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Commodity Hoarding by Farmers in West Lombok through the Lens of *Maqaṣid al-Shariʿah*: A Socio-Legal Analysis

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Abstract

Food commodity storage by farmers remains a critical issue in Islamic economic ethics, particularly when legitimate survival strategies intersect with the risk of market distortion and public harm. This study examines food commodity storage and hoarding practices among farmers in West Lombok Regency, Indonesia, through the perspectives of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh muʿāmalāt*) and *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah*. Employing a qualitative socio-legal research design, the study integrates normative Islamic legal analysis with the socio-economic realities of smallholder farmers operating within imperfect market structures. Data were obtained through a systematic literature review, doctrinal legal analysis, and contextual examination of local food market dynamics. The findings indicate that farmers' storage practices are jurisprudentially permissible when motivated by legitimate economic survival needs and when they do not cause material harm (*maḍarrat*) to the wider public. However, such practices become prohibited as *iḥtikār* when conducted in an organized manner that creates artificial scarcity and triggers price increases detrimental to consumers. The *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* framework, particularly the protection of life (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), wealth (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and public interest (*al-maṣlaḥah al-ʿāmmah*), provides a context-sensitive analytical lens that moves beyond rigid doctrinal prohibition while recognizing the structural vulnerabilities of peasant economies. This study contributes to Islamic socio-legal scholarship by demonstrating the relevance of *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* in evaluating commodity storage practices and offers practical implications for integrating Islamic legal-ethical values into national food policy to support a just, sustainable, and welfare-oriented food system.

Keywords: Food Commodity Storage; *Iḥtikār*; *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah*; Socio-Legal Research; Smallholder Farmers.

INTRODUCTION

In Islamic commercial jurisprudence, the deliberate storage of essential commodities for speculative price exploitation is designated as ihtikār a practice normatively condemned on the grounds that it produces artificial scarcity and imposes hardship upon the public *(al-dayyiq)* (Wahyuni, 2010). Classical jurists, drawing upon prophetic traditions *(ahādīth)*, unanimously prohibited hoarding of food staples when such action visibly damages the welfare of consumers. Contemporary Islamic economists further situate this prohibition within the broader framework of Maqāsid al-Sharīah the higher objectives of Islamic law which mandate the protection of life *(hifẓ al-nafs)*, intellect *(hifẓ al-aql)*, progeny *(hifẓ al-nasl)*, wealth *(hifẓ al-māl)*, and religion *(hifẓ al-dīn)* (Auda, 2008). Building on this normative tradition, (Asad Ibrahim et al., 2014) emphasise that hoarding (kanz) in its contemporary forms requires contextually sensitive interpretation that goes beyond simplistic textual prohibition, particularly when analysed through the lens of Maqāṣid objectives and wealth circulation.

Food security remains one of the most structurally persistent challenges facing developing Muslim-majority countries, and Indonesia is no exception. Within this broader national challenge, West Lombok Regency (Kabupaten Lombok Barat) presents a particularly instructive case. Despite active government programmes to optimise agricultural land and empower smallholder farmers with the expressed ambition of positioning the regency as a national food production hub (lumbung pangan nasional) the local food commodity market remains chronically fragile (Randani et al., 2022). Price volatility is pronounced, equitable distribution is repeatedly disrupted, and a significant proportion of the rural population remains food insecure. According to (Wijaya, 2022), 22.8% of households in West Lombok fall below the food security threshold, against a national average of 19.1%. This reality resonates with broader findings by (Alami & Mohammad, 2024), whose systematic review of Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah applications in Indonesian food security contexts demonstrates that Islamic normative frameworks have yet to be translated into effective food governance policy at the local level.

The structural conditions underlying this fragility are well documented. Average farm size in West Lombok stands at just 0.41 hectares per household half the national average of 0.82 ha (BPS Lombok Barat, 2023) (Hailudin et al., 2023). Only 18.3% of farmers access formal credit, compared to 34.7% nationally. Post-harvest losses reach 14.2%, above the national figure of 11.5%, reflecting underdeveloped cold-chain and warehousing infrastructure. The rice price volatility index in the region is 0.31, against a national average of 0.22, indicating significantly higher price instability at the farm gate. (Barrett, 2010) demonstrates in his cross-regional analysis of smallholder market participation in developing countries, these structural features fragmented landholdings, credit constraints, and asymmetric market power systematically distort farmer behaviour in ways that classical legal frameworks did not anticipate.

