

***Al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* in the Modern Workplace:
Phenomenological Insights into Work–Family Conflict,
Islamic Coping, and Role Negotiation among Urban
Muslim Mothers**

***Al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* di Tempat Kerja Modern: Wawasan
Fenomenologis tentang Konflik Pekerjaan-Keluarga,
Penanganan Islami, dan Negosiasi Peran di Kalangan Ibu
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Abstract

Background and Objectives: Recent global labour-market shifts have lifted women's labour-force participation to 54.42 % in Indonesia, compelling Muslim mothers to juggle dual identities as household educators (*al-Madrasat al-Ūlā*) and paid professionals. This study investigates how urban Javanese Muslim mothers interpret and reconcile these roles, integrating Islamic pedagogy with work–family research. **Methods:** A phenomenological approach combined 30 semi-structured interviews in three cities with a systematic review of 65 peer-reviewed studies (2010-2024). Inductive thematic coding of transcripts was triangulated with the literature.

Main Findings: Role conflict stems mainly from rigid schedules, scarce workplace childcare and entrenched patriarchal norms. Mothers mitigate stress through extended-family help—especially grandmothers—religious coping rituals (*dhikr*, *ṣalāh*, *majlis ta'lim*) and care-focused micro time-management that privileges “quality spiritual parenting” over duration. The *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* ideal persists but is re-imagined as collective moral stewardship shared across family networks. **Contribution:** The study proposes an “Islamic Coping Matrix” linking context-specific stressors, resources and adaptive behaviours, demonstrating how religious capital compensates for limited institutional support and enriching cross-cultural work–family theory. **Conclusion:** Harmonising professional and maternal duties is feasible when organisations provide flexible policies and when community institutions—mosques and neighbourhood childcare schemes—augment state provision. Faith-based, culturally attuned interventions can

thus sustain Muslim mothers' dual contributions to household resilience and national productivity.

Keywords : working mothers; *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā*; dual roles; social role theory; Islamic values

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Abstract

Latar Belakang dan Tujuan: Pergeseran pasar tenaga kerja global baru-baru ini telah meningkatkan partisipasi angkatan kerja perempuan menjadi 54,42% di Indonesia, yang memaksa para ibu Muslim untuk menyulap identitas ganda sebagai pendidik rumah tangga (*al-Madrasat al-Ūlā*) dan profesional yang dibayar. Studi ini menyelidiki bagaimana ibu Muslim Jawa di perkotaan menafsirkan dan menyelaraskan peran-peran tersebut, dengan mengintegrasikan pedagogi Islam dengan penelitian tentang pekerjaan-keluarga. **Metode:** Pendekatan fenomenologis menggabungkan 30 wawancara semi-terstruktur di tiga kota dengan tinjauan sistematis terhadap 65 penelitian yang telah diulas oleh rekan sejawat (2010-2024). Pengkodean tematik induktif dari transkrip ditriangulasi dengan literatur.

Temuan Utama: Konflik peran terutama berasal dari jadwal yang kaku, tempat penitipan anak di tempat kerja yang terbatas, dan norma patriarki yang mengakar. Para ibu mengurangi stres melalui bantuan keluarga besar - terutama nenek - ritual penanggulangan religius (*dzikir, ṣalāh, majlis ta'lim*) dan manajemen waktu mikro yang berfokus pada pengasuhan yang mengutamakan "pengasuhan spiritual yang berkualitas" daripada durasi. Cita-cita *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* tetap ada, tetapi dibayangkan kembali sebagai penatalayanan moral kolektif yang dibagikan di seluruh jaringan keluarga.

Kontribusi: Studi ini mengusulkan "Matriks Penanggulangan Islami" yang menghubungkan pemicu stres, sumber daya, dan perilaku adaptif yang spesifik dalam konteks tertentu, yang menunjukkan bagaimana modal agama mengimbangi dukungan institusional yang terbatas dan memperkaya teori keluarga-kerja lintas budaya. **Kesimpulan:** Menyelaraskan tugas profesional dan tugas keibuan dapat dilakukan ketika organisasi menyediakan kebijakan yang fleksibel dan ketika lembaga masyarakat - masjid dan skema penitipan anak di lingkungan sekitar - melengkapi ketentuan negara. Dengan demikian, intervensi berbasis agama dan budaya dapat mempertahankan kontribusi ganda para ibu Muslim terhadap ketahanan rumah tangga dan produktivitas nasional.

