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FAMILY DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN THE SAKINAH FAMILY CONSULTATION AND COUNSELING BUREAU SURABAYA INDONESIA

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# Family Dispute Resolution in The Sakinah Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau Surabaya-Indonesia

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### ABSTRAK

This article discusses the analysis of the influence of Islamic Law on Family Dispute Resolution carried out by Al-Falah Mosque's Sakinah Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Surabaya Indonesia (FCCB). Many married couples consulted the FCCB Surabaya regarding their family problems, either because of the economic factor or jealousy, cheating, or the relationship between those-in-law. Therefore, this research tries to analyze the role of Sakinah Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque (FCCB) in Surabaya in tackling the family disputes from the perspective of Islamic law. This research is field research and is qualitative in nature. Data collected through interviews, observation, and documentation. The collected data compiled and analyzed using descriptive analysis with a deductive mindset. The results of this study are: First, when a couple consulted Sakinah Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque (FCCB), the FCCB provided advice of being designed in dealing with the problems they are facing, gave a progressive insight to clients, issued fatwas, and explained the teachings of Islamic law on marriage; Second, in the perspective of Islamic law, Sakinah Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque (FCCB) play a role of mediating and reconciling a quarreling husband and wife so that they can make a settlement and avoid a divorce.

Keywords: Consultation, Family Dispute, Counselling, Islamic Family Law

#### Introduction

A human being is God's creature who has a desire to give offspring (Suryadilagi, 2003). Marriage is the way to achieve the goal in doing their biological relations. The goals of marriage, among others, are biological need fulfillment (Tobing, 2018, hlm. 1), the purpose of production (Ismail, 2020, hlm. 16), protection, and worship (Agni Rose Turesia Bestari dkk., 2019, hlm. 68).

Allah SWT creates His creatures in pairs, man and woman (Hashim & Bangi, 2020, hlm. 19). He has created man and woman to know each other (Zarul Arifin & Sri Sudono Saliro, 2021, hlm. 81), then arises feelings of love (Abdul Majeed Maideen, 2021, hlm. 201) and compassion. After that, they live together in a bond of marriage

following the rules of Islamic shariah; thereupon the family becomes sakinah, mawaddah, wa rahmah (Harisudin & Choriri, 2021, hlm. 472). The meaning of a marriage is stated in Article 1 of Law no. 1 of 1974 in conjunction with Law no. 16 of 2019 concerning marriage (Marriage Law) which reads: "Marriage is a physical and mental bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family (household) based on the One Godhead". In Islamic Law Compilation (KHI), Article 3 mentions the purpose of marriage, namely "Marriage aims to manifest a happy, loving, and supportive domestic life, sakinah, mawaddah, wa rahmah".

Every Muslim, when raising a family, desires a harmonious life in their family (Abdur Razzaq Shehzad Sialvi, 2018, hlm. 1–3). It is the primary purpose of marriage, as mentioned in Islamic Law Compilation (KHI). However, it is undeniable that, in the course of a marriage, there are family problems (Hariati, 2021, hlm. 51) that make the bond of marriage end up with divorce (Zardian Adri & Nining Maizura, 2018, hlm. 77) (Ubong E. Eyo, 2018, hlm. 172).

Divorce is a despised case in Islam, although it is allowed (Asman dkk., 2021, hlm. 26). Therefore, to avoid divorce, Islam encourages that it be solved peacefully between them when there is a dispute. If it is unsolved, it should appoint hakam (mediator) to solve the conflict between them (Salman, 2020, hlm. 275). Nevertheless, suppose the effort of peace does not work; in that case, divorce is the final way for couples who conflict (Mohlatlole dkk., 2018, hlm. 256). Though they get divorced, it is expected that they can solve other issues related to marriage properly and without conflict.