Within this environment, the practice of farm-level commodity storage has become the subject of considerable legal and religious controversy. In Islamic commercial jurisprudence, the deliberate withholding of essential commodities to exploit price rises is designated ihtikār a practice condemned in prophetic tradition and elaborated by classical jurists across the Hanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiī, and Hanbalī schools. The prophetic hadith transmitted by Mamar ibn Abdullāh "Whoever hoards is a sinner" has been widely invoked in Indonesian Islamic economic discourse to censure farmer storage practices (Wahyuni, 2010b); (Musyahid et al., 2023).

The legal framework reinforces this censure. Indonesia's Law No. 18/2012 on Food and Law No. 7/2014 on Trade both prohibit hoarding of basic commodities (Nurrohim et al., 2023). In practice, however, enforcement has focused primarily on merchant-traders and intermediaries rather than farmer-producers a legal distinction that sits uneasily alongside the religious condemnation of farm-level storage. Meanwhile, the role of tengkulak (market intermediaries), who provide advance financing (ijon) to farmers before harvest at prices well below anticipated market rates, receives comparatively little critical attention, despite constituting a structurally more significant source of market distortion(El-Gamal, 2006); (Zarqa & Thinking, 1983).

The core issue this study addresses is therefore a legal and economic paradox: smallholder farmers in West Lombok are routinely characterised as engaging in prohibited hoarding for storing their own harvests, yet the structural conditions driving that storage price asymmetry, credit constraints, monopsonistic intermediary pressure, and inadequate post-harvest infrastructure are largely beyond their individual control. The same physical act of retaining grain after harvest can represent either exploitative market manipulation or rational economic survival, depending entirely on context, intent, and market consequence (Harriss-White, 1995). Indonesian Islamic economic discourse has largely collapsed this distinction, producing a framework that is jurisprudentially imprecise and empirically inadequate for addressing the actual dynamics of smallholder agrarian economies.

The central argument of this study is that the classical ihtikār prohibition, properly interpreted through its own harm-conditional logic, does not apply categorically to farm-level commodity storage in structurally disadvantaged agrarian economies and that the persistent conflation of subsistence storage with speculative hoarding in Indonesian Islamic economic discourse represents both a jurisprudential misreading and a policy failure (Roswaldy, 2025).

This argument rests on a careful recovery of classical doctrine. Ibn Qudāmah and Al-Ghazālī both clarify that the operative criterion for ihtikār prohibition is not storage per se, but the materialisation of actual harm *(tahaqquq al-darar)* to consumers what classical texts identify *as shart al-madarrat*, the harm-conditionality principle (Abdul-Rahman et al., 2025). Ibn Taymiyyah further specified that state intervention to prohibit storage and compel sale is justified only when actual market distortion occurs (Islahi, 2015). On this reading, the majority of farm-level seasonal storage in West Lombok motivated by income smoothing, price risk management, and post-harvest debt obligations does not meet the threshold for prohibition.

The argument gains further force from the *Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* framework. The higher objectives of Islamic law protection of life *(hifẓ al-nafs)*, wealth *(hifẓ al-māl)*, intellect *(hifẓ al-aql)*, progeny *(hifẓ al-nasl)*, and religion *(hifẓ al-dīn)* provide a purposive analytical lens that foregrounds consequences for human welfare rather than formal resemblance to a named prohibited act (Auda, 2008); (Chapra, 2016). Applied to West Lombok, this framework reveals a genuine tension: blanket prohibition of farmer storage, in the absence of structural reform addressing price asymmetry and credit access, would compound *hifz al-māl* violations against already economically vulnerable farmers without producing the *hifz al-nafs* benefits for consumers that the prohibition is designed to secure.

The researcher further argues that the tengkulak ijon system not farm-level storage constitutes the more fundamental *Maqāṣid* violation in West Lombok's agricultural economy. By systematically extracting below-market prices from credit-constrained farmers through pre-harvest financing, tengkulak engage in structural zulm (exploitation) that the classical prohibition of gharar (uncertainty) and the *Maqāṣid* commitment to distributional justice directly condemn (El-Gamal, 2006); (Chapra, 2008). A jurisprudentially coherent and empirically grounded application of Islamic legal principles would prioritise correcting this structural dynamic over censuring the farmers who are its primary victims.

The urgency of this argument is not merely academic. Indonesia's food governance framework including the mandate of the National Food Agency (Badan Pangan Nasional) is increasingly drawing on Islamic economic principles as a normative resource (Kusnan et al., 2022). If those principles are applied without the contextual sensitivity that *Maqāṣid* reasoning demands, the result will be regulatory frameworks that penalise farmers for rational adaptive behaviour while leaving the structural conditions generating food insecurity unaddressed.

