., 2025). This proportional reinterpretation aligns with the relative theory of force majeure in civil law, which holds that obligations are suspended or modified—not automatically extinguished—when extraordinary events make full performance impossible.

The central wisdom emerging from this research is that the duty of spousal maintenance in Islamic family law is neither a rigid economic contract nor an unconditional moral command, but rather a social and relational obligation that embeds principles of proportionality, mutual understanding, and shared adversity into its very execution. What this study teaches us is that under force majeure conditions, the household does not simply "wait" for the husband to recover his income; instead, the family reorganizes itself as a collective economic unit where wives contribute through productive activities, children may assist, and extended relatives provide temporary support (Salsabila, 2025; Shofi & Bin Budin, 2024). This reorganization is not a sign of family dysfunction or a failure of Islamic law, but rather evidence of the law's inherent flexibility when interpreted through the lens of maqāṣid al-sharīʿah—the higher objectives of Islamic law that prioritize preserving life, dignity, and family cohesion over rigid adherence to formal rules (Haddoud et al., 2025; Rosyadi et al., 2024b). Equally important, the study reveals that spiritual resources—including prayer, hope, and religious acceptance that disasters are divinely ordained tests—serve as powerful psychosocial mechanisms that sustain family resilience and prevent marital breakdown during prolonged economic hardship (Mafaza & Kudus, 2025). Thus, the wisdom is clear: legal obligations cannot be understood in isolation from the spiritual, social, and material ecologies in which families live and struggle.

These findings both align with and extend previous research on household livelihood adaptation under crisis conditions. Consistent with a study by Meili Sintia et al. (2024) on disaster survivors in Palu City, this research confirms that household resilience is characterized by the capacity to adjust in the face of obstacles while maintaining goal-oriented efforts toward family survival, even when external circumstances appear overwhelming. Similarly, Oza et al. (2025) demonstrated that community resilience to environmental shocks and disasters depends critically on social support networks, household adaptability, and the presence of informal safety nets—all of which were prominently observed in Supiturang Village, where extended families and evacuation posts provided essential logistical and financial assistance. A study by Mobeen et al. (2026) using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) in Pakistan's irrigated agricultural regions further reinforces this pattern, showing that households cope with environmental stresses through a combination of personal aptitude, economic flexibility, and social capital. However, what distinguishes the present study from these previous works is its explicit focus on the legal-normative dimension of household adaptation. While Sintia et al. (2024), Oza et al. (2025), and Mobeen et al. (2026) emphasized economic and psychological resilience, they did not examine how force majeure affects the legal interpretation of religious obligations, such as spousal maintenance. This study, therefore, fills a critical gap by bridging the disaster resilience literature with Islamic family law scholarship.

Based on these findings, several actionable implications emerge for legal policy, institutional practice, and future research. First, for legal policymakers, the study strongly recommends that the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and Marriage Law be amended to include a specific provision addressing spousal maintenance obligations under force majeure conditions, including natural disasters, prolonged illness, and economic crises (Dasopang et al., 2022). Such a provision should explicitly state that the husband's obligation remains binding but is implemented proportionately to his actual post-disaster capacity, and that good-faith efforts to secure alternative income constitute legal compliance (Mardiancia & Maharani, 2026). Second, for religious court judges and penghulu (marriage registrars), the findings underscore the importance of contextual, capacity-based adjudication rather than formalistic application of nafkah standards, particularly when hearing cases from disaster-affected communities (Rosyadi et al., 2024a). Third, for disaster management agencies (BNPB, BPBD), the study highlights the need to integrate family legal protection into post-disaster assistance packages, including psychosocial counseling that addresses marital stress and legal aid that helps families understand their modified rights and obligations under force majeure (Woen & Riyanti, 2025). Fourth, for future researchers, longitudinal studies are urgently needed to track how nafkah implementation evolves during long-term post-disaster recovery, as well as comparative studies across different disaster types (tsunamis, earthquakes, floods) and different religious contexts (Christian, Hindu, Buddhist family law). Finally, community-based economic programs—such as rotating savings groups (arisan), livelihood training for both spouses, and disaster-resilient microenterprises—should be scaled up as practical tools for supporting families without undermining the husband's sense of legal responsibility.

Conclusion

According to the research findings, the duty to support the family during the force majeure event brought on by Mount Semeru's eruption was modified to take into account the husband's actual capabilities rather than being legally abolished. Although it made it more difficult to meet the family's necessities, the disruption of the head of the household's source of income did not remove the obligation. This case illustrates the relative character of force majeure, which means that even while its application is adaptable and flexible, the duty to support the family still exists. In social practice, livelihood fulfillment is attained through a variety of coping mechanisms, including looking for other work, working together within the home, and receiving social support from family and the community. Additionally, society views a husband's incapacity to support his family as the result of uncontrollable calamity circumstances rather than carelessness.

The sociological jurisprudence approach, which views law as part of society's social dynamics, is theoretically strengthened by this research. The findings demonstrate that social realities (law in action) within disaster-affected communities influence the implementation of maintenance obligations alongside normative legal provisions (law in books). Therefore, this study shows that legal norms concerning maintenance remain adaptive to changing social circumstances, particularly under force majeure conditions. Methodologically, this research contributes to Islamic family law studies by employing a qualitative juridical-sociological approach that combines legal analysis with empirical evidence from disaster survivors. This approach enables

a deeper understanding of how legal norms are interpreted, negotiated, and practiced in extraordinary social conditions.

The findings of this study should be interpreted in light of several limitations. Since the research was conducted in a single disaster-affected village with a limited number of informants, the results may not fully represent the experiences of disaster survivors in other regions. In addition, the qualitative approach relies heavily on participants' narratives and researchers' interpretations, which may introduce subjective bias despite the use of triangulation techniques. Future research should undertake comparative studies across different disaster-prone regions in Indonesia to examine variations in the implementation of maintenance obligations under force majeure conditions. Longitudinal studies are also recommended to explore how family economic recovery and maintenance practices evolve during the post-disaster period.

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