Problems in the household are a part of *syiqaq*. *Syiqaq*, according to the language meaning, is a quarrel. Meanwhile, according to the term meaning, *syiqaq* means peaked crisis which occurs between a husband and a wife (Rokhim, 2021, hlm. 120). Thus, between them, those are husband and wife who often dispute that makes both of them can not be reconciled (be solved), and that both parties can not overcome (Ali, 2013). A dispute between husband and wife can be solved by appointing 2 persons of *hakam*, and those are a *hakam* from the husband party and a *hakam* from the wife party (Rajafi dkk., 2020, hlm. 299). In the explanation of Article 76 Section 1 Act No. 7 1989, *syiqaq* is defined as an incisive and continuous dispute between husband and wife (2019, hlm. 1). The definition of *syiqaq* formulated in *the regulation is based on Surah* An Nisa' verse 35:

"And if you fear dissension between the two, send an arbitrator from his people and an arbitrator from her people. If they both desire reconciliation, Allāh will cause it between them. Indeed, Allāh is ever knowing and aware."

Mediation is a process in which the dispute parties, with the help of a dispute resolution practitioner (mediator), identify the disputed issues, develop options, consider alternatives and efforts to achieve an agreement (Hanifah Mardalena, 2016, hlm. 17). In this case, a mediator can give suggestions or determine a mediation process to seek a resolution or settlement. One of the institutions that so far serves, addresses, and mediates a husband and wife who have a problem in their household is *Sakinah* Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque (FCCB) of Surabaya City.

There are some previous researches related to Al-Falah Mosque Surabaya, among others are researches about mosque administration conducted by Niko Pahlevi Hentika (Hentika dkk., 2014), mosque and al-Qur'an course conducted by Alwan, Saputra who studied about *Muallaf* at al-Falah Mosque. Meanwhile, a research related to *Sakinah* Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque (FCCB) Kota Surabaya among others are Fadiyatun Nisa' (Nisa' dkk., 2019) and Susi Erlina Maya Novita (Novita, 2015) that relate to FCCB counseling about preventions in marriage. Tania's research discussed about FCCB role in *Syiqaq* (Sari, 2020). Irsad's research is about Face Reading to Increase Self Acceptance of prospective wife to the groom (Irsad, 2016) and Eko Saputro's research is about the concept of Happy Family according to FCCB Counselor (Saputro, 2019). Based on those researches, there has been no research discussing FCCB role in solving family disputes reviewed from Islamic law.

As the capital city of East Java, Surabaya is one of the cities that ranks relatively high in divorce cases. Daily, Religious Court serves almost 40 divorce cases, both repudiation divorce and judicial divorce. Based on the data of Religious Court Surabaya in June 2020, there were 439 repudiation and 955 judicial divorce cases. While in July 2020, repudiation divorce increased to 478 cases and judicial divorce increased to 1.054 cases.

FCCB Surabaya City was established by Al Falah Mosque Foundation of Surabaya City to reconcile or to mediate the married Muslim parties when problems occur in their households that lead to divorce (Nisa' dkk., 2019). In 2019, the counselors of FCCB Surabaya City handled some syiqaq cases occurring in households and solved by the counselors of FCCB Surabaya City. One of the example cases is a wife who remained to refuse to serve her husband after *nifas* period or the puerperium after giving birth, and then her husband filed unregistered marriage secretly. After giving birth, the wife passed nifas period or the puerperium for 40 days. It means that the husband was not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife during puerperium, but in this case, after puerperium finished, the wife still refused to have sexual intercourse with her husband by reason of remaining tired post-delivery. As a result, the husband filed an unregistered marriage to another woman secretly. Additionally, another example of such a case is a husband who did not give physical needs from the beginning of the marriage, but the husband gave all his salary to his mother without giving physical needs to his wife. When the wife got pregnant, she went to her parents' house since she felt unnoticed and ignored. When she was on her way to her mother's house, the wife asked for travel fare money. But instead, her parents'-in-law answered, "You have been working, so use your own money (Usman, Syariah, komunikasi pribadi, 21 Oktober 2019).

In both case examples above, FCCB tried to give solutions in order to prevent the family problem from the law court and give positive contributions in order to implement a *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah* family with integrity and harmony. From the brief description, the writer is interested in studying the counselor roles of Al-Falah Mosque's *Sakinah* Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau (FCCB) of Surabaya City in solving the family disputes in Islamic law perspectives.

#### Method

The type of this research is field research and qualitative. This research was conducted at FCCB Al-Falah Mosque Jln. Darmo No. 137 A Surabaya City Indonesia. The subjects/participants of the research are the professional consultant/counselor team of FCCB Al-Falah Mosque of Surabaya City.