Scholarship on ihtikār in Islamic jurisprudence has developed along two largely separate tracks: classical doctrinal analysis and contemporary Islamic economic application. Within the first track, foundational contributions by (Islahi, 2015) on Ibn Taymiyyah's market governance theory and (El-Gamal, 2006) on Islamic finance and trade ethics established the normative contours of the prohibition. These works clarify that harm-conditionality is central to classical ihtikār doctrine a finding replicated in subsequent comparative jurisprudential studies including (Sutrisno et al., 2026). However, these contributions remain largely doctrinal: they reconstruct classical legal positions without engaging the empirical conditions of contemporary smallholder agrarian economies.

Within the contemporary Islamic economics track, (Chapra, 2014) and (Shafiq, 2022) have argued for methodological reformulation of Islamic economic principles including market ethics for conditions of modern agrarian capitalism. (Avdukic & Asutay, 2025) and (Suhaimi et al., 2023) extend this project to issues of market structure and distributional justice. (Kusnan et al., 2022) and (Suhaimi et al., 2023) apply Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah as a normative framework for evaluating economic development policies in Southeast Asian contexts. Yet none of these contributions engages specifically with the structural position of smallholder farmers, the ijon financing system, or the empirical dynamics of post-harvest storage decisions.

On the Indonesian side, (Wahyuni, 2010b) address ihtikār specifically in the context of Indonesian Islamic economic discourse. Both studies provide valuable doctrinal surveys, but apply the prohibition without systematic distinction between merchant speculation and farmer storage precisely the conflation this study identifies as jurisprudentially problematic. Examines Maqāsid al-Sharīah methodology in the context of Islamic law reform in Indonesia, but does not extend this to food commodity governance (Abdul Jalil, 2013). (Adesty et al., 2025) address Maqāsid in Islamic economics more broadly, without empirical application to specific agrarian contexts.

Agricultural economics contributions provide important empirical context but are largely disconnected from Islamic legal analysis. Demonstrate that Indonesian smallholder storage decisions are primarily driven by price uncertainty, transaction costs, and credit constraints rather than speculative motives. (Barrett, 2010) and (McGuirk & Burke, 2020) document structural market failures in smallholder agricultural systems in developing countries. (Timmer, 2010) analyse Indonesian food price volatility and policy responses. (Randani et al., 2022) provide systematic evidence on household food insecurity in Indonesia. These studies collectively establish the empirical framework within which the legal analysis must operate but do not themselves engage with Islamic jurisprudential categories.

The research gap is therefore threefold. First, existing ihtikār scholarship does not adequately distinguish between structurally differentiated forms of storage subsistence storage, speculative hoarding, and storage induced by structural market failure and therefore cannot generate the contextually differentiated legal assessments that the harm-conditionality principle itself requires. Second, the Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah framework, while increasingly applied to food security discourse (Alami & Mohammad, 2024), has not been applied to the specific institutional conditions of West Lombok or comparable Indonesian smallholder agricultural economies. Third, the ijon financing system and tengkulak monopsony arguably the primary drivers of both farmer vulnerability and defensive storage behaviour have received no sustained attention in the Islamic economics literature on food commodity governance.

The novelty of this study operates at three levels. At the conceptual level, it operationalises harm-conditionality (shart al-madarrat) as a contextual analytical criterion for evaluating farm-level storage practices moving beyond the binary permissible/prohibited classification that dominates existing ihtikār scholarship toward a typologically differentiated assessment framework responsive to structural economic conditions. This reconceptualisation recovers a dimension of classical ihtikār doctrine that contemporary Indonesian Islamic economic discourse has largely suppressed.

At the methodological level, the study integrates socio-legal research design with applied Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah analysis a combination called for in the Islamic economics literature (Kizilkaya, 2020a) but rarely executed with the specificity that local empirical grounding requires. By bringing agricultural economics evidence on price volatility indices, formal credit access rates, post-harvest loss statistics, and smallholder storage behaviour into direct dialogue with normative jurisprudential analysis, the study demonstrates a methodological pathway for contextualised Islamic legal reasoning that has broader applicability beyond the West Lombok case.

At the empirical level, the study contributes the first systematic Maqāṣid-based analysis of commodity storage practices in West Lombok Regency, with specific attention to the ijon financing system and tengkulak monopsony as drivers of farmer storage behaviour. This fills a gap in the emerging literature on contextualised Maqāṣid applications in Southeast Asian Islamic economics (Kusnan et al., 2022), which has hitherto focused on conceptual and development policy questions rather than specific agrarian institutional arrangements.

