



Deconstructing Religious Legitimacy in the Patriarchal System: Implications for Women's Double Burden and Mental Health

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Abstract: Patriarchal discourse in domestic life has been widely discussed from the perspectives of gender inequality and the division of domestic roles. However, studies that specifically synthesize the relationship between religious legitimacy, women's double burden, and mental health remain limited. This study aims to analyze how the literature explains the construction of patriarchal domestic roles, the use of religious legitimacy in maintaining these roles, and their implications for women's mental health. This research employed a qualitative approach using a narrative literature review. Data were collected from scholarly journal articles, books, and Qur'anic exegesis relevant to patriarchy, gender, religious interpretation, and mental health published between 2015 and 2025. The selected literature was analyzed using thematic content analysis to identify recurring themes and conceptual relationships. The analysis produced three major themes. First, patriarchal domestic constructions are consistently described as placing women in primary domestic responsibilities while, in many contexts, simultaneously carrying productive roles. Second, several studies indicate that religious texts are frequently interpreted within socio-cultural contexts that reinforce gendered domestic expectations, although alternative contextual interpretations emphasizing reciprocity and justice are also widely discussed. Third, the reviewed literature consistently associates prolonged domestic role imbalance with emotional exhaustion, psychological stress, and diminished psychological well-being. This study contributes by integrating discussions on patriarchal domestic structures, religious legitimacy, and women's mental health into a single analytical framework, thereby providing a more comprehensive conceptual understanding for future gender and religious studies.

Keywords: *Patriarchy, double burden, mental health, religious legitimacy, women.*

Abstrak: Diskursus mengenai patriarki dalam kehidupan domestik telah banyak dikaji dari perspektif ketimpangan gender dan pembagian peran rumah tangga. Namun, kajian yang secara khusus mensintesis hubungan antara legitimasi religius, beban ganda perempuan, dan kesehatan mental masih relatif terbatas. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bagaimana literatur menjelaskan konstruksi peran domestik patriarkal, penggunaan legitimasi religius dalam mempertahankan konstruksi tersebut, serta implikasinya terhadap kesehatan mental perempuan. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode *narrative literature review*. Data diperoleh dari artikel jurnal ilmiah, buku, dan literatur tafsir yang relevan dengan isu patriarki, gender, penafsiran agama, dan kesehatan mental yang dipublikasikan pada rentang tahun 2015–2025. Literatur yang memenuhi kriteria seleksi dianalisis menggunakan *thematic content analysis* untuk mengidentifikasi tema-tema utama dan hubungan antarkonsep. Hasil sintesis menunjukkan tiga temuan utama. Pertama, sebagian besar literatur menggambarkan konstruksi patriarki menempatkan perempuan sebagai penanggung jawab utama pekerjaan domestik, yang pada banyak konteks disertai dengan peran produktif di ruang publik. Kedua, sejumlah penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penafsiran terhadap teks-teks keagamaan kerap dipengaruhi oleh konteks sosial-budaya yang memperkuat pembagian peran berbasis gender, meskipun tersedia pula penafsiran kontekstual yang menekankan prinsip keadilan dan relasi timbal balik. Ketiga, literatur secara konsisten mengaitkan ketidakseimbangan peran domestik yang berlangsung terus-menerus dengan kelelahan emosional, tekanan psikologis, dan penurunan kesejahteraan mental perempuan. Penelitian ini menawarkan kontribusi berupa sintesis konseptual yang mengintegrasikan pembahasan mengenai struktur patriarki, legitimasi religius, dan kesehatan mental perempuan dalam satu kerangka analitis sehingga dapat menjadi rujukan bagi pengembangan kajian gender dan studi keislaman.

Kata kunci: *Patriarki, Beban Ganda, Kesehatan Mental, Legitimasi Religius, Perempuan*

INTRODUCTION

Debate over gender relations in domestic life continues to grow alongside rising attention to issues of equality, the division of household roles, and women's psychological well-being. In gender studies, patriarchy is understood as a social system that places men in a dominant position within both family and societal relations, thereby shaping the division of roles, access to resources, and decision-making (Walby, 1990). Although its form and intensity vary across societies, numerous studies show that patriarchal constructions are still found in domestic life, including in the division of household labor that places women as the primary party responsible for reproductive work as well as childcare (Anwar et al., 2025; Sugiarti, 2021). This shows that unequal gender relations remain difficult to separate from family life, even though various efforts toward equality continue to be made.