The source of data used by the writer in this research consists of:

- a. Primary Source: A primary source is the data directly obtained from the source. Primary source of the research is counselor FCCB Al-Falah Mosque of Surabaya City. The names of the counselors are: Dra. H. Syariah Usman, KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA, and Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si, Kons.
- b. Secondary Source: A secondary source is data obtained and collected from legal documents books that are related to objects of the research, results of the research in the form of reports, undergraduate theses, and regulations.

The techniques which were used in collecting data of this research are as follow:

a. Interview

It was conducted by collecting data from *question-and-answer sessions* with the parties concerned. They were the counselor team of FCCB Al-Falah Mosque of Surabaya City, and the names of counselors are Dra. H. Syariah Usman, KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA, and Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si, Kons.

b. Documentation Study

The method of data collection was by taking information from the archives derived from FCCB Al-Falah Mosque of Surabaya City, which closely related to the discussion of cases in research.

After collecting the data, the analysis was conducted by the descriptive method in a deductive pattern derived from general to specific knowledge. The general theories of *hakam* in Islamic law were then used as case materials to analyze a particular case that is FCCB role in overcoming family issues to draw the conclusion. The role of Counselor of *Sakinah* Family Consultation and Counseling Bureau of Al-Falah Mosque of Surabaya (FCCB) in Solving Family Problem 1. Family dispute issues consulted to FCCB

Based on the interview result of three counselors at FCCB, namely Dra. Hj. Syariah Usman, KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA, and Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si, Kons., household issues served by FCCB counselors are enormous. There are about three clients in a day.

Dra. Hj. Syariah Usman said that:

"There are numerous cases, from a husband's layoffs from work, getting a carrier step-down, misunderstanding, insecure feelings and jealousy on the social media, school reunions causing unlawful interactions with the opposite sex, polygamy decisions of the husband, or unregistered marriage (*nikah sirri*) secretly applied by a husband since the wife refused to give her compassions after *iddah* period of birth delivery" (Usman, Syariah, komunikasi pribadi, 14 November 2019).

Another opinion was from KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA stating that:

"Each individual has a different case, for example, disobedience of the wife; lack of communication; introverted communication; when problems occur, they are shared with other parties and causing misunderstandings, reunion impacts (infidelity), economic problem as the wife demands more than the husband's ability to afford, and adultery" (A. Cahyadi, komunikasi pribadi, 19 November 2019).

The cause of family dispute was also raised by Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si, Kons saying that:

"Yes, that is because the husband was unwilling to work, and the family could not rely on him, the wife then worked, instead; also an affair with the third party, such as gaining interest in the former boyfriend/girlfriend; the husband retired, and the wife's got less monthly money and complained; hypersexuality/sexual disorder; a mother blamed the child-in-law, and the child-in-law felt uncomfortable with that" (Immarianis, komunikasi pribadi, 24 Januari 2020).

According to the data above, it is understood that the reasons for conflicting family disputes are economic problems; they are the husband's layoffs from work, step-down carrier, demanding wife, husband's unwillingness to work, unreliable husband, working wife, husband's retirement, complaining wife, the third party, misunderstanding, jealousy, social media and school reunion impacts, polygamy decisions of the husband, unregistered marriage (*nikah sirri*), immoral deeds of the couple, lack of communication, introverted communication, adultery, sexual disorder, the inharmonious relationship between the couple and the parents-in-law. Among the mentioned issues, the most-frequently-found case dealt with FCCB in conflicting

family disputes is a case caused by cheating with the third party, or male and female cheaters, which led to communication failure and unfulfilled rights of both husband and wife.

#### **Mediation Process in FCCB**

The counselors in FCCB Surabaya come from various backgrounds. With the variety of counselors, each conselor takes certain efforts to solve clients' problems, as Dra. Hj. Syariah Usman giving her counseling in her statement: "The efforts I take to solve clients' family problems are carefully and attentively listening to them sharing all their problems with me, then trying to find the core of the problems they are facing, and offering pieces of advice as well as solutions of every single problem; sometimes I give the clients understandings of their problems based on Islamic laws".

