MAZAHIBUNA: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab
Volume 8 Number 3 December 2026; 673-692
P-ISSN: 2685-6905; E-ISSN: 2685-7812
DOI: 10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.69865
http://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/mjpm
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Harmonization of Custom and Sharia: "Uang Japuik" in the Minangkabau Marriage System in West Sumatra

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[Received: April 12, 2026] [Reviewed: May 18, 2026] [Revised: June 02, 2026] [Accepted: July 12, 2026] [Published: November 07, 2026]

How to Cite:
Mitra, R., Hijjang, P., Basir, M., Puspita, M., & Pereira, A. A. (2026). Harmonization of Custom and Sharia: "Uang Japuik" in the Minangkabau Marriage System in West Sumatra. *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab*. 8 (2): 673-692. https://doi.org/10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.69865

Abstract
In Islamic law, *mahr* is a mandatory obligation of the groom, whereas the Minangkabau tradition of *uang japuik* in Padang Pariaman involves the transfer of money from the bride's family to the groom's family. This distinction has often led to the assumption that *uang japuik* contradicts Islamic teachings. This study argues that the two practices belong to distinct normative categories: *mahr* is a religious obligation, while *uang japuik* is a customary gift. Accordingly, they can coexist as complementary practices. This study examines community perceptions of *uang japuik*, its relationship with Islamic law, and its adaptation to contemporary social conditions. It analyzes the practice through the jurisprudential concepts of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid custom) and *'urf fāsid* (invalid custom), as well as *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* (the higher objectives of Islamic law). Employing an ethnographic approach, data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and documentation involving traditional leaders, religious figures, and community members. The findings show that *uang japuik* functions not merely as an economic transaction but also as a symbol of respect, social recognition, and trust between families. From an Islamic legal perspective, it qualifies as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* because it does not contradict the Qur'an and Sunnah, serves the public interest, and reflects an established social practice, provided that it remains voluntary and does not replace the groom's obligation to provide *mahr*. Within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the practice supports family formation, human dignity, and social cohesion. Despite modernization, it retains its cultural significance while allowing greater flexibility in implementation
Keywords: ***Uang Japuik*; Minangkabau; Islamic Law; *'Urf*; *Maqasid al-Shariah*.**

Introduction

The Minangkabau are one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia with a unique social and cultural system that is no less unique than other ethnic groups. While most cultures

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adhere to a patrilineal system in their kinship, Minangkabau culture adheres to a matrilineal system (Munir, 2019). The matrilineal kinship system in West Sumatra is part of Minangkabau customs (Sukmawati, 2019; Miswardi et al., 2024; Sulfinadia et al., 2026). This kinship system has been passed down from generation to generation, tracing lineage through the mother (Alhkarni & Yuriska, 2024). This tribe is also known as the largest adherent of the matrilineal kinship system in Indonesia, even the largest in the world (Sopyan et al., 2020; Krismono et al., 2024). The kinship system that draws descent from the mother's side has been a cultural heritage from previous ancestors. The lineage used is still attached and has become their identity to this day.

Islam is a religion that emerged after custom, so that the Minangkabau people have two guidelines for managing daily life (Aziz et al., 2020; Rahmadiah, 2023; Andri et al., 2025). The Islamic religion has undergone a long regeneration process in Minangkabau, the integration between custom and Islamic religion in Minangkabau is reflected in their philosophy of life *"adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah"* (Mariana, 2024; Zulfadli et al., 2024; Alfurqan et al., 2025). This philosophy emphasizes that all customs carried out must be based on Islamic religious law, and Islam is based on the Koran as a guide to life. The Minangkabau people reject all activities that are contrary to the teachings of the Islamic religion. Every traditional activity carried out must be in line with the holy book Al-Qur'an. Its uniqueness lies not only in the matrilineal kinship system and the philosophy it adheres to, but also in the practices carried out in social, cultural, religious and other life.

One of the Minangkabau cultural practices that persists to this day is the practice of *uang japuik* in the marriage system in Padang Pariaman Regency. Even Minangkabau people living abroad still maintain this tradition (Ahmad & Zulfidar, 2023; Aulia et al., 2023). Not all regions in Minangkabau practice the *bajapuik* culture in their weddings (Anita & Brata, 2023). This custom is carried out only by people in Pariaman, while in other areas such as Payakumbuh, Bukitinggi, and Solok, this custom is not adhered to (Madhatillah et al., 2024). *Uang Japuik* is a gift in the form of money made by the bride's family to the groom's family as agreed by both parties during the marriage process. The practice of using *uang japuik* often receives a negative stigma from outsiders and is considered to violate the long-standing shared commitment of *"adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah."* In fact, outsiders often consider *uang japuik* in marriage to be tantamount to the sale of sons and contrary to Islamic teachings.

In Islam, the bride should ideally receive a dowry from the groom, but the practice of the Minangkabau tribe in Padang Pariaman is the opposite. At first glance, this practice looks like a dowry, but in the understanding of the Minangkabau people in Padang Pariaman, this practice is not a dowry. They consider *uang japuik* to be a custom that has been harmonized with Islamic religious law. The groom in Padang Pariaman also gives a

dowry to the bride according to Islamic teachings. Mahar is one of the legal requirements for marriage in Islam in the form of a mandatory gift from a husband to his future wife (Fathoni & Siti Wahyuni, 2025). Meanwhile, *uang japuik* is only cultural and is considered a tribute given by the bride's family to the groom. The *uang japuik* given to the man will be returned in the form of gold during the *manjalang* event at the in-laws' house. The return of money in the form of gold is not visible to the outside community, so the stigma regarding *uang japuik* is considered to violate the rules of Islamic law.

In social reality, various views have emerged regarding *uang japuik* in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman. Most Padang Pariaman people believe that *uang japuik* should be maintained, because it has a very significant value and meaning and is in line with the customs of *basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*. As a testament to community support, the practice of *uang japuik* still exists in the area. Furthermore, cultural differences often lead to misunderstandings among outsiders (Kastanakis & Voyer, 2014). Many outsiders view *uang japuik* as potentially burdening the woman's family, without knowing and understanding the ins and outs of *uang japuik*. As stated in the previous paragraph, *uang japuik* given to the groom will be returned to the bride's family in the form of gold but is not visible to the community.

Research on custom and Islamic sharia in marriage has indeed been conducted extensively. Busyro et al., (2023) documented the reinforcement of the *uang japuik* tradition in Pariaman society but stopped at institutional description without testing the practice against fiqh categories. Alhkarni & Yuriska, (2024), and Zulkifli et al., (2024) discussed the integration of Minangkabau custom and sharia and the revitalization of *'urf* in state legal development, but their analyses remain at the level of general compatibility between adat and syarak rather than a structured legal test of *uang japuik* itself. Yolanda et al., (2026) approached the tradition mainly from an Islamic-economics angle, and Madhatillah et al., (2024). offered an ethnographic account of *bajapuik* without an explicit *fiqh* framework. What is still missing from this body of scholarship is a study that (1) systematically tests *uang japuik* against the classical four-condition standard of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* versus *'urf fasid*, (2) reads the practice through *maslahah* and the tiered structure of *maqasid al-shariah* (*ḍarūriyyāt–ḥājiyyāt–taḥsīniyyāt*), and (3) grounds that legal-theoretical reading in fresh ethnographic field data from Padang Pariaman rather than secondary description.

The novelty of this research therefore lies in the triangulation of three elements that previous studies have treated separately: ethnographic field data, anthropological interpretation of symbolic meaning, and a structured Islamic-legal evaluation using the *'urf*–maslahah–*maqasid* framework. This integrative approach allows the article to move beyond the recurring claim that *uang japuik* is "merely custom that does not contradict

sharia" toward a reasoned demonstration of *why* and *under what conditions* it qualifies as valid custom, and where the boundary toward *'urf fasid* would lie. Based on the explanation above, the research questions are: (1) how do Minangkabau people give meaning to *uang japuik* in the marriage system in Padang Pariaman? (2) how is the relationship between customs (*uang japuik*) and Islamic sharia in Padang Pariaman? (3) how is the practice of *uang japuik* in the modern era in Minangkabau society in Padang Pariaman.

As a hypothesis, the practice of *uang japuik* in the Minangkabau marriage system in Padang Pariaman is a form of harmonization between custom and Islamic sharia, where customary values are maintained without conflicting with sharia principles. Harmonizing custom and Islamic law in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman is important to understand the meaning of *uang japuik*, the relationship between custom and Islamic law, and the changes in *uang japuik* in a modernizing society.

Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of *uang japuik*, the relationship between custom and Islamic law, and the changes in *uang japuik* in the Minangkabau marriage system in Padang Pariaman. A qualitative approach is highly suitable for this study because the research focuses on social phenomena seen from the perspective of cultural actors, while the ethnographic method used in the study allows researchers to examine cultural practices contextually, holistically, and interpretively in the daily lives of the community (Spradley, 2007).