Although feminism has broadened women's opportunities, its impact remains uneven. In many lower-middle-class families, patriarchal norms continue to confine women to domestic responsibilities while men are positioned as primary breadwinners (J. A. Herman et al., 2024; I. Simbolon et al., 2025). This unequal division of labor places a disproportionately heavier workload on women, limiting their opportunities beyond the household and increasing their psychological burden (Lukitaningsih, 2017).

This condition causes some women to carry out two roles at once, as productive workers and as household managers, a phenomenon known in the literature as the double burden. Family psychology literature shows that imbalance in the division of domestic labor and household cognitive load can increase psychological pressure, emotional exhaustion, and diminished mental well-being among women (Aviv et al., 2025; Ervin et al., 2025). However, the magnitude of this impact is shaped by various factors, such as social, economic, and cultural conditions, as well as perceptions of fairness in the division of roles within the family.

In religious communities, the division of domestic roles is often shaped not only by cultural tradition but also by the way society interprets religious texts (Wadud, 1999). A number of studies show that some social practices gain legitimacy through religious interpretations that develop within society (Mernissi, 1991; Rahman, 1982). On the other hand, various contemporary exegetical studies also show more contextual interpretations that emphasize

justice, partnership, and the reciprocal fulfillment of rights and obligations between husband and wife.

Research on patriarchy has developed from various perspectives. Arif (2018) and Jasmiarto et al. (2025) examine patriarchy as a social construction that perpetuates gender inequality (Arif, 2018; Jasmiarto et al., 2025). Nengsih (2020) highlights women's double burden in relation to family economic contribution through Islamic financial inclusion (Nengsih, 2020). Other studies focus more on the representation of patriarchy in literary works, film, and popular culture. Even so, these studies generally address the issues of patriarchy, religious legitimacy, or mental health separately, and few have integrated all three aspects into a single analytical framework grounded in literature synthesis.

This study shows that the patriarchal household system produces an unequal division of domestic roles, thereby increasing the double burden and negatively affecting women's mental health. Religious legitimacy for patriarchal practices is shaped more by social construction and religious interpretation than by normative religious teaching itself. Therefore, deconstructing the religious legitimacy of patriarchy is needed to foster more egalitarian family relations and to support women's mental health

METHOD

This study employed a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) following the PRISMA framework. Literature was collected from Google Scholar, DOAJ, and Crossref using keywords related to patriarchy, domestic roles, gender inequality, religious legitimacy, mental health, and Islamic interpretation. Eligible publications (2015–2025) were selected through screening based on predefined inclusion criteria. The data were analyzed using thematic synthesis, involving coding, theme development, and synthesis to identify patterns regarding patriarchy, religious legitimacy, women's mental health, and the psychological impact of patriarchal parenting.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Patriarchal Construction in Domestic Life

Since around 1500 BCE, social structures in many parts of the world have tended to place men at the top of the hierarchy while women occupy the lowest tier (Nur et al., 2022). Records from Vedic-era society around 1500

BCE show that women had no right to inherit from a deceased husband or family member. In the same period, within Buddhist tradition, women were typically married off before reaching adulthood and were denied access to education, leaving many of them illiterate (Amirul, 2018; Mappe & Jusnawati, 2022). In the Jewish perspective, meanwhile, women were often regarded as impure and unfit to take part in religious ritual; Jewish women were only permitted to be present at places of worship in a passive capacity (Anwar et al., 2025; Lailiyah, 2020). Indonesia's own dark colonial-era history likewise saw women frequently made hostages for the sexual gratification of foreign military personnel, along with restrictions on women's access to education in this case limited to descendants of the Priyayi and noble classes (Arif, 2018; Padilah et al., 2025; Setiawati, 2020).