On the other side, an attempt taken by KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA. to overcome clients' *syiqaq* is asking their problems in the first place. He is willing to help clients only if both of the couples are present since subjective information will be received if there is only one party coming to consult with him. If the problem is unsolved, he invites the third party to have the competence to be the client's mediator. Meanwhile, efforts taken by Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si are similar to the efforts of Dra. Hj. Syariah Usman, mentioning that: "Listening to clients, advising, offering solutions, and sometimes explaining Islamic *shariah*".

On the basis of the interviews above, the counselors are similar in the consultation process; they are listening to clients to spot the problems, knowing the core of the problems, advising, offering solutions according to the problems, and giving Islamic understandings of how Islamic *shariah* answers their problems, besides suggesting both parties (the couple) to be present. If the problems remain unsolved, the counselor will invite the third party to have the competence to be the client's mediator.

#### Solutions offered by FCCB on family conflicts

According to the interview with Dra. Hj. Syariah Usman, the solutions are given:

"Every problem comes with solutions, including these family problems. Company layoff is answered by advising the wife to encourage the husband seeking another job to earn a living, standing by him, and supporting the family's economy by using her skills, including being grateful for what they have achieved. Breaking the family into a conflict that has the possibility to fix the problems will only have bad impacts on the children, particularly their psychological state, and other negative effects of divorce. For other problems, I give suggestions and motivate the clients to get along well, avoid divorce, and build better communication with the family as it is the ultimate aspect of the relationship." (Usman, Syariah, komunikasi pribadi, 12 Desember 2019).

Subsequently, solutions offered by KH. Agung Cahyadi, Lc, MA in helping clients with their family problems are by counseling:

"The solution is when there is a dispute, and I suggest to keep it from other parties, find ways out to fix the problems; thus the key is on communication and give advice to one another." (A. Cahyadi, komunikasi pribadi, 13 Januari 2020)

Meanwhile, solutions given by Immarianis, S.Pd, M.Si for problems faced by the clients are:

"Solutions given to clients who are facing family conflicts are not the same. As an example, the husband got laid off and other economic problems in which the wife could hardly take it, also a hypersexual problem. Then it should be drawn on the intention of marriage, that is, to seek Allah's will and grace, not merely for pleasure. About the third party problem, it is an affair, and then the solution should be openness, well-built communication, and compassion in the form of pleased attention. For problems with the in-laws, the mother-in-law blames the child-in-law and discomfort him/her; the solution is that the mother-in-law should advise her child-in-law, instead of scolding or anger. If the parents- and children-in-laws' are inharmonious, bigger problems will appear and lead to broken marriage" (Immarianis, komunikasi pribadi, 24 Januari 2020).

From the interviews, it is inferred that the solutions offered by FCCB in solving family problems are:

- 1. Related to economic problems, for example, the husband's layoff, the conselor will advise the wife to encourage the husband to seek another job to earn a living, stand by him, and support the family's economy by using her skills. The conselor also advises them to be grateful for what they have. Breaking the family into a conflict that has the possibility to fix the problems will only have bad impacts on the children, particularly their psychological state, and other negative effects of a divorce.
- 2. Giving suggestions and motivations to the clients to fix the relationship, avoid divorce, and build better communication with the family as communication is the ultimate aspect of the relationship.
- 3. Reminding the couple about the intention of marriage, that is to seek Allah's will and His pleasure, not only man's pleasure in life.
- 4. About the third party problem, it is an affair, and then the solution should be openness, well-built communication, and compassion in the form of good attention.
- 5. For problems with the in-laws, the mother-in-law blames the child-in-law and discomfort him/her; the solution is that the mother-in-law should advise her child-in-law, instead of scolding or anger. If the parents- and children-in-laws' are inharmonious, bigger problems will appear and lead to a broken marriage.

- 6. Using psychological approaches.
- 7. Offering solutions according to Islamic *shariah* (Islamic law) and giving insights about marriage regulations.