This research was located in Nagari Gasan Gadang, Nagari Malai V Suku, and Nagari Malai V Suku Timur, Batang Gasan District, Padang Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra Province. This area is a Minangkabau region that still maintains the practice of *uang japuik* in the marriage system. This location was chosen based on the consideration that Padang Pariaman still actively practices *uang japuik*, so that researchers could obtain in-depth and relevant data in accordance with this study. The research was conducted from March to November 2025 in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman. In March-April 2025, initial observations were conducted, in April-September 2025, interviews and FGDs were conducted, and in October-November 2025, data verification was conducted. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, namely people who have knowledge, involvement, and have direct experience with the research focus (Creswell & Clark's, 2023). The parties used as research informants totaled 37 people, consisting of: 5 traditional leaders *(ninik mamak)*, 3 religious leaders *(tuangku)*, 7 married couples (14 people), 7 parents of the bride and groom, and 8 members of the general public.

Data collection techniques were conducted through participatory observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGD), and documentation. Participatory observation was conducted by researchers directly engaging with community activities, as well as observing the practice of giving *uang japuik* during the wedding procession in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman. Interviews followed a semi-structured guide covering three thematic clusters corresponding to the research questions the meaning of *uang japuik*, its relationship to *mahr* and Islamic law, and its transformation in the modern era with each interview lasting approximately 40 minutes to 2 hours. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were held at the homes of the bride and groom. Two FGDs were held: the first session, attended by 9 traditional leaders, and the second session, attended by 7 traditional leaders and village leaders. Conducted by researchers after the wedding procession was over, in which participants provided explanations regarding the meaning of *uang japuik*, the relationship between customary practices and Islamic teachings. Documentation was conducted by researchers to complete the data through recordings, photos, videos, and Minangkabau traditional archives in Padang Pariaman.

Data analysis was conducted through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Sugiyono, 2013). Data reduction was carried out by the researcher by sorting data according to the focus and objectives of the research, data presentation was carried out by the researcher by forming narratives in the data, and conclusion drawing was carried out by the researcher by interpreting the meaning of *uang japuik* and analyzing the relationship between customs and Islamic law in the practice of *uang japuik*.

Coding of interview and FGD transcripts followed a thematic approach: open coding to identify recurring terms and categories (e.g. respect, trust, social status, *'urf*, mahr), followed by axial coding to group these categories under the three research questions. Data triangulation was carried out by cross-checking accounts across informant categories (*ninik mamak*, religious leaders, and married couples) and by comparing interview data with direct observation of wedding processions and documentary sources. Member checking was conducted by returning preliminary interpretations to key informants for confirmation before the data was finalized. Ethical considerations included obtaining verbal or written informed consent from all informants, ensuring their voluntary participation, protecting their anonymity where requested, and securing research permission from the relevant district government.

Result and Discussion

The Meaning of "*Uang Japuik*" in Minangkabau Society in Padang Pariaman

Marriage is a ritual of worship that must be carried out in obedience to the commands of Allah SWT (Latifa & Febrianto, 2025; Rasyid & Siregar, 2025; Ulfatmi et al., 2025). Marriage in Islam is recommended for Muslims with the aim of building a harmonious, loving, and compassionate household (Satriani & Efendi, 2026). Marriage is not only for spiritual satisfaction but also has the purpose of carrying out the commands of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and multiplying the descendants of Muslims so that there will be more Muslims in this world (Nisa, 2022). In general, marital relations are defined as a union between a man and a woman (Pallathadka et al., 2022). Marriage is not only a personal or emotional bond between two individuals, but rather a cultural institution that reflects the values, norms, and social structure of a society (Efevbera & Bhabha, 2020).

Indonesia is rich in cultural diversity, boasting many unique wedding traditions that reflect the social philosophies of each region (Muchimah et al., 2024; Setiyani et al., 2024; Syah et al., 2025). Each region's wedding traditions possess unique customs, such as the Minangkabau tradition in Padang Pariaman. This region's tradition incorporates a system of '*uang japuik*' during the wedding ceremony. *Uang japuik* is a crucial element of the Minangkabau wedding process in Padang Pariaman.

Philosophically, this tradition serves as a symbol of deep respect for the groom and reinforces their position as a member of the bride's extended family (Haq & Abdullah, 2026). Simply put, *japuik* is a sum of money given by the bride's family to the groom's family. This region is the only region that implements *japuik* in the Minangkabau wedding system. This marriage system is often misinterpreted by others as meaning that Minangkabau men in Padang Pariaman are bought and sold, even though in the context of Minangkabau culture this system has a very broad meaning and has social value in society.

The Minangkabau are known as the largest tribe in Indonesia and even in the world which adheres to a matrilineal kinship system (Nasir et al., 2026). The matrilineal kinship system is a lineage drawn from women or mothers. Historically, these interrelated cultural and religious values have made women central figures in the domestic, economic and lineage domains, placing them as the main guardians of Minangkabau cultural continuity (Yunarti et al., 2025).