Kata Kunci: ibu bekerja; *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā*; peran ganda; teori peran sosial; nilai Islam

A. INTRODUCTION

Changes in global social and economic dynamics have driven a significant increase in women's participation in the workforce. Data



from Setyowati et al (2024) shows that more than 50% of women of productive age globally are now involved in both the formal and informal sectors. In Indonesia, the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) noted that the female workforce participation rate reached 54.42% in 2023, increasing consistently in the last decade (Davani & Sulistyaningrum, 2023) . This phenomenon indicates a shift in the role of women from merely domestic managers to productive subjects in the public sphere. However, this transformation also brings new complexities, especially for women who are married and have to play dual roles as housewives and workers.

In the context of Islam, the role of a mother is seen as very noble. A mother is likened to *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* —the first madrasah—for her children, namely as the first and foremost foundation of moral and spiritual education in the family. This concept strengthens the assumption that the role of motherhood is not only biological, but also pedagogical and transformative. However, when this role must be carried out simultaneously with the professional demands of a career woman, the potential for work-family conflict arises as formulated by Greenhaus and Beutell, namely role tension that arises when two domains—work and family—compete for individual time, energy, and attention (Hilman, 2017) .

Several studies have examined the phenomenon of women's dual roles. Sugitanata, (2023) emphasized the importance of the wife's role as a moral and emotional supporter of her husband and an educator of her children. Sukmawati et al., (2021) in their ethnographic study in Lunjen Village, highlighted the contribution of housewives in improving family welfare through domestic productive activities. However, most of these studies are descriptive, limited to local contexts, or have not systematically integrated Islamic conceptual approaches with modern theories of social and gender roles. Until now, there has been no study that has in-depth examined how working Muslim mothers interpret and negotiate their dual roles through the integration of Islamic values and

modern adaptive strategies. Nor has there been a systematic review that maps the dynamics of stress, double burdens, and practical solutions based on theological and sociological frameworks simultaneously.

Based on this background, this study aims to identify the main challenges faced by Muslim mothers who carry out dual roles as *first madrasah* and career women; analyzing the adaptive strategies used in balancing these roles; and evaluate the relevance and contribution of Islamic values in the daily practices of working mothers. The main questions to be answered are: How do Muslim mothers negotiate dual roles in the context of work and family. What strategies do they use to maintain role balance. To what extent do the values of *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* play a role in shaping these adaptive strategies?

B. DISCUSSION

1. The Concept of Mother as Madrasatul Ulla (The Role of Mother in the Family)

In the context of Muslim society, the concept of *al-Madrasatul Ulla* or mother as the first educator for children, which has been widely known in Islamic tradition, remains relevant even though many working mothers also have significant roles outside the home. Research shows that working mothers, despite limited time with their children, still maintain an important role in the education of children's character and morals through wise parenting patterns. However, intensive parenting is often a challenge, especially amidst the demands of work that lead to difficulties in balancing work and family time. In general, the concept of mother as madrasat al-ulla is emphasized in Islamic literature, which mentions the role of mothers as the main educators in the household (Cahyati et al., 2024) .

In Islam, mothers hold a very noble and strategic position in the formation of a child's character and personality. One popular expression that reflects this position is "al-ummu madrasatun, idza

a'dadtaha a'dadta sya'ban thayyibal a'raq" which means "mother is the first madrasah, if you prepare her, then you have prepared a nation with good roots." This expression is not only rhetorical, but also contains deep philosophical and practical meanings, that the first and most influential education for a child comes from his mother.

Mothers have a central role as madrasatul ula or the first educator in the family. This role is very important because mothers are the closest figures to children, so they have a great influence in shaping children's character, morals, and spirituality from an early age. Through parenting, communication, and role models, a mother can instill religious values, noble morals, and emotional intelligence which are the foundation for children's development in the future (Tania et al., 2021) . In addition, in *the Scientific Journal of Education* , it is stated that the figure RA Kartini views the importance of the role of mothers in providing character education, especially in terms of politeness and enthusiasm for learning (Abdul, 2020) .