The primary theoretical foundation of the study is the Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah framework as systematised by Al-Shātibī in al-Muwāfaqāt and reformulated for contemporary application by (Auda, 2008) and (Chapra, 2008). Al-Shātibī's methodological principle that legal rulings must be assessed against their actual consequences for human welfare rather than their formal resemblance to textual prohibitions provides the normative basis for the study's contextual approach. Auda's systems-oriented reformulation, which emphasises multidimensionality, purposive reasoning, and contextual adaptability, is particularly applicable to the complex socio-economic dynamics of food commodity governance. This Maqāṣid foundation is supplemented by classical ihtikār doctrine as reconstructed through Ibn Taymiyyah's market governance theory (Islahi, 2015) and by socio-legal methodology as elaborated by (Banakar & Travers, 2014).

This study focuses on the jurisprudential and policy dimensions of food commodity storage and hoarding by smallholder farmers in West Lombok Regency, Indonesia, examined through the integrated analytical lens of classical ihtikār doctrine and Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah theory (Auda, 2008). The research is situated at the intersection of Islamic legal reasoning, agricultural economics, and food governance policy a disciplinary intersection that has received insufficient systematic attention in both the Islamic economics and agrarian development literatures (Al-Farsi, 2022), with particular attention to the harm-conditionality principle and its implications for the contextual evaluation of storage practices. This objective addresses the need for greater doctrinal precision in a discourse that has tended toward categorical application of the prohibition without adequate engagement with classical nuance.

The second objective is to develop and apply a typological framework grounded in Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah analysis for differentiating between structurally distinct forms of farmer storage in West Lombok, assessing each against the five Sharīʿah objectives and the harm-conditionality criterion. This objective generates the conceptual tools needed to move beyond blanket condemnation toward contextually sensitive legal evaluation.

The third objective is to derive evidence-informed governance recommendations consistent with Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah principles, addressing both the regulatory treatment of farmer storage and the structural market failures particularly the ijon financing system and tengkulak monopsony that generate farmer vulnerability and defensive storage behaviour. This objective connects the normative analysis to actionable policy outcomes, consistent with the Maqāṣid commitment to realising human welfare through institutional design rather than prohibition alone. Taken together, these objectives aim to contribute both theoretical enrichment to Islamic economics scholarship and practical guidance for food governance policy in West Lombok and comparable agrarian contexts in Muslim-majority developing countries.

METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative socio-legal research design an approach integrating normative jurisprudential analysis with empirical socio-economic observation (Banakar & Travers, 2014). Socio-legal methodology is particularly appropriate because the ihtikār problematic cannot be resolved through doctrinal analysis alone; it requires engagement with the lived economic realities of smallholder farmers . The Maqāsid al-Sharīah framework of Al-Shātibī and its contemporary reformulations by (Auda, 2008) and (Chapra, 2008) serve as the primary analytical lens for normative evaluation. As (Kizilkaya, 2020) notes, the methodology of Islamic economics increasingly requires integration of normative and empirical dimensions a methodological imperative this study directly addresses.

Data were collected through systematic literature review encompassing: (a) classical Islamic jurisprudential sources on ihtikār and Maqāsid al-Sharīah; (b) contemporary academic literature in Islamic economics, agricultural economics, and food policy; (c) official statistical and policy documents pertaining to West Lombok's agricultural sector; and (d) published empirical studies on smallholder food storage behaviour in Indonesia. Database searches were conducted in Web of Science, Scopus, and Google Scholar using terms including ihtikār, Maqāsid al-Sharīah, food security, commodity hoarding, and smallholder farmers.

Analysis proceeded through three interpretive stages: (1) doctrinal reconstruction of ihtikār jurisprudential contours; (2) Maqāsid-based evaluation assessing how different farmer storage scenarios align with the five Sharīah objectives, with particular attention to the tension between hifz al-māl (farmer wealth protection) and hifz al-nafs (consumer life protection); and (3) policy inference deriving evidence-informed governance recommendations consistent with Maqāsid al-Sharīah principles. This triangulated analytical approach follows the framework employed by (Kamali, 2006) and Auda (2008) for applied Maqāsid research.

As shown in Table 1, each research phase has a different but complementary methodological approach, primary sources, and results in building a cohesive analytical argument.

Table 1. Research Design and Analytical Phases

Research Phase	Approach	Primary Sources	Output
Phase 1: Normative	Classical fiqh analysis (istinbāt)	Quran, Hadith, classical jurisprudence	Jurisprudential typology
Phase 2: Maqāsid Evaluation	Purposive legal reasoning	Al-Shātibī, Auda, Chapra	Scenario-based assessment
Phase 3: Contextual	Socio-economic literature review	Scopus, WoS databases	Structural analysis
Phase 4: Policy Inference	Normative-empirical synthesis	Policy documents, regulations	Governance recommendations

Note: Phases are sequential and iterative; findings from each phase inform subsequent analysis.

RESULTS

Jurisprudential Boundaries of Ihtikār: Classical Analysis

Systematic review of classical fiqh sources yields a nuanced picture considerably more differentiated than contemporary discourse suggests. Three conditions emerge as constitutive of the prohibition in dominant classical opinion. First, the object must be a food commodity essential to communal welfare (qūt al-balad). Second, the intention (niyyah) of the actor is a relevant consideration: the same physical act of storage can be permissible (mubāh) or forbidden (harām) depending on whether motivated by speculative profit at the expense of public welfare or by legitimate economic necessity. Third, and most decisively, the materialisation of actual harm (tahaqquq al-darar) to consumers is the critical operative criterion rather than mere storage per se.

Ibn Taymiyyah formulated that government intervention to prohibit storage and mandate sale is justified only (Nurfaizah, 2020) when actual market distortion occurs directly supporting harm-conditional interpretation (Islahi, 2015). The Islamic Fiqh Academy (Majma al-Fiqh al-Islāmī) resolution on market regulation affirms the state authority to regulate storage when hoarding threatens food availability but explicitly exempts storage undertaken for legitimate purposes including personal consumption, business continuity, and price-risk management (El-Gamal, 2006).

Based on Table 2 below, it can be seen that there are significant differences between the classical schools of Islamic jurisprudence in determining the scope of the prohibition on iḥtikār. The Maliki school applies the broadest criteria, encompassing all goods that have the potential to cause public harm, while the Hanafis limit the prohibition to only staple foodstuffs for direct consumption.

Table: Table 2. Comparative Classical School Positions on Ihtikār Prohibition

Classical School	Scope of Prohibition	Operative Criterion	State Role
Hanafī	Edible food staples only	Actual public hardship (dayyiq)	Price regulation permitted
Mālikī	All goods causing public harm	Harm potential (madarrat amma)	Mandatory sale decree
Shāfiī	Essential commodities (darūrī)	Intentional hoarding + harm	Supervisory (hisbah)
Hanbalī	Essential and non-essential	Market disruption (fasad)	Active intervention
Contemporary (OIC)	Broad commodity categories	Demonstrated market distortion	Regulatory and punitive

Note: OIC = Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. Sources: (Musyahid et al., 2023a) ; (Islahi, 2015); (El-Gamal, 2006).

Maqāsid al-Sharīah Analysis: Three Typological Scenarios

Applying the Maqāsid framework to West Lombok smallholder farmers requires disaggregating storage practices by structural determinants, scale, and market consequences. The analysis identifies three distinct typological scenarios with differentiated Maqāsid evaluations.

Scenario 1 Subsistence and income-smoothing storage. Smallholder farmers retaining portions of harvest to manage intra-seasonal consumption or to sell gradually over multiple market cycles engage in economically rational behaviour consistent with hifz al-māl. This practice does not produce artificial scarcity; it mirrors the market function of intertemporal supply smoothing. Empirical studies confirm this pattern predominates among rice farmers in (Sumawinata et al., 2022). This scenario is jurisprudentially permissible and indirectly beneficial to consumers through price stabilisation over time.

Scenario 2 Organised collective storage for speculative price exploitation. Coordinated storage by farmer groups strategically timed to constrain supply and drive prices above competitive equilibrium (Wahyuni, 2010) directly compromises hifz al-nafs by restricting low-income consumers' food access, violates al-adl (justice), and contravenes the prophetic prohibition on hoarding. The Maqāsid framework unambiguously classifies this as ihtikār in its prohibited form, warranting regulatory intervention (Chapra, 2016); (Kibria et al., 2023).

Scenario 3 Storage induced by structural market failure. The most analytically complex scenario involves storage originating in market failures: monopsonistic behaviour by middlemen (tengkulak), inadequate post-harvest infrastructure, information asymmetries, and credit constraints (Barrett, 2010). Here farmers retain produce not to exploit consumers but because immediate sale would realise prices below production costs. This constitutes a Maqāsid tension between hifz al-māl (farmer) and hifz al-nafs (consumer), resolvable only through systemic policy intervention consonant with Ibn Taymiyyah's principle that the state bears responsibility to correct market structures.