Women occupy several social positions (Brandl & Colleran, 2024). In religious and traditional events, women often have a very important symbolic role, although not always in leadership positions (Saputri et al., 2024). In this position, women are used as the center in the gadang house or in the family, owning inheritance, and continuing the lineage. In the context of ideal marriage in Minangkabau, women after marriage will continue to live

in their parents' house, while sons will follow to live in the wife's family house. In cases like this, the man who comes to the wife's house is called sumando (son-in-law), so that the man does not have full power in the family but is only part of the structure in the wife's family.

One of the *ninik mamak* (traditional figures) in Nagari Gasan Gadang named Ahmad Alfarizi (pseudonym) said in Minangkabau that:

> *"…Laki-laki di Piaman ko yo diharagoi bana, inyo ka jadi sumando. Makoe dijapuik. Uang japuik ko ndak sumbarang dibuek se doh. Ado makna nan bararti di dalamnyo. Nan partamu, bantuak penghormatan pihak keluarga padusi ke calon laki anaknyo. Nan kaduo, bia laki-laki tu batangguang jawab ka keluarganyo…"* Interview results on July 26, 2025, 13.00 - 15 WIB

Translation:

> "...Men in Pariaman are indeed highly valued because they will become *sumando* (successors). They are invited to attend. This *uang japuik* is not given haphazardly. It has significant meaning. First, it is a form of respect from the woman's family to her daughter's future husband. Second, it is to show the man his responsibility to his family..."

For this reason, *uang japuik* holds significant symbolic meaning in the Minangkabau community of Padang Pariaman. The woman's family views *uang japuik* as a form of appreciation and respect for the groom's willingness to enter the woman's family system. The gift of *uang japuik* symbolizes the woman's family's willingness to accept the man as a husband for their daughter. The woman's family's willingness to accept the man by providing a sum of money agreed upon by both families ensures that the man lives in the wife's family home and becomes a full member of the woman's extended family.

Furthermore, *uang japuik* also signifies responsibility. Giving *uang japuik* to the man demonstrates the girl's readiness to build a household and her initial commitment to marriage with the chosen man. The man, given *uang japuik*, demonstrates the trust of the woman's family in him to be responsible for providing both material and spiritual support, and to comply with all existing family systems. Usually, marriage in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman requires looking at the background of the man who will be made the head of the extended family.

The man chosen and trusted by the woman's family must demonstrate commitment. After the woman's family has carefully considered their daughter's prospective husband, an agreement is reached regarding the *uang japuik* for the man. This money signifies the woman's family's high hopes for the man to assume full responsibility and role within the woman's family. This trust and expectation include the responsibility of providing for his wife physically and spiritually, acting fully as a family member, being adaptable, maintaining harmony, and respecting the norms of the woman's extended family.

Uang japuik also symbolizes social status within the woman's family. Many believe that giving *uang japuik* to the man's family would burden the woman's family. However, in

reality, most Minangkabau people in Padang Pariaman consider *Uang Japuik* a symbol of dignity for the woman's family. Families with financial means can usually provide high-value *uang japuik*. The amount of *uang japuik* given is based on social status, education, occupation, and other factors. The higher the man's social status, the higher the *uang japuik* given. The woman's ability to provide Uang Japuik to the man's family is a source of pride for the family, as they have achieved the desired social status.

Here, anthropology observes that the *uang japuik* given to the groom is a symbolic part that connects economics, status, and social identity. The groom's grooming system involves an exchange of values. The *uang japuik* received by the groom's family represents respect and appreciation, while the bride's family places high expectations on the groom in accordance with his responsibilities and role within the bride's extended family. The presence of *uang japuik* in the Padang Pariaman marriage system binds the groom completely and prevents arbitrary treatment of the bride.

The relationship between the *"Uang Japuik"* custom and Islamic Sharia in the marriage system

Classical usul al-fiqh does not accept custom as an absolute source of law. Instead, usul al-fiqh distinguishes between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (valid custom) and *'urf fasid* (corrupt custom) based on four cumulative conditions, namely: the custom must not contradict a *nash qath'i* (definitive text) from the Qur'an or Hadith (Kamaluddin & Hafizhah, 2018); the custom must not negate the public interest (*maslahah*) recognized by Islamic law or cause harm (*mafsadah*) (Nur & Muttaqin, 2020; Rohman, 2019); the custom must be consistently applied and have become a widespread practice (*mutharridah*) in the relevant community, not merely an incidental practice or one carried out by a handful of people (Martha, 2020; Putri, 2020; Roslaili, 2019); and the custom must have been in effect prior to the occurrence of a legal transaction, not created specifically for the purposes of a particular transaction. Based on these four requirements, the practice of uang japuik can be analyzed as follows.