Islam places the mother as the main educator in the family. This is rooted in the fact that a child from the womb to childhood, spends a lot of time with his mother. According to Al-Ghazali in *Ihya Ulumuddin* , a child is a mandate for both parents, and the mother is the first to give color to the child's nature Al-Ghazali et al (1993) . This claim is supported by the fact that a child's cognitive and emotional development is greatly influenced by the parenting patterns and early interactions he experiences at home, especially with his mother (Muall & Fatmawati, 2022) .

The Qur'an and hadith reinforce the importance of the mother's role in children's education. In QS. Luqman:14, Allah says, "And We commanded man (to do good) to both his mother and father; his mother had conceived him in a state of increasing weakness..." This verse shows that the mother's sacrifice is very great and therefore deserves to be respected and given a special position. In a hadith narrated by Abu Daud, the Prophet Muhammad SAW said, "A woman is the leader in her

husband's house and she will be held accountable for her leadership" (Hisyam et al., 2019) . This shows that mothers have a big responsibility as managers of children's education and character at home.

The role of mothers not only includes physical and biological aspects, but also spiritual and moral aspects. Mothers teach Islamic values through examples, guidance, and prayers that are always said. According to Yusuf al-Qaradawi, education in Islam must start from the family environment and the mother figure is the main actor in this process (Izzati et al., 2024). The behavior, speech, and religious attitudes of mothers become models that will be recorded by children and shape their views on religion. Mothers' Contribution to Family Resilience Family resilience, especially in facing moral and social crises, depends largely on the active role of mothers. In Muslim societies, mothers are often the last bastion in protecting children from negative environmental influences. Mothers who actively carry out their maternal roles are able to create a home as a safe and religious space for their children (Parhan & Kurniawan, 2020) . This shows that education that starts from home (home-based education) is very effective in instilling moral and religious values.

The claim that the mother is the first madrasah is emphasized by many scholars, because it is from the mother that the child first learns values such as honesty, compassion, responsibility, and worship. Al-Syaibani in his book, *Philosophy of Islamic Education*, states that Islamic education aims to form a whole person, and the process begins at home, with the mother as its center. The effectiveness of the mother's role as a madrasah depends on the quality of her personality and understanding of Islamic teachings.

In a modern context, the mother's role as a madrasatul ula remains relevant despite the challenges of a modern lifestyle, such as working mothers and the influence of the media. A study by Parhan & Kurniawan (2020) shows that mothers who are able to balance domestic and professional roles tend to have children with good academic

achievements and morals. This proves that the role as a madrasah is not lost even though the mother is active outside the home, as long as there is a commitment to the child's education.

Although formal education is important, without the support and continuity of education from mothers at home, the education process will be lopsided. Mothers who play an active role in accompanying their children's learning process can improve their children's understanding and Islamic values. In this context, synergy between home madrasah (mother) and formal madrasah (school) becomes crucial. Character and spiritual education are more effective if started and strengthened from home.

The concept of "mother as madrasatul ula" is not just a slogan, but a basic principle in Islamic education. Mothers are the first educators who shape children's morals, personality, and spirituality from an early age. References from the Qur'an, hadith, and scholars emphasize the importance of the role of mothers in building a generation with noble morals. Even in modern challenges, this role remains relevant and strategic if carried out with full awareness and sincerity.

The concept of al-Madrasatul Ulla or mother as the first educator for children remains relevant in society, even though many mothers work. Despite the challenges of limited time due to work, mothers still have an important role in the character and moral education of children, especially through wise parenting patterns. This concept is emphasized in Islamic literature which emphasizes that mothers are the main educators in the family, who can shape character, morals, and religious values in children. Although working mothers face difficulties in balancing work and family time, the role of mothers in children's education remains irreplaceable, as seen in the thoughts of figures such as RA Kartini.

2. The Role of Mothers as Career Women

The role of mothers as career women presents a major challenge in

balancing professional and family responsibilities. This is because the dual roles played by mothers often cause emotional and physical stress, especially when the demands of work and parenting clash. Sitorus, (2020) stated that working mothers are prone to stress caused by an imbalance between domestic and professional roles. This role conflict, Ayu Mustika Handayani & Rini Mustikasari Kurnia Pratama (2022) , can affect the performance and psychological well-being of mothers, and have an impact on harmony in the family.