Table 3. Typological Scenarios and Maqāsid al-Sharīah Evaluation

Scenario	Primary Driver	Maqāsid Objective Served	Maqāsid Violated	Jurisprudential Status
1. Subsistence storage	Income smoothing, consumption management	Hifz al-māl (farmer)	None (if no public harm)	Permissible (mubāh)
2. Speculative hoarding	Profit maximisation through induced scarcity	Hifz al-māl (merchant, illegitimate)	Hifz al-nafs, al-adl	Prohibited (harām)
3. Structural market failure	Price asymmetry, monopsony, credit constraint	Hifz al-māl (survival)	Hifz al-nafs (indirect)	Conditional (requires state intervention)

Note: Assessment based on harm-conditionality principle derived from classical fiqh and Maqāsid framework of Al-Shātibī and Auda (2008).

As outlined in Table 3 above, the application of the Maqāṣid framework to smallholder farmers in West Lombok necessitates the separation of storage practices based on structural determinants, scale, and market consequences. The analysis identifies three distinct typological scenarios with differentiated evaluations of the Maqāṣid. (Avdukic & Asutay, 2025), in their study of the impact of Islamic banking development, demonstrate that an Islamic moral economy approach including the application of the Maqāṣid yields a more nuanced evaluation of economic behavior that superficially appears to violate norms.

Structural Factors in West Lombok's Agricultural Sector

The application of Maqāsid reasoning requires situating farmer storage within West Lombok's specific structural conditions: (a) highly fragmented landholdings (average 0.4 ha per household; BPS Lombok Barat, 2023); (b) dependence on rain-fed agriculture with pronounced seasonal price cycles; (c) underdeveloped cold-chain and warehousing infrastructure; (d) limited access to formal credit, compelling reliance on pre-harvest financing arrangements with intermediaries; and (e) thin spot market liquidity amplifying price volatility at harvest peaks. These structural conditions generate a distinctive economic logic for storage diverging fundamentally from the speculative ihtikār envisioned by classical jurists writing in urban merchant (Timmer, 2010).

The role of tengkulak (market intermediaries) is particularly significant. Tengkulak typically provide advance financing (ijon) to farmers before harvest, secured by the right to purchase the crop at pre-determined prices significantly below anticipated market rates. From a Maqāsid perspective, the ijon system represents a more fundamental problem than farm-level storage: it constitutes structural exploitation (zulm) systematically transferring wealth from economically weak farmers to economically powerful intermediaries, contravening distributional justice and hifz al-māl (Kusnan et al., 2022); (El-Gamal, 2006), (Zarqa & Thinking, 1983).

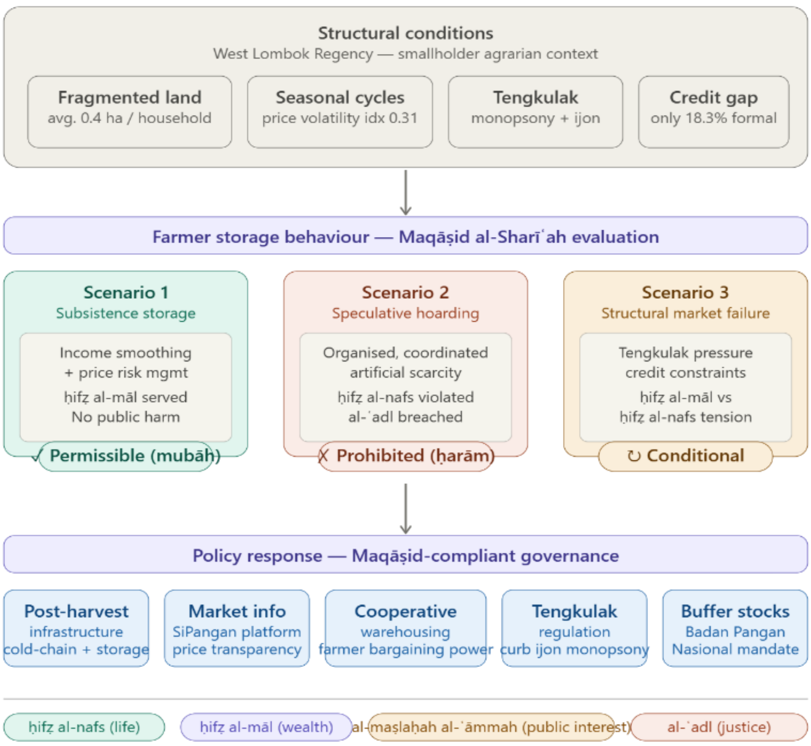

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: Maqāsid al-Sharīah Analysis of Commodity Hoarding in West Lombok

Note: Framework synthesised from Al-Shāṭibī (Muwāfaqāt), (Auda, 2008), (Chapra, 2008), and empirical findings from West Lombok agricultural sector.

As shown in Figure 1 above, this research's conceptual framework integrates components of classical fiqh, Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah analysis, and structural agrarian factors in West Lombok into a cohesive analytical model. This framework positions farmers' commodity storage practices at the intersection of Islamic legal norms and structural economic realities.

Welfare and Market Outcomes: Evidence from Indonesian Smallholders

National-level evidence from Indonesia supports the typological distinctions developed above. Analysis of rice market data from Lombok and comparable regions indicates that farm-level seasonal storage, when conducted outside pre-harvest debt arrangements, consistently achieves higher price realisation without creating observable consumer price spikes in local markets a pattern consistent with intertemporal supply smoothing rather than speculative hoarding (Suryana et al., 2013).

Conversely, where coordinated storage by trader-intermediary networks occurs, price data reveal periodic sharp spikes particularly affecting staple commodities during lean periods a pattern consistent with Scenario 2 ihtikār dynamics.

Table: Table 4. Key Agricultural and Food Security Indicators: West Lombok vs. National Average

Indicator	West Lombok (2023)	National Average	Source
Average farm size (ha)	0.41	0.82	BPS Lombok Barat (2023)
Farmers using formal credit (%)	18.3	34.7	BPS (2023)
Post-harvest losses (%)	14.2	11.5	Suryana et al. (2014)
Price volatility index (rice)	0.31	0.22	Nainggolan et al. (2018)
Farmers using cooperative warehouse (%)	7.6	15.3	BPS Lombok Barat (2023)
Households below food security threshold (%)	22.8	19.1	Tanziha et al. (2022)

Note: All figures are approximate estimates based on cited sources. Price volatility index calculated as coefficient of variation of monthly farm-gate rice prices.

As fully displayed in Table 4 above, West Lombok's agricultural and food security indicators consistently differ from the national average. This data provides an important empirical basis for understanding why farmers in the region tend to store commodities as a survival strategy, rather than as a speculative hoarding practice. (McGuirk & Burke, 2020) show that market failure conditions such as those experienced by West Lombok have historically been correlated with increased economic conflict and defensive behavior by weak economic actors.

DISCUSSION

Reconciling Normative Prohibition and Empirical Reality

The foregoing analysis reveals that the classical ihtikār prohibition, properly understood through harm-conditional logic, is not categorically incompatible with farmer storage in structurally disadvantaged agrarian economies provided such storage does not demonstrably restrict consumer food access and precipitate price spikes. This nuances the prevailing tendency in Indonesian Islamic economic discourse to apply ihtikār prohibition as a blanket condemnation of farm-level commodity retention(Musyahid et al., 2023a). The Maqāsid framework proves analytically superior because it foregrounds consequences and contextual conditions rather than formal acts.

This study's findings resonate with comparative Islamic economics literature. (Zaman, 2022) argue that the foundational principles of Islamic economics including the ihtikār prohibition require methodological reformulation (ijtihād) for contemporary agrarian capitalism. (Reddy et al., 2015) demonstrate that applying classical commercial jurisprudence to modern smallholder agriculture without socio-economic contextualisation risks outcomes antithetical to Maqāsid objectives. The Maqāsid principle of al-maslahah al-mursalah (unrestricted public interest) supports contextual adaptation of classical doctrine consistent with Al-Shātibī's methodological principle that legal rulings must be assessed in light of actual consequences for human welfare (Auda, 2008).

State Responsibilities in Maqāsid-Compliant Food Governance

A pivotal implication concerns the state's responsibilities. Islamic political theory assigns the state an active role in preventing market distortions (Hisbah institution, Ibn Taymiyyah's market governance). However, Maqāsid reasoning extends this mandate beyond reactive prohibition to proactive structural correction: the state is obligated to eliminate conditions generating both farmer vulnerability and the temptation to resort to storage as a coping mechanism (Islahi, 2015); (El-Gamal, 2006) This encompasses: investment in post-harvest infrastructure reducing transaction costs incentivising distress sales; market structure regulation curbing tengkulak monopsony; and cooperative development strengthening farmer bargaining capacity (Barrett, 2010).