The concept of patriarchal culture is built on a stereotypical pattern asserting that men hold an important role and higher standing (Girsang, 2023). While women are placed in a subordinate position, dependent on men. Within this pattern, men are cast as holding full authority within the household whether in governance, the passing down of lineage, or complete power over the wife. Various studies show that within the patriarchal household system, men are often positioned as the principal authority in family decision-making. In some cases, this power dynamic can develop into practices of control, physical violence, psychological violence, or other forms of gender-based violence against wives (Ayu, 2025; Mukminto, 2020; Rahmawati & Ahmadi, 2024). Within the patriarchal domain, a wife is expected to comply with everything her husband instructs even while she herself feels exhausted. Refusing risks being labeled a disobedient wife, while compliance is framed as her path to paradise.

Wives are burdened with domestic responsibilities, yet not a few also work even though the husband already provides for the family. Several factors drive wives to also work, among them insufficient household income, rising kitchen expenses, growing costs of children's education, and pressure from the extended family demanding that the wife be productive in earning additional income (Ahmadi & Damayanti, 2022; Wijayanti, 2026). Even so, perceptions of women remain unchanged, women are still regarded as the weaker sex, tasked with reproductive and domestic duties. Her working is instead framed as being of her own volition and as ingratitude toward what her husband provides. In this framing, a working woman is seen as having deviated from

her nature by failing to be grateful for the provision she receives, whereas if a man cannot meet the household's needs, this is not considered his fault and he is still deemed to have fulfilled his duty of provision.

The patriarchal system regulates gender boundaries by privileging masculinity in every aspect. In this connection, men's physical masculinity is held to be superior to women's, so that power and freedom reside with them (Indra et al., 2025; Kiatama & Indrajaya, 2025; Rusdianto, 2024). This power is reflected in the division of household tasks: daughters are assigned to help their mother with chores such as sweeping and washing, while sons are only required to study diligently and are given more time to play. Rooted in this kind of patriarchal upbringing, a patriarchal culture is produced that is passed down across generations, becoming a tradition normalized within society so much, so that not a few find themselves unable to break free of the patriarchal system.

Several studies show that patriarchal household practices remain widespread among families from lower-middle socioeconomic groups. Economic hardship and low levels of education serve as fuel for the patriarchal system: low economic status makes women dependent and inclined to keep accepting their circumstances, while low education produces a narrow outlook that makes it difficult for a woman to stand up for herself. Those who become aware of the flaws of the patriarchal system may choose to separate, yet not a few eventually choose to return because they cannot bear the burden of financial independence (Wati et al., 2026; Yogi Ariska et al., 2026). Some literature further notes that following divorce, some ex-husbands tend to avoid their financial responsibilities or use manipulative strategies in interpersonal relations, placing pressure on women to return and preserve the relationship (Bancroft, 2003; Douglas, 2017; Stark, 2024).

The data shows that in some societies women are still positioned as the primary party responsible for domestic work. Based on these findings, it can be understood that the division of domestic roles is often legitimized as part of women's supposed nature, even though this construction remains debated within gender studies and contemporary exegesis (Amirul, 2018; Azizah, 2025; Ima & Qadriani, 2020). This view needs to be critically examined to assess whether such legitimacy stems from normative religious teaching or is instead the product of a social construction that has developed within society. Within an Islamic framework, women's domestic role cannot be separated from the

principle of justice and balance between rights and obligations, making it important to re-examine the extent to which this role is normative, contextual, or even open to reinterpretation in line with the dynamics of the times.

The Legitimacy of Women's Domestic Role

Several verses of the Qur'an are often perceived by some circles as favoring men, one of the most prominent being QS. al-Baqarah: 228. Two phrases within it are frequently debated: "*wa labunna mitslu al-ladzi 'alaihinna bi al-ma'ruf*" and "*wa li al-rijal 'alaihinna darajah*." To understand the meaning of these two phrases, this study draws on the exegetical approaches of Imam Thabari and Ibn Ashur. In his exegesis, Imam Thabari explains, based on a report from Dhahhak, that when a wife obeys God and her husband she will attain goodness, be spared from harm, and receive provision according to her husband's means (Syakir & Syakir, 2022). There is also a report from Ibn Abbas stating that he liked to adorn himself for his wife just as he liked it when she adorned herself for him.