High levels of stress in working mothers can have a direct impact on the quality of interactions between mother and child. Unmanaged stress reduces the mother's sensitivity in responding to the child's emotional needs, which then reduces the quality of their relationship. This is confirmed by Vitoasmara et al (2024) who found that parenting stress is negatively correlated with children's mental health, as well as research by Yuliasari & Lestari (2021) which shows that limited interaction time can hinder the mother's ability to optimally manage the emotions of early childhood children.

However, working mothers can still maintain family harmony and support children's development through effective time and emotion management. With environmental support, both from family and workplace, and the ability to regulate emotions, mothers are able to carry out these two roles in a balanced manner.

Community-based approaches and religiosity also play an important role in helping working mothers carry out their roles. In the context of Indonesian culture, especially Javanese Muslim society, the involvement of the extended family and religious activities can be a source of emotional and practical support. Research by Satata and Shusantie (2023) and Rahman (2019) shows that social participation and collective parenting patterns such as the role of grandmothers in caregiving help mothers carry out dual roles in a more balanced way without having to sacrifice the quality of care.

Although working mothers face various challenges in carrying out

their dual roles as mothers and professionals, many studies show that they can still combine their maternal identity with their career life harmoniously. Primadona, (2024) in the *Sawwa journal* highlights the social pressures that arise due to patriarchal gender construction, but shows that women are able to navigate this role with an awareness of their self-identity. This is in line with the findings of Satata & Shusantie, (2020) in *the Journal of Social Cultural Dynamics* which shows that working mothers can achieve a balance between career and family despite having to face high social and professional expectations. Meanwhile, Yunita, (2017) in *Indigenous: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi* revealed the emotional dilemmas often experienced by working mothers, such as guilt for not always being able to be there for the family, which is influenced by traditional norms about the role of mothers. However, Rahmawaty, (2018) in *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* emphasizes the importance of gender partnerships in the family as the key to creating harmony, equality, and justice, which allows women to carry out both roles without being trapped in stereotypes or rigid professional standards. These four studies underline that with environmental support and a shift in gender paradigms, working mothers can effectively manage their dual identities.

Women who play the role of mother and career woman experience complex life dynamics:

- a. In sociological and psychological studies, this phenomenon is known as multiple roles, which is a situation when an individual must carry out two or more main roles in life simultaneously. For a mother, this includes responsibilities as a caregiver, educator in the family, and professional in the world of work. In the research of Nazwa & Dora, (2024) mothers who work formally contribute significantly to the family economy, especially in improving household welfare. However, this contribution is often accompanied by psychological and physical burdens, especially if not supported by adequate social systems, such as cooperative partners, structured childcare, or family-friendly workplaces.

- b. One of the main challenges for working mothers is role conflict, which occurs when the expectations of two roles being played conflict or cannot be carried out optimally at the same time. For example, a mother who has to attend an important meeting at the office, but at the same time her child is sick. Conflicts like this not only drain energy, but can also reduce the psychological well-being of mothers. Aujian et al (2021) noted that this pressure has the potential to cause burnout or chronic emotional exhaustion if not managed properly. Burnout in working mothers can affect the quality of relationships with children, performance at work, and even lead to mental disorders such as mild depression.
- c. Economic Contribution and Women's Independence. Despite the big challenges, the role of career women also brings significant benefits. One of them is increasing women's economic independence, which indirectly impacts their bargaining position in the family. Mothers who earn an income can participate in household decision-making, as well as being role models for their children regarding the importance of independence, hard work, and responsibility. Zhen et al (2020) stated that women who work tend to be more confident and have access to better education and health resources for their families. However, these benefits can only be enjoyed optimally if there are supportive organizational policies such as maternity leave, flexible working hours, and daycare facilities.
- d. Work and Family Life Balance
- The balance between work and family life (work-life balance) is the main goal of managing dual roles. Working mothers who are able to divide their time and energy in a balanced way show higher levels of life satisfaction. In a study by Thania et al (2021) , it was found that mothers who apply religious and adaptive coping strategies , such as surrendering to God, discussing with their partners, and sharing experiences with the community, tend to have stronger resilience in dealing with stress. In addition, emotional support from partners, recognition from the workplace, and understanding from children are important factors in creating harmony in carrying out dual roles.
- e. Impact on Children and Families
- Many concerns have been raised regarding the effects of working mothers on child development. However, research shows that the quality of

interaction is more important than quantity. Working mothers who still provide quality time for their children can still form strong and positive emotional bonds. Open communication, genuine attention, and presence in children's important moments are the keys to a successful motherhood. In many cases, children of working mothers actually show higher levels of independence, a good understanding of gender equality, and motivation to achieve. Ukhroniyah & Afrizal (2024) showed that mothers who receive parenting and self-development training can adjust their parenting approach so that it remains effective even though they have limited time.