The Maqāsid principle of al-maslahah al-ammah supports establishment of public food buffer stocks managed by institutions such as Indonesia's National Food Agency (Badan Pangan Nasional), consistent with the Bulog model but reformulated to better integrate smallholders. From an Islamic governance perspective, public buffer stocking represents state-level ihtikār for beneficial purposes (ihtikār li-maslahah), analogous to juristic permission for state-sanctioned price regulation when market failure produces hardship a position endorsed by (Musyahid et al., 2023b) and consistent with Ostrom's.

Digital Technologies and Market Information Transparency

The rapid penetration of mobile telecommunications and digital platforms in rural Indonesia creates opportunities for implementing real-time market information systems (MIS) reducing information gaps exploited by tengkulak and enabling farmers to make better-informed storage decisions. From a Maqāsid perspective, market information transparency is a precondition of just exchange (bay al-ādil): the prophetic prohibition of ghabn fāhish (egregious deception through information withholding) establishes that transactions based on artificial information asymmetry violate Sharīah norms (El-Gamal, 2006). Indonesia's Sistem Informasi Pangan platform demonstrates technical feasibility, though rural coverage in West Lombok remains limited. (Khattak, 2018) similarly argues, from a Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah perspective applied to Islamic commercial and financial transactions, that protection and just distribution of wealth require institutional mechanisms ensuring information transparency and preventing exploitative asymmetries (Syaichoni et al., 2025).

Gender Dimensions of Food Commodity Storage

An analytically important dimension concerns gender-differentiated impacts of commodity hoarding. In West Lombok, women frequently bear disproportionate responsibility for household food security management while exercising limited control over farm-level storage and marketing decisions (Mehraban, 2021). When storage practices produce artificial scarcity and price spikes (Rofiq & Khusnudin, 2025), welfare burden falls disproportionately on women as household food managers and on vulnerable dependants (Wajahat et al., 2025), directly engaging hifz al-nafs. The Maqāsid extension encompassing human dignity (karāmah al-insān) and elimination of zulm in all forms provides normative grounding for incorporating gender equity into food governance design. Maqāsid-compliant food policy must ensure that women farmers have equitable access to cooperative storage facilities, market information systems, and formal credit.

Theoretical Contributions

This study makes three principal theoretical contributions. First, it operationalises the harm-conditionality principle embedded in classical ihtikār doctrine as a contextual analytical criterion, demonstrating that farm-level storage requires differentiated jurisprudential assessment based on structural conditions, intent, and market consequences. Second, it demonstrates the analytical productivity of integrating socio-legal methodology with Maqāsid al-Sharīah reasoning an integration called for but underexplored in Islamic economics literature. Third, the West Lombok case contributes to an emerging body of contextualised Maqāsid applications in Southeast Asian Islamic economics.

CONCLUSION

This study has systematically analysed commodity storage and hoarding practices by smallholder farmers in West Lombok Regency through the integrated lens of classical ihtikār doctrine and Maqāsid al-Sharīah theory. The core finding that farm-level storage is not inherently equivalent to prohibited ihtikār but becomes so when it demonstrably restricts consumer access and inflates prices represents a jurisprudentially grounded and empirically informed position challenging categorical condemnation of farmer storage in Indonesian Islamic economic discourse.

The Maqāsid al-Sharīah framework emerges as a powerful analytical instrument because it incorporates contextual sensitivity into normative evaluation, attending to consequences for human welfare rather than superficial formal resemblance to prohibited acts. Genuine compliance with Maqāsid objectives requires not only prohibiting speculative hoarding but also addressing structural market failures rendering smallholder farmers economically vulnerable. Achieving food sovereignty and equitable food access in West Lombok requires an integrated governance approach combining Maqāsid-compliant regulatory frameworks, structural investment in post-harvest infrastructure, and active state mechanisms for price stabilisation and farmer empowerment. Islamic jurisprudence provides a rich normative resource for designing economic institutions oriented toward justice, welfare, and sustainability values Maqāsid al-Sharīah articulates with enduring relevance for contemporary food governance.

Several limitations warrant acknowledgement. The analysis relies on published literature and official statistics rather than primary ethnographic or survey data. Future research should employ mixed-methods designs combining in-depth interviews with farmers, market intermediaries, and officials with quantitative market data to empirically validate the typological scenarios identified here. Comparative studies across Indonesian regions and other Muslim-majority agrarian economies would strengthen generalisability of the Maqāsid analytical framework developed in this article.

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