From this interpretation, a reciprocal relationship between husband and wife can be understood each holds rights and obligations that must be fulfilled in balance. The husband has rights over his wife, and likewise the wife over her husband. Imam Thabari nonetheless also affirms that each party holds certain rights specific to them without diminishing the rights of the other. In the author's view, Imam Thabari's interpretation still feels insufficiently deep, particularly in explaining the meaning of the word "*mitslubunna*." This raises the question of whether the rights between husband and wife are truly equal, and how the boundaries of that division of rights should be drawn. When this interpretation is applied to a modern context, it can in fact generate new confusion rather than clarity.

As an alternative, Ibn Ashur interprets the verse as affirming a mutuality of obligation between husband and wife, with emphasis on the fulfillment of women's rights that had previously received less attention. In his work *al-Tahrir wa al-Tanwir*, he explains that a wife holds obligations toward her husband just as the husband holds obligations toward his wife (Syakir & Syakir, 2022). In his reading, this verse gives greater weight to the fulfillment of women's rights, which have historically received less recognition than men's rights, which are already well established in society. Ibn Ashur further examines the word "*mitslubunna*," explaining that it carries the meaning of

equivalence or resemblance (al-nazhir or musyabih), which can denote sameness either wholly or in part. In some cases, this sense of equivalence is clear, while in others it requires further explanation.

The author argues that gender equality in Islam should be understood as proportional justice rather than absolute sameness. Husbands and wives have distinct rights and responsibilities: husbands are obligated to provide financial support, while wives primarily manage the household and childcare. Accordingly, the husband's leadership role does not eliminate women's rights but reflects a functional division of responsibilities.

Regarding the phrase *wa li al-rijāl 'alaihinna darajah*, the author, drawing on Ibn Ashur and Imam al-Tabari, explains that men's *darajah* refers to specific, God-given responsibilities and capacities rather than absolute superiority. Men's advantages in areas such as financial responsibility, inheritance, and jihad are accompanied by greater obligations, indicating that Islam seeks to uphold justice while protecting women's dignity and rights.

The Impact of Patriarchal Pressure on Women's Mental Health

A synthesis of various studies shows that the patriarchal household system affects not only the division of family roles but also women's psychological dimensions, including their self-perception, behavioral patterns, and the emergence of dependency within marital relationships (Aviv et al., 2025; Gupta et al., 2023; Sweet, 2019). Some studies show that women have become aware of the harm caused by unequal relationships, yet still maintain the relationship because of psychological or economic dependency that has formed (Fachrani, 2015; Haromaini & Rohmaniyah, 2025; Ibrahim et al., 2022). This condition develops gradually through manipulative relational dynamics, making it difficult for women to leave such relationships.

Stark's account of psychological violence within intimate relationships shows that perpetrators can use various forms of psychological manipulation as a strategy to maintain control over their partner (Stark, 2024; Sweet, 2019). Such psychological manipulation typically unfolds gradually, so that the victim is often unaware that she is in a controlling relationship.

A number of studies link this condition to the emergence of self-blame, emotional exhaustion, and difficulty in setting healthy boundaries in interpersonal relationships. These various psychological effects show that ongoing manipulation can affect an individual's defense mechanisms (J. L.

Herman, 1997; Stark, 2024; Sweet, 2019). In personality psychology literature, one concept used to explain this dynamic is defensive narcissism, a psychological defense mechanism that emerges when an individual tries to protect their self-esteem from criticism or perceived threats to their self-image (Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1971; Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010). This concept frames defensive responses not merely as an innate trait but as a form of protection against psychological vulnerability.

Kitab	Permulaaan Penciptaan Makhluk	Bab	Penjelasan tentang malaikat
صحيح البخاري ٢٩٩٨: حَدَّثَنَا مُسَدَّدٌ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو عَوَانَةَ عَنْ الْأَعْمَشِ عَنْ أَبِي حَازِمٍ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِذَا دَعَا الرَّجُلُ امْرَأَتَهُ إِلَى فِرَاشِهِ فَأَبَتْ فَبَاتَ غَضَبَانِ عَلَيْهَا لَعْنَتْهَا الْمَلَائِكَةُ حَتَّى تُصْبِحَ تَابِعَهُ شُعْبَةُ وَأَبُو خَمْرَةَ وَابْنُ دَاوُدَ وَأَبُو مُعَاوِيَةَ عَنْ الْأَعْمَشِ	Shahih Bukhari 2998: Telah bercerita kepada kami Musaddad telah bercerita kepada kami Abu 'Awanah dari Al A'masy dari Abu Hazim dari Abu Hurairah radliyallahu 'anhu berkata: Rasulullah shallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam bersabda:	"Jika seorang suami mengajak istrinya ke tempat tidurnya, lalu istrinya menolaknya sehingga dia melalui malam itu dalam keadaan marah, maka malaikat melaknat istrinya itu hingga shubuh."	Hadits ini diikuti pula oleh Syuhbah, Abu Hamzah, Ibnu Daud dan Abu Mu'awiyah dari Al A'masy .

A literal reading of the hadith narrated by Bukhari (no. 2998) may suggest that a wife is unconditionally prohibited from refusing her husband's sexual advances. However, Imam An-Nawawi clarifies that this ruling does not apply when the wife has a legitimate excuse (*uzur syar'i*) or is experiencing severe exhaustion, indicating that the hadith promotes mutual compassion rather than absolute obedience (Latif, 1926). Misinterpretation of this teaching within patriarchal families can reinforce misogynistic attitudes that harm women's psychological well-being. More broadly, patriarchal family systems shape children through rigid gender stereotypes, encouraging boys to suppress emotions and girls to prioritize compliance, thereby negatively affecting self-concept, emotional regulation, and the development of healthy interpersonal relationships (Kiatama & Indrajaya, 2025; Rosyana & Jatningsih, 2023; G. Simbolon & Sunbanu, 2024). Over the long term, the internalization of patriarchal values can trigger various psychological dynamics, such as anxiety, inner conflict, and emotional dependency (Gupta et al., 2023). Boys may grow up under pressure to always be dominant and successful, making them vulnerable to stress or frustration when unable to meet such expectations. Girls, meanwhile, may develop a sense of learned helplessness resulting from the ongoing internalization of a subordinate position within the family and social environment (King et al., 2021; Master et al., 2025).

Furthermore, from a developmental psychology perspective, patriarchal parenting patterns can also affect the formation of a child's self-esteem and autonomy (Gupta et al., 2023). Children who are continually restricted based on fixed gender roles tend to experience barriers to fully exploring their potential. Boys may feel pressured to always appear strong and competitive, causing them to neglect their needs for affection and emotional support. Girls, conversely, may experience internal conflict between the desire for independence and the demand to remain dependent and compliant. This condition has the potential to create imbalances in personality development, including difficulty in decision-making and assertiveness (Gupta et al., 2023; Master et al., 2025).

Ultimately, it is important to recognize that the psychological effects of patriarchal upbringing are felt not only individually but also contribute to broader patterns of social relations. These findings indicate that more egalitarian parenting styles that are responsive to children's emotional needs have the potential to support healthier psychological development. Parenting that gives children room to recognize, express, and manage their emotions without the constraints of gender stereotypes will help them grow into individuals who are more confident, empathetic, and adaptive in facing the dynamics of life.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the patriarchal household system contributes to an unequal division of domestic roles, thereby increasing the double burden and affecting women's mental health, manifesting as emotional exhaustion, stress, and limited access to public life. The findings also show that religious legitimacy for patriarchal practice is shaped more by social construction and religious interpretation than by normative religious teaching. Contemporary exegetical perspectives instead emphasize the principles of justice, partnership, and a proportional division of roles between husband and wife. Deconstructing the religious legitimacy of patriarchy is therefore important for fostering more egalitarian family relations, reducing women's double burden, and supporting the mental health of the family.

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