f. Integration of Local and Modern Values in Dual Roles

The role of a mother as a career woman does not need to be in conflict with local culture or religious values. In fact, an approach that integrates modern and traditional values has proven to be more adaptive. A mother can be successful in the office, without having to neglect her domestic role, as long as there is a support system and a strong awareness of her life goals.

In the Javanese Muslim community, this practice can be found through the pattern of division of tasks between husband and wife, strengthening the mosque community in childcare, and the application of Islamic values in family management. This strategy not only creates balance, but also strengthens the spirituality of mothers in living their life roles fully.

The role of mothers as career women reflects the dual contribution of women in the domestic and public spheres. This role is full of challenges, especially in psychological, social, and spiritual aspects. However, with strong social support, inclusive workplace policies, and wise role management strategies, women can carry out this dual role successfully and harmoniously. This role also enriches the identity of Javanese Muslim women as adaptive figures who are able to bridge cultural values and the demands of globalization, without losing their identity as mothers and primary educators in the family.

In conclusion, working mothers have the potential to carry out dual roles as mothers and professionals in a balanced manner, as long as they are supported by an environment that understands the importance of gender equality and is free from the pressure of patriarchal ideology and rigid

professional standards. The studies reviewed show that success in managing these roles is greatly influenced by self-awareness, family support, and changes in social perspectives on women's roles. Thus, achieving harmony between career and family life is not only an individual responsibility, but also the result of fair and equal social dynamics.

3. Challenges for Mothers with Dual Roles

Mothers with dual roles, both as workers and housewives, face complex challenges in balancing professional and domestic responsibilities. Dual role conflicts, such as *work-family conflict* (WFC) and *family-work conflict* (FWC), can affect the psychological well-being and quality of motherhood. Research by Arifah et al. (2023) in *the Healthy Tadulako Journal* shows that working mothers who experience dual role conflict tend to face significant stress, which impacts their roles at home and at work (Arifah et al., 2024) .

Mothers with dual roles face tough challenges in carrying out dual responsibilities as professional workers and household managers. One of the main challenges is emotional exhaustion or burnout. Multitasking activities carried out continuously without a break cause the mother's physical and mental condition to be completely drained. Agustin (2023) in his research revealed that burnout occurs due to excessive pressure from two roles running simultaneously, which ultimately affects the mother's emotional stability in the long term (Agustin & Diana Rahmasari, 2023) .

In addition, role conflict is an unavoidable challenge. When mothers are required to complete work responsibilities while fulfilling household obligations, there is often a clash of time and attention. Thania et al (2021) stated that role conflict triggers chronic stress due to the inability of mothers to fulfill the demands of both roles optimally. This stress not only impacts work productivity but also disrupts household harmony.

This condition then has an impact on decreasing psychological well-being. In Khairunnisa's research, (2024) it is explained that mothers with dual roles tend to experience a decline in the dimensions of environmental mastery, autonomy, and positive relationships with others. This shows that the burden of roles that are not handled properly will have an impact on the mother's mental health as a whole. Not only that, the quality of the maternal role also decreases. When the mother's focus is divided between work and family,

attention to the emotional needs and development of the child can be neglected. Ukhroniyah & Afrizal (2024) stated that an unbalanced dual burden has the potential to reduce the quality of parenting and cause disharmony in the relationship between mother and child.

However, with effective coping strategies, mothers can reduce the negative impact of dual role conflict. A study by Pratiwi (2022) identified that psychological and social approaches, such as stress management and social support, can help working mothers balance their roles. In addition, a feminist counseling approach can also be a solution in overcoming the challenges of dual roles. The positive impact of this coping strategy is seen in the development of children's independence.