Based on the aforementioned explanations, it is inferred in general that a way and effort taken by the counselors of FCCB Surabaya is implementing problem-solving according to each couple's problem with several spiritual approaches to learn the lessons behind every conflict in order to build the client's mentality, and they will expectedly be strong and patient in solving their family problems. This is crucial to do as it supports the client's psychological state. Furthermore, the counselors also used a law enforcement approach, that is a way to solve problems according to the applied law. The law here refers not only to the regulations but also to *Al-Qur'an* and *Hadiths*, the thoughts of the *fukaha* (the jurists) and *fatwa* (a ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority). The counselors tried to offer the best solutions for their clients, the lawful solutions based upon Islamic *shariah* (A. Cahyadi, komunikasi pribadi, 13 Januari 2020).

In the consultation with FCCB to solve problems, the clients require several consultations to fix the issues. The advice given by the counselors of FCCB to the conflicting parties is expected to influence the involved parties to rethink more clearly; therefore the couple will not make wrong decisions post-counseling in front of the counselors of FCCB Surabaya. From the clients' consultation and counseling with FCCB, nearly 80% of clients did not file for the lawsuit in the court. However, not few clients filed for divorce in the law court, as their conflicts ended up a divorce in the court. If their family/household problems continued to grow, and they maintained the marriage, worse or even fatal impacts would occur.

# Islamic Law Analysis of the Counselor Roles in the Consultation and Counseling Bureau of *Sakinah* Family of Al-Falah Mosque Surabaya (FCCB) in Solving Family Problems

There is no marriage without problems (Rohman dkk., 2020, hlm. 362). Problems occur in marriage as a result of not only internal factors but also external factors. Both factors cause inharmonious relationships in a marriage (Rahman, 1996), even though the principle of marriage is to create a well-being, harmonious, and everlasting marriage.

One of the problems in FCCB consultations so far is related to economy, communication, third party, and parents- and children-in-laws relations, and some others. In giving solutions to the clients, FCCB used a spiritual approach by learn the lessons behind every conflict; thereby the clients became more patient, strong, and were thinking calmly to solve their family problems. Moreover, the counselors also used a law enforcement approach to solve problems according to the applied law, not vice versa. The efforts of FCCB counselors in handling family problems were

categorized effective, as many clients reported their problems to the bureau and solved them without filing for a divorce.

Islamic law states that if there are a husband and a wife in dispute, they should appoint *hakam* to solve their problems. *Hakam* consists of two persons appointed to represent the husband and the wife. By mediation, it is expected that will solve their problems (Nora Abdul Hak & Sarafuddin Abdul Syahid Sowell, 2017, hlm. 54).

In the Religious Court, a divorce process requires mediation processes by a *hakam* appointed by the judge. *Hakam* in Religious Court is a mediator-certified judge. It is under the Regulation of Indonesian Republic Number 7 The Year 1989 as it was changed into Regulation of Indonesian Republic Number 3 The Year 2006, and the second change into Regulation of Indonesian Republic Number 50 The Year 2009 written: *Hakam* is the appointed person by the Court from the husband's family or from the wife's family, or other parties to take efforts in solving problems towards *syiqaq*. The function of *hakam* in the practice of the Religious Court is to solve divorce issues by reason of *syiqaq* which is in the form of discussion (*musyawarah*) to reconcile both parties. The result is submitted to the Religious Court/*Mahkamah Shariah* as the base of judge's decision (Huzaimah, 2016).

Even though FCCB and *hakam* in the Religious Court have a similar role, as a mediator, however the position of FCCB as *hakam* is different from *hakam* requirement in the Religious Court, that possesses judge background and is mediator-certified.

The purpose of a conselor in FCCB is to help the society solve their family problems (*syiqaq*) and avoid ending up a divorce. As a consequence, such problems may not be directly taken to court and lead to a divorce. Counselors of FCCB are expected to offer fair solutions and not detrimental to one side, the husband or the wife.