First, the practice of "*uang japuik*" does not contradict definitive religious texts regarding marriage. The Qur'an and Hadith require the prospective husband to provide a dowry (QS. An-Nisā': 4) (Madani et al., 2025), but there are no provisions prohibiting the prospective wife's family from voluntarily giving additional gifts to the prospective husband. In practice, the "*uang japuik*" coexists with the dowry rather than replacing it (Anita & Brata, 2023; Madhatillah et al., 2024; Satriani & Efendi, 2026). As demonstrated by the field data from this study, prospective husbands in Padang Pariaman continue to provide a dowry in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law. Thus, there is no direct conflict between the practice of "*uang japuik*" and the textual provisions of Islamic law.

Second, the practice of *"uang japuik"* brings more benefits than harm when carried out as described by the informants. This practice serves as a form of respect for the prospective husband, strengthens his acceptance into the wife's extended family structure, and, through the "*manjalang*" mechanism (Nuroniyah & Maula, 2022; Ramanta & Samsuri, 2020; Yovani, 2019) it is shown that the "uang japuik" is not a unilateral transfer of wealth from the woman's family to the man's, but rather part of a reciprocal exchange. However, this condition is violated if the *japuik* payment (Alfi, 2019; Maihasni, 2012) becomes a coercive obligation, is set at an amount that imposes a heavy economic burden on the bride's family, or functions as a "bride price", thereby treating the prospective husband as a commodity. It is this misinterpretation that has given rise to negative stigma in society, as explained in the introduction. Zainal (a pseudonym), one of the informants, said in Minangkabau language that:

> *"... Anak padusi wak alah 3 nan manikah, baagiah uang japuik lakinyo sadonyon. Itu alah adaik baa li. Indak lo tapaso wk doh, kadang bangga lo wak bisa maagiah uang japuik. Siko lah mode tu sadonyo. Jadi indak ado meraso tabarek an do..."* Interview results on Juni 1, 2025, 12.00 – 15.00 WIB

Translation:

> "... My three daughters are already married. All of their husbands received japuik money. That's our custom, so we don't feel pressured. Sometimes I feel proud to be able to give *uang japuik* to my future husband. That's how it is here. So no one feels burdened..."

Third, the practice of uang japuik is a consistent and deeply rooted custom in Padang Pariaman society. As explained in the introduction, this practice is not found in other Minangkabau regions such as Payakumbuh, Bukittinggi, or Solok. This indicates that the validity of uang japuik as an *'urf* must be understood as an *'urf khass* (a custom specific to a particular community), not as an *'urf 'amm* (a custom generally applicable to all Muslims or the entire Minangkabau community) (Maihasni, 2012). This local scope does not diminish its legal standing, as classical ushul fiqh recognizes *'urf khass* as a custom that is binding on the community where it is practiced (Ali & Puspita, 2022). However, this practice cannot be generalized as an Islamic legal norm applicable to the entire Minangkabau community (Alfi, 2019).

Fourth, the practice of uang japuik existed long before the individual marriage contract took place. This practice is a customary institution passed down from generation to generation, not a requirement created incidentally by a particular family prior to the marriage. Therefore, the requirement that a custom must have been an established practice before the marriage contract takes place has been met (Madhatillah et al., 2024).

Overall, the practice of *uang japuik* carried out through voluntary agreements, family deliberation, and reciprocal mechanisms meets the four criteria for *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*. This practice would only shift to *'urf fasid* if it were empirically found to involve coercion, a disproportionate economic burden, or if the *uang japuik* were to replace the obligation of

the dowry (*mahar*), rather than merely supplementing it. This study needs to explicitly confirm whether these conditions are found or not in the field data so that the boundary between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf fasid* can be empirically explained. The parents and family of the bride, Fani Suharti (pseudonym), said in Minangkabau that:

> *"…Iko lah adaik kito, uang japuik ko ndak ado paksaan do. Sadonyo kesepakatan sajo nyo, dari dulu lah tabiaso. Indak lo ado nan tabani do. Rundiang dibuek jauah jauah hari basamo jo keduo keluarga gadang…"* Interview results on Agustus 11, 2025, 19.00 – 21.00 WIB

Translation:

> "... This is our custom; there's no coercion in paying the *uang japuik*. It's all by mutual agreement, a practice that has been going on for a long time. No family is burdened. A discussion was held long before the wedding with both families…"