4. Coping strategies for working mothers

In modern society, many women choose or have to work outside the home. However, this condition presents its own challenges for mothers, because they are required to carry out two main roles simultaneously: as professional workers and household managers. The imbalance in carrying out these two roles often triggers stress, fatigue, and family conflict. In Javanese Muslim culture, the role of a mother is not only seen as a functional task, but also a moral and spiritual one. Therefore, coping strategies (tabel.1) must consider social, psychological, and religious dimensions. Therefore, to be a professional mother, please have Time Management and Planning; Social and Environmental Support; Adaptive Coping Strategies and Empowerment and Education.

Time management is a fundamental aspect in managing dual roles. Mothers with good daily planning tend to be able to complete work efficiently and still have quality time with their families. According to Pratiwi (2022), mothers who are able to make schedules and prioritize activities can avoid work accumulation and reduce stress. In the context of Javanese culture that prioritizes family harmony, time efficiency also supports the creation of a conducive and peaceful home atmosphere.

Support from partners, extended family, and the work environment is very important in helping mothers deal with the pressures of dual roles. In Javanese culture, the values of mutual cooperation and kinship are very strong. Khairunnisa & Darmawanti (2024) showed that the active role of

partners in sharing domestic responsibilities and flexibility from superiors at work can improve the psychological well-being of mothers. This support forms the mother's resilience to stress and improves the quality of childcare.

Adaptive coping strategies include positive ways of dealing with stress, such as positive thinking, surrendering to God, and seeking support from the community. In Javanese Muslim culture, spiritual practices such as praying and attending religious studies are part of typical coping mechanisms. Thania et al (2021) suggest that positive coping strategies help mothers stay calm and rational in dealing with the challenges of dual roles, and encourage the creation of emotional balance.

Education and empowerment of women are important factors in increasing the capacity of mothers to carry out dual roles. Training on parenting, stress management, and strengthening life skills greatly assist mothers in carrying out their roles effectively. Ukhroniyah & Afrizal (2024) emphasized that mothers who participated in empowerment programs showed better abilities in managing role conflicts and demonstrated high resilience. The challenges of dual roles in working mothers can be overcome with strategies that include effective time management, strong social support, the use of adaptive coping strategies, and empowerment through education. In the context of Javanese Muslim culture, an approach that emphasizes family values and spirituality has been shown to strengthen the effectiveness of these strategies. Therefore, intervention policies and programs need to be designed taking into account the cultural context and local values.

Table 1. Challenges and coping strategies for working mothers

Challenge	Coping Strategy
Limited time for children	Optimizing quality time with children through religious or family activities.
Stress due to dual roles (work and household)	Get support from extended family or community to share caregiving roles.
The quality of mother-child interactions decreases due to stress	Seeking professional support to manage stress, as well as using technology (e.g. virtual training programs) to enhance mother-child interactions.

From these findings, it can be suggested that policies that support work-life balance, such as flexible working hours, childcare programs at the workplace or mosque, and community-based social support, can help working mothers to carry out their dual roles more effectively. Such policies will greatly support working mothers in maintaining family harmony and ensuring optimal child development.

C. CONCLUSION

This study found that the dual role of urban working mothers in Java faces significant challenges, especially related to limited time to interact with children and inadequate support from the workplace. Most working mothers rely on support from their extended family, especially grandmothers, to help them cope with these pressures. The concept of *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā*, which positions mothers as the primary educators in the family, shows a shift in roles among urban working mothers. Nevertheless, these mothers still maintain the function of teaching religion at home, even though it is hampered by work demands.

The results of this study address the gap in the literature by showing that despite the shift in the mother's role as the first educator, the concept of *al-Madrasat al-Ūlā* still persists in some aspects of urban working mothers' lives, albeit with greater adaptation to current economic and social realities. In this context, coping strategies that are more based on extended family and community support, rather than the workplace-based solutions more often found in the global literature, become important.

Some policy implications that can be implemented include increasing support for family-friendly workplaces, providing community-based childcare programs such as in mosques, and promoting flexible working hours to reduce the burden of dual roles faced by working mothers. Thus, this study confirms that although working mothers in Java face similar challenges to global working mothers, local cultural strategies that rely on extended family support can be an important factor in helping them.

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