In Al-Qur'an, there are verses of Al-Qur'an which are implicitly categorized as justifying and ordering verses to take a marriage consultation and consoling. Allah SWT reminded and ordered His slaves (the husband and the wife) to send a mediator (*hakam*) from each couple's family one *hakam*, if disputes occur in their household. According to the writer, *hakam* in the current context can be defined as a mediator, besides being named as a marriage conselor (Muchlisin, 2010, hlm. 56). In this context, Allah spoke in Al-Qur'an Surah An-Nisa verse 35:

"And if you fear dissension between the two, send an arbitrator from his people and an arbitrator from her people. If they both desire reconciliation, Allah will cause it between them. Indeed, Allah is ever knowing and acquainted",

*Hakamain* means two persons appointed by the husband party and the wife party as a facilitator in solving their problems. In such context, mediation or conflict reconciliation between the two becomes compulsory or *fardu* for the sake of the husband and the wife's goodness (*maslahah*) (Hakim, 2019, hlm. 6).

A wise *hakam* solving the relationship crisis vigorously between the husband and the wife should be from both the husband and the wife parties, by reason of having a better understanding of the internal condition of the two parties, the husband and the wife. According to other Islamic reviewers, a sentence *fab'atsu hakaman* in the aforementioned verse describes the necessity of *hakam* as a representative (*wakil*). This underlies the reason for allowing *hakam* from another council, not only from each family, the husband and the wife's family. Consequently, the existence of both private and state councils as *hakam* is crucial, because not all family has the ability to appoint *hakam* from their own family with the underlying varied considerations. Analysing the descriptions above, it is clear that a conselor position is equal to *hakam*. Explicitly, the verse is a verse in Al-Qur'an which directly relates to marriage/conflicting family consoling, although it does not literally mention conselor but *hakam*, instead (Muchlisin, 2010, hlm. 56).

Man's problems are getting more complex in this globalization era, which makes such a council or bureau like FCCB become vital for the conflicting couples to get help in problem solving. In spite of the fact that counselor roles of FCCB in this marriage context are not the end of law determination, psychologically and sociologically, the advice, guidance, and courage given highly support the society or clients. Therefore, the counselor roles of FCCB should be improved optimally to build a family full of *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*.

Counselors from this kind of council are needed by the society because counselors of this council give the best and most solutive problem-solving for families dealing with their household problems. FCCB provides several efforts or stages to solve the clients' problems; thereby the problems will be expectedly overcome. The efforts of FCCB counselors become means of functioning a family as "a gathering spot" for every family member, besides producing harmonies and reciprocal relationships equipped with love and compassion among them.

FCCB counselors play a role as a mediator of the occurring family problems. In this case, the counselors do not justify the problems or blame one of the parties, but disentangle, harmonize, reconcile, and give the best solutions taken from the clients' problems let alone. Anshori Umar affirmed that these ways were the best alternatives when a family could not find a way out to solve their internal problems; as a consequence, they needed negotiators, which in this context, they are aligned with the functions and roles of FCCB.

Among other purposes of Islamic law are to generate *maslahah* (goodness) and avoid defects and failures (*mafsadah*) (Mutakin, Ali, t.t.). In accordance with such conditions, the efforts of counselors to solve family problems are to obtain *maslahah* and avoid *mafsadah*. A dispute will turn into a great *mafsadah* if it is not solved. In *maqashid shariah* (Don dkk., 2021, hlm. 419), the efforts of FCCB counselors is in accordance with *hifz al-nasl* (keeping the offsprings) (Musyafaah dkk., 2021, hlm. 76).

The existence of counselors will reduce the number of divorces in Indonesia since the counselors who work in this organization provide practical ways to prevent household problems from divorce. On the other side, FCCB counselors also function as educational means of the society to keep the family's harmony and integrity as an institution.

### Conclusion

The efforts of solving families' problems put by FCCB Surabaya counselors are giving the best solutions by using spiritual approaches to learn the lessons behind every conflict in order to build the client's mentality, and they will expectedly be strong and patient in solving their family problems. Furthermore, the counselors also take a law enforcement approach, which is a way to solve problems according to the applied law.

The FCCB Surabaya counselors' role in solving family problems is in the form of assistance in such a way they will not end up in a court and a divorce file. From Islamic law perspectives, the roles of the Consultation and Counseling Bureau of *Sakinah* Family of Al – Falah Mosque Surabaya counselors are properly according to their positions as *hakam*, that is, to integrate the harmony of husband and wife and prevent them from filing for a divorce.

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