ISLAMIC LAW PERSPECTIVE ON THE BAJO INDIGENOUS PEOPLE’S MARRIAGE TRADITION IN ADONARA VILLAGE

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Abstract
Even though the tradition is followed, customary cultural traditions in the execution of marriage procedures are a type of habit ingrained and attached to traditional norms, social values, and community personality values in social life with specific sacred values that are permanent and difficult to change. In addition, they have their methods that they have used from generation to generation. This relationship is essential to explore, as it provides insights into how cultural traditions can intersect with religious beliefs and practices. By examining the Bajo marital practices in the context of Islamic law, this study aims to shed light on the compatibility of these practices with Islamic principles. However, when these procedures are considered from the perspective of religious teachings, it raises several issues about whether they align with these teachings. This paper investigates the traditional Bajo marital practices in light of Islamic law. The methods of observation, interviews, and documentation will all be managed to utilize a qualitative methodology system using procedures to acquire accurate and comprehensive data and information supporting this writing. The findings of this study include several practices that do not go against Islamic religious principles, such as Masuro/Gau ala ‘(application), the procedure of enforcing the marriage contract (ijab kabul), and punishing men who enter into Gau Raha’/slayyang marriages (eloping).

Keywords: Marriage procedures, Cultural traditions, Social values, Religious teachings, Islamic law

Abstrak
wawancara, dan dokumentasi semuanya akan dikelola dengan menggunakan sistem metodologi kualitatif dengan prosedur untuk memperoleh data dan informasi yang akurat dan komprehensif yang mendukung. Temuan dari penelitian ini mencakup sejumlah praktik yang tidak melanggar prinsip-prinsip agama Islam, seperti Masuro/Gau ala' (permohonan), prosedur pelaksanaan kontrak perkawinan (ijab kabul), dan hukuman bagi pria yang melakukan perkawinan dengan bentuk Gau Raha'/slayyang (kawin lari).

Kata kunci: Prosedur perkawinan, Tradisi budaya, Nilai-nilai sosial, Ajaran agama, Hukum Islam

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is something that virtually all beings on earth are familiar with (Rahman & Abdurakhman, 2021: 32). However, in the instance of this marriage, the motivations of the parties involved are also distinct. Some people marry to build friendships, expand links and family, or for other reasons (Mohd & Kadir, 2019: 76). However, regardless of the motivation, the primary objective of marriage is to produce children and establish a peaceful family to benefit a more harmonious social existence (Kasjim, 2016; Nisa, 2020: 21).

A Muslim can go through the period of marriage after finding a life mate and being emotionally and financially prepared (Tucker, 2008: 82). By being married, a capable and emotionally mature person can fulfill half of their religious obligations (Schenk, 2018: 82). When done with a husband or wife, a number of actions that have been labeled as sins are included as worship in the eyes of Allah SWT (Supraptiningsih, 2021: 65).

The following quote from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that was transmitted by Anas bin Malik illustrates this: "Whoever God has blessed with a good woman, Allah has assisted him in completing half of his religion. Fear Allah thus for the other half ".

Marriage is a fundamental aspect of human nature that cannot be disregarded (Mujuzi, 2021: 15). Because it is such a significant issue, Allah Subhanahu wata'ala provided numerous directives for its execution through His Messenger (sallallahu 'alayhi wa sallam). In order to maintain balance, partners or mates are made for a variety of creatures, both living and nonliving, including animals, plants, jin, day and night, heat and cold, good and evil (Hak et al., 2012: 45).

Indonesia is a country with a great diversity of cultures, one of which pertains to marriage customs practiced or observed in their separate regions (Ridlo et al., 2022: 88). Marriage is employed to produce a tiny family that will deepen the bond between the two families and perpetuates the applied impulses. As long as they do not clash with Islamic law, traditions handed down from generation to generation by ancestors are permitted (Syed, 2004: 98).
In marriage legislation number 16 of 2019, which is a reform to Law number 1 of 1974, article 2 paragraph (1) states that marriage is valid if performed according to the law of each faith and belief. Then, Law number 16 of 2019, article 2 paragraph (1), stipulates that there is no marriage outside the law, regardless of religion or belief. Providing it does not conflict with other act provisions (Nugraheni, 2019: 102).

Marriage contains Sharia principles that support the application of the marriage given in the Qur'an, which describes the aims desired by all humans within a family, notably sakina, mawaddah and rohmah (Asni & Kamaruddin, 2018: 69). The laws of the pillars and criteria Allah SWT has set for marriage, which Allah has included in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad, cannot be divorced from the traditions and practices passed down from generation to generation (Apriantoro, 2021: 79). Therefore, tradition or culture is revered by the community, where the custom has unwritten values and norms that have great significance and are passed down from generation to generation (Herrera & De Las Heras-Rosas, 2021: 23).

The traditional belief system of a society begins with a custom, which is ultimately utilized as the basis for establishing these habits, which will continue to be carried out from generation to generation (Rizaluddin et al., 2021: 54). This tradition will affect the rules and norms that govern the actions of others, which will eventually evolve into traditions/customs (Bakibinga-Gaswaga, 2021: 83).

This practice is seen in the lives of the Bajo indigenous people of Adonara Village. The Bajo Adonara tribe is one of the ethnic groups inhabiting the island of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province (NTT). Geographically, Adonara is located east of the island of Flores and is situated between two small islands, Solor and Lembata. Adonara consists of high mountains to the west and lowlands to the east that directly faces the Sawu Sea. They have a marriage tradition known as panickang (marriage). In Adonara Village, the cultural traditions passed down from generation to generation have been incorporated into the communal marriage tradition that has been an integral part of the Bajo people's way of life. Tradition in implementing the panickang ceremony among the indigenous Bajo in Adonara Village begins with: Initially, patilawang (asking). In this case, a guy and his family will inquire about the bride's preparation and willingness. Second, malece or malaku atai (asking for the heart), and third, the process of two families meeting to discuss customs, accompanied by circumstances that must exist when the custom is carried out in the form of Kaeng Pote (white cloth) and Bidah Maysia (white cloth), Doi Real (Real Money), and the fourth is a marriage that a dowry must accompany according to the bride’s clan standing levels, such as Titipandagah, Kapitah, and Punggawe.
From the perspective of Islamic values, some aspects of the Bajo marriage tradition may be compatible with Islamic teachings, such as the emphasis on mutual consent between the groom and the bride and the involvement of both families in the marriage process. However, there are also aspects of the tradition, such as the requirement of a dowry that may be deemed problematic, as it may place financial burdens on the bride’s family and may reinforce gender inequalities. In addition, in Islam, the concept of mahr (dower) is encouraged as a symbol of the husband’s responsibility towards his wife, but it should not be an excessive burden on the wife or her family. Therefore, it is important to evaluate these traditional practices in light of Islamic values to ensure that they align with the principles of justice, fairness, and equality.

METHOD

The research design is based on a qualitative and descriptive approach, which allowed for a thorough exploration of the topic. To collect primary data, the author conducted in-depth interviews with traditional leaders of the Adonara tribe. These interviews were designed to elicit rich, detailed, and nuanced insights into the Bajo Community Marriage Tradition. The interview questions were carefully crafted to ensure that the traditional leaders could provide a comprehensive and accurate description of the tradition (Creswell & Poth, 2016: 143).

Secondary material was also collected from various sources, including books and document journals. This material was carefully selected to ensure that it was relevant, reliable, and accurate. The author critically evaluated the secondary material to identify key themes and concepts related to the Bajo Community Marriage Tradition and Islamic Law.

The collected material was then synthesized utilizing legal, philosophical, and historical perspectives to reach mature and scientifically sound conclusions. This involved a comprehensive analysis of the data, including coding, categorization, and interpretation. The author used a range of analytical tools, including thematic analysis and content analysis, to analyze the data.

Throughout the research process, the author employed rigorous quality control measures to ensure the validity and reliability of the data. These measures included member checking, peer review, and data triangulation (Chen et al., 2017: 80).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Bajo Indigenous People's Marriage Tradition in Adonara Village
Tradition or custom is a practice that the inhabitants of a region cannot abandon. Regarding the implementation of marriage, each area has its unique protocols. This custom obligates the community to perform it as a sign of respect for the ancestors who served it first. One instance of the Bajo indigenous people's marriage custom at Adonara Village.

The implementation of marriage in society is not limited to a marriage ceremony; numerous other highly significant tasks must be performed before and during the wedding, all of which are covered when the traditional marriage process is carried out. Several important characteristics were discovered in Bajo traditional marriages, including the following:

1. Function of Marriage

Marriage is significant to the Bajo Adonara culture since it not only bonds two people in a single marriage contract but also unifies and strengthens two families that were not previously united. A person will be considered a full citizen by the community if he has departed, as he will obtain the rights he must have in a family and society (Ganji & Tajik, 2022: 81).

In general, the Bajo people of Adonara village marry for a variety of reasons, including to give birth and obtain generations or descendants of the family (Poitras et al., 2021: 94), to strengthen the relationship between two families to unite and support one another ( Purvis, 2015: 122), and to avoid actions that are not pleasing or not commendable, such as acts that are strictly forbidden by the culture (Rehman, 2017: 53). Therefore, according to the Bajo customs of the village of Adonara, marriage is prohibited.

Following an interview with Mr. Yamin Lapilia, a traditional leader in the village of Adonara, he stated that the marriage ban included various prohibition factors, like as. Marriage within the same clan is strongly prohibited by customary rule in the village of Adonara, as the villagers feel that it will result in the absence of descendants or successors as they marry their kin. All members of one tribe's (marga) family are strictly forbidden from marrying one other; for example, marriage between men and women from the Lapilia tribe who belong to the same family as the Lapilia clan is highly forbidden.

2. Marriage Requirements following the Bajo Traditions of Adonara Village
Constitutive of the nature of maturity

The notion is that a man may make his income through his sweat and without the assistance of others. At the same time, a woman can live independently in terms of being able to perform housework and being ready for marriage.