Beyond testing based on the concept *of 'urf*, *the* practice *of uang japuik* can also be analyzed using the concept *of* maslahah *mursalah* that is, a public interest not explicitly regulated by a specific *nash* but aligned with the general objectives of Islamic sharia (Rohman, 2019). Based on the ethnographic data from this study, three forms of public interest consistently emerge. First, the creation of social cohesion, as the practice *of "uang japuik"* binds two extended families into a single kinship network through a negotiated exchange process, rather than a unilateral transaction (Nuroniyah & Maula, 2022). Second, the existence of a mechanism for mutual economic assistance evident through the practice of gotong royong, in which the *uang japuik* is collected by the bride's extended family, not just the nuclear family (Satriani & Efendi, 2026). Third, the honor and dignity of the prospective husband are preserved, as this gift serves as a symbol that he is respectfully accepted as a member of the bride's family, not as a burden (Anita & Brata, 2023). As long as this *maslahah* does not compromise other Sharia values especially since the prospective husband's obligation to pay the dowry is still fulfilled the *maslahah mursalah* approach provides a basis for maintaining this practice even though it is not explicitly mentioned in the primary texts.

The classical theory of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, developed by Al-Shatibi and Ibn 'Ashur, divides the objectives of Islamic law into three levels: *daruriyyāt* (primary interests, the failure to fulfill which would threaten religion, life, reason, lineage, and property), *hājiyyāt* (secondary interests that serve to alleviate hardship), and *taḥsīniyyāt* (supplementary interests related to moral perfection and good customs) (Jufri et al., 2021). Within this framework, the dowry falls under the category *of daruriyyāt* because it is directly related to the validity of the marriage contract as well as the protection of the lineage (*hifz al-nasl*) and women's property rights (*hifz al-mal*). Conversely, *the uang japuik* falls under the category *of hājiyyāt*. The absence of *the uang japuik* does not render the marriage contract invalid nor does it negate the rights of the parties involved. As confirmed by field data, "even without *uang japuik*, a marriage can still take place" (Satriani & Efendi, 2026). However, the presence *of uang japuik* has been shown to facilitate the process of social

transition and kinship ties between the two parties. This practice supports *hifz al-nasl* through the formal acceptance of the prospective husband into the bride's matrilineal family structure a distinctive characteristic of Minangkabau society not found in the kinship systems of other regions (Maihasni, 2012). It also supports *hifz al-'ird* (protection of honor) by transforming the prospective husband's position who structurally resides within his wife's family environment into one that is openly respected.

However, if the practice of *uang japuik* shifts into a venue for social status competition through the amount of money given as field data indicates that this amount is often linked to the prospective husband's social status, educational level, and occupation then its orientation may shift from *hājiyyāt* toward *taḥsīniyyāt*, that is, interests that are more symbolic and related to prestige. This shift is not automatically prohibited, but it constitutes a legal objective of lower priority and must not cause tangible hardship for the parties involved, in line with the distinction between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf fasid* as previously explained.

Furthermore, the four Sunni schools of law assign different weights to the status of custom as a source of law, thereby influencing how each school views the practice of *uangj japuik* (Inayatillah et al., 2022). The Hanafi madhhab grants a fairly strong status to *'urf* through the concept of istihsan and the principle *al-tsabit bi al-'urf ka al-tsabit bi al-nash* (that which is established by custom is regarded as that which is established by the text) nash") (Daryanti & Nurjannah, 2021; Efrinaldi et al., 2022). Based on this approach, the Hanafi school of thought will, in principle, accept *uang japuik* as a binding local practice as long as it does not alter the obligation of the dowry (*mahar*) as the primary obligation of the prospective husband (Satriani & Efendi, 2026). The Maliki madhhab, through the concept of 'amal ahl al-Madinah and its acceptance of local customs (*'urf al-balad*) as a basis for legal consideration, will also view *uang japuik* as a valid local custom as long as it meets the conditions of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* as previously outlined (Yusoff, 2024; Madani et al., 2025).

The Shafi'i school takes a more textual and more cautious approach to recognizing custom as a formal source of law. Nevertheless, this school still recognizes *'urf* in matters not explicitly regulated by the *nash* through the principle *al-ma'ruf 'urfan ka al-mashrut shartan* (something that is known as a custom is regarded as if it were explicitly stipulated) (Almurni, 2023). Hus, from the Shafi'i perspective, *uang japuik* can be understood as a social condition that is implicitly understood and agreed upon by both parties (Satriani & Efendi, 2026), rather than as a legal category equivalent to the dowry. Meanwhile, the Hanbali school adheres to the principle that the default rule in commercial transactions is permissibility (*al-ashlu fi al-mu'amalat al-ibahah*) as long as there is no evidence prohibiting it (Irfan et al., 2026; Taufiki et al., 2022). Based on this principle, the Hanbali school also

finds no obstacle to accepting the practice of *uang japuik* as a social transaction carried out voluntarily based on an agreement between the parties.

Thus, the four Sunni schools of thought essentially reach the same conclusion that *uang japuik* is a permissible custom because it does not replace the status of the dowry (*mahar*) as a sharia obligation that must be fulfilled by the prospective husband. This comparative analysis also explains that the negative stigma that has developed in society, as outlined in the introduction, is in fact a misclassification of this practice. "*Uang japuik*" is perceived as if it were competing with the dowry within the same legal framework, whereas, based on the analysis in this study, the two fall under different levels of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* and are evaluated through different legal instruments. The dowry is based directly on textual commands (*nash*), while *uang japuik* is assessed through the approaches of *'urf* and *maslahah*.

Changes in *"Uang Japuik"* Practices in Modern Society in Padang Pariaman

The Minangkabau customary practice of *"uang japuik "* in Padang Pariaman is very interesting to study more deeply in the context of the modern era. *Uang Japuik* is a sum of money given by the woman's family to the man's family as part of the wedding process in Minangkabau customs in Padang Pariaman. At first glance, this practice seems contrary to Islamic principles, but upon closer examination, it turns out that this custom is in line with the basic principles of Islamic teachings, as explained in the previous sub-heading. Before 2000 AD, the practice of *uang Uang Japuik* was still sacred and the money given came entirely from the bride's family without any assistance from the prospective groom.

In general, in lower-middle-class communities, *uang japuik* comes from the results of mutual cooperation carried out by the woman's family. There are people who live in poor economic conditions, but they can still carry out the entire series of traditional wedding ceremonies in their entirety (Mitra et al., 2022). Although this tradition may seem burdensome, the Pariaman community feels this is a responsibility that must be fulfilled with sincerity. The communal ethics of mutual cooperation is exemplified in the coordinated efforts of the father's family *(bako)* and the mother's family to fulfill the requirements of the groom's dowry (Busyro et al., 2023).

However, after entering the era of modernization, many young people in Padang Pariaman society continued their education to higher levels and developed an open mindset. Modernization has influenced the younger generation, who criticized the giving of *uang japuik* during wedding ceremonies. They instead tended to prioritize the values of equality in marital relationships. In several cases, young couples chose to simplify the traditional ceremony. Others continued to give *uang japuik* as a formality to preserve their Minangkabau identity in Padang Pariaman.

The giving of *uang japuik* is a formality, but the money comes from the prospective groom without his family's knowledge. A sum of money from the prospective groom is given to the bride's family without her family's knowledge. For example, the groom's family asks the bride's family for Rp 25,000,000 in *uang japuik*, and both families have agreed on that amount. Secretly, the prospective groom helps the bride's family pay the agreed-upon amount. The assistance provided by the prospective groom must not be known to his family, especially the general public. If it were known, the groom's family would feel embarrassed. The practice of *Uang Japuik* in the context of the modern era is now an open secret in the Minangkabau community in Padang Pariaman.

Furthermore, the influence of Islam has begun to influence many people in this modern era. People have begun to understand that a dowry is sufficient for a wedding, and therefore, giving *uang japuik* to the groom is not obligatory due to cultural reasons. Although the payment of *uang japuik* still exists today, the practice is different, as explained in the previous paragraph. The woman's family no longer objects due to the groom's discreet assistance. Furthermore, when the groom is unable to contribute to the woman's family's contribution, the woman's family engages in a system of mutual assistance. Every member of the woman's extended family contributes to the family's traditional wedding rites.

Furthermore, another factor that could change the practice of *uang japuik* is the increasing mobility of the younger generation. Many young people seek employment or attend school in major Indonesian cities such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, and other cities, some even working abroad. They have developed a unique perspective that *uang japuik* is no longer relevant in today's world. They believe that rather than giving the *uang japuik* to the groom's family, they prefer to seek help from someone outside the Padang Pariaman area. However, this perspective from the younger generation can still be considered, as in the modern era, giving the *uang japuik* requires deliberation and consensus between both families. This ensures that the bride's family is not burdened and the meaning of the tradition is maintained.

From an anthropological perspective, changes in the practice of *uang japuik* currency in Padang Pariaman are part of a dynamic that continues to evolve with the times. Cultural meaning systems are dynamic, allowing culture to be both a cause and an effect of human activity (Nugraheni & Puspa, 2023). Culture is dynamic, not static, and therefore subject to change over time. Although cultural changes occur in practice, they do not eliminate their meaning. The Minangkabau people are a tribe with a strong cultural spirit (Robbie et al., 2021). Judging from the practice of *uang japuik* currency, changes have occurred in the custom, yet the community has been able to adapt to the times. Although some younger generations have criticized it, the community has not immediately

eliminated the culture. Instead, they have adapted by simplifying customs, fostering family deliberation and consensus, and emphasizing meaning and symbolism.

This trajectory of adaptation is itself best understood through *maslahah mursalah* rather than as erosion of religious commitment. Because *uang japuik* was never a *daruriyyat-level* obligation, its form was always open to renegotiation so long as the underlying *hajiyyat*-level benefits family cohesion, mutual respect, and the groom's honored incorporation into the wife's household are preserved. The discreet-assistance practice described above (where the groom quietly contributes to his own *uang japuik*) illustrates a community-level *maslahah* adjustment: it retains the symbolic form of the custom, which carries the identity and dignity functions identified in the maqasid analysis above, while quietly relieving the economic burden that could otherwise push the practice toward the hardship threshold that separates *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* from *'urf fasid.* Read this way, modernization in Padang Pariaman is not a retreat from custom in the face of Islamic reform, nor a retreat from Islam in the face of custom, but an ongoing, community-driven renegotiation of how a *hajiyyat*-level custom continues to serve its original *maslahah* under changed economic conditions.

Conclusion

The ethnographic findings demonstrate that *uang japuik* is neither a transactional exchange involving the purchase of a groom nor a form of bride-purchase. Rather, it constitutes a socially embedded institution through which respect, trust, and social status are expressed within the matrilineal kinship structure of Minangkabau society, further reinforced by the reciprocal practice of *manjalang*. The principal contribution of this study lies in moving beyond the general assertion that *uang japuik* is compatible with Islamic law by demonstrating the jurisprudential grounds and normative conditions underlying such compatibility. Assessed against the four classical criteria of valid custom (*'urf ṣaḥīḥ*), the practice is acceptable insofar as it does not contradict the textual injunctions (*naṣṣ*) concerning *mahr*, generates public benefit (*maṣlaḥah*) rather than harm, is consistently recognized within the local community, and constitutes an established custom predating individual marriage arrangements. Within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, *uang japuik* operates primarily at the level of *ḥājiyyāt*, contributing to the protection of lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*) and human dignity (*ḥifẓ al-'irḍ*), whereas *mahr* remains a *ḍarūriyyāt*-level obligation that cannot be displaced by customary practice. This position is broadly consistent with the jurisprudential orientations of the four Sunni schools, although their doctrinal justifications differ.

Theoretically, this study demonstrates that public concerns regarding local marriage customs in Muslim Indonesia may arise from conflating customary practices

operating at the level of *ḥājiyyāt* with religious obligations belonging to the level of *ḍarūriyyāt*. Distinguishing these normative categories provides a transferable analytical framework for evaluating regional customs facing similar religious and social contestations. The integration of the four-condition *'urf* assessment with the hierarchical framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* therefore offers a replicable approach for future studies of *fiqh Nusantara*. At the practical level, modernization has not eliminated *uang japuik* but has transformed the distribution of its economic responsibilities through informal family cooperation, while preserving its symbolic and relational significance. This adaptation may be understood as a community-driven expression of *maṣlaḥah mursalah* rather than evidence of declining religious or customary commitment.

This study is limited by its single-site qualitative design, which restricts the transferability of its findings beyond Padang Pariaman, and its reliance on informants' accounts, which may reflect subjective interpretations. Future research should extend the *'urf–maṣlaḥah–maqāṣid* framework through comparative investigations of bridewealth-related customs in other Minangkabau communities and neighboring cultural settings. Further studies should also incorporate gender-sensitive analysis to examine how the practice is experienced by brides, grooms, and their respective extended families. Finally, mixed-methods research could investigate the prevalence and socioeconomic consequences of coercive or financially burdensome practices, thereby empirically identifying the boundaries between *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* and *'urf fāsid*.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the Promoter and Co-Promoter for their time in reviewing and providing ideas, guidance, and input on this paper. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to several academic figures in the field of Islamic family law who have provided insights and suggestions for this paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to the district government for granting research permission and my sincere thanks to the people of Padang Pariaman Regency who volunteered to serve as research informants and provided information relevant to the research objectives. May we all remain healthy. Amen.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Declaration of the use of AI

The authors declare that ChatGPT (OpenAI) was used solely to improve the language, grammar, and readability of the manuscript. All intellectual content, research findings, interpretations, and conclusions remain the sole responsibility of the authors.

Funding Statement

No Funding.

Credit of Author Statement

Robi Mitra: Conceptualization, methodology, investigation, data curation, formal analysis, writing – original draft, writing – review & editing, and project administration. **Pawennari Hijjang:** Conceptualization, methodology, supervision, formal analysis, and writing – review & editing. **Muhammad Basir:** Methodology, investigation, formal analysis, and writing – review & editing. **Mega Puspita:** Investigation, formal analysis, literature review, and writing – review & editing. **Alberto Alves Pereira:** Conceptualization, methodology, validation, and writing – review & editing.

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