Meets three community customs requirements:

a) Kaeng Pote (White Cloth)

Kaeng Pote is one of the ingredients necessary to meet the marriage requirements of the Bajo indigenous people of Adonara hamlet, whose religious values are mandatory for male households. Kaeng pote has multiple connotations, as recounted by one of the village’s traditional chiefs, including:

Some people believe that kaeng pote represents the sacredness of babies born to a man and a woman, which is the perception of the community’s concealment. Furthermore, the belief of certain other individuals that a white cloth must be worn when a person dies (shroud). In order for the parents of the bride to be permitted to marry after their passing, the white cloth is a requirement.

b) Kaeng Malaysia (Malaysian cloth).

Kaeng Malaysia is one of the prerequisites for accomplishing community routine implementation activities with specific sacred values obligatory for the ongoing custom's implementation. The household secret is the meaning of the term Kaeng Malaysia. Any conflict or what occurs in the home should not be disclosed to the outside world. People generally believe that Malaysian cloth (Kaeng Malaysia) is pamungkos (hider and protector of family disgrace).

c) Doi Real (Real money) or Rupiah as a dowry.

In Doi Real, the rupiah is the money, but because the name has become a tradition and is integral to people's lives, it is still referred to as Doi Real. Doi Real is the physical manifestation of the term dowry. This dowry is intended to protect the authority of women's ideals so that men cannot do anything they want. In establishing the amount of this real money, the community considers, among other factors, the status of the women's clan (Shabah, 2021: 64).

At the first level it is called Titipan Dagah (Bajo language). In this level of Titipan Dagah, the dowry is deemed high since it follows the presence of a guy who is distant from his existence or home island. In the Kapitah clan, the dowry given for marriage is considered moderate, as it is divided into three levels based on the birth order of the children. The first child is given a separate dowry of 175 real, which amounts to 3,500,000
rupiah when multiplied by the equivalent of 1 real, which is Rp 20,000. Similarly, the second child is given a dowry amount of 150 real, which is equal to Rp 3,000,000. The third child is also given a dowry amount of 175 real, which is the same as that of the first child. Lastly, the youngest child is given a separate dowry amount of 195 real, which totals to Rp 3,900,000. This system ensures that each child is given a fair and appropriate dowry amount based on their birth order.

In this level, the provision of dowry is considered to be a small amount according to the ability of the groom, but it still has a suitable amount of dowry according to the form of marriage. For instance, in a marriage with the form of "melamar", the dowry amount is 90 real. When converted to rupiah, the amount becomes 90 x 20,000 = Rp 1,800,000. Meanwhile, in the form of Silayyang (elopement), the dowry amount is 95 real.

3. Marriage Form for the Bajo Indigenous People of Adonara Village

Marriage is a legal agreement that can establish a small family (Djawas et al., 2022: 56). Each region in Indonesia has distinct traditions or cultural norms about marriage. This practice is ingrained in the community's private life and has been passed down from generation to generation. In the implementing tradition, however, each location has distinct customs or cultures, such as in the case of marriages, which have various forms. For example, there are two types of marriage in the Adonara village: Gau Ala' and Gau Raha'/Silayyang.

a. Masuro / Gau Ala' (marriage proposal form)

Masuro/Gau Ala' is a type of marriage that takes place through the Masuro (application) procedure from the man's family to the bride's family. In a Gau Ala' marriage, the groom is solely responsible for the marriage preparations, while the woman's family is limited to preparing the Hakikah (nature).

b. Gau Raha'/Silayyang/Sala Toroh (marriage in the form of elopement)

Gau Raha' (elopement) is a type of marriage in which a man and a woman flee away together without the knowledge of both the male and female families and without going through the Masuro (engagement) contract. Several factors contribute to elopement, including disapproval from the woman's family, the woman's pregnancy before marriage, and the man's inability to meet the criteria and fees.

The customary consequence imposed on men for stealing girls from other families is the obligatory and compulsory Salah payment, which consists of feeding the traditional parents in the village of Adonara for one day prior to engaging in traditional discussions. This payment has a separate 40 reals value. If totaled in rupiah, 40 reals multiplied by Rp
20,000 equals Rp 800,000 (1 real equals Rp 20,000). In terms of imposing punishments, it includes numerous sorts of infractions perpetrated by men against women, such as:

1) **Sala Tangang** (Wrong Hand).
   
   *Salah Tangang* is a sanction consisting of a total payment of 16 reals imposed on a guy who is impudent toward a lady.

2) **Sala Nyapu Nyawe** (Breaking Room)
   
   It indicates that it is highly unlawful for a male to enter a woman's chamber without the permission of the woman's parents or the woman's parents, and the price for the error is 160 reals.

3) **Sala Boa** (Error in speech)
   
   It indicates that a male who makes a speech error is permitted to offend a woman or use vulgar language, with the payment for the fault being eight reals.

4. The Adonara Village’s Bajo Indigenous Marriage Implementation Procedures

   The actual pre-marriage ceremony is split into two types with distinct procedures, namely:

   a) **Gau Ala’ / Masuro** (propose)

   *Gau Ala’ / Masuro* is a method of applying for marriage. When the male family makes their way directly to the woman's home to apply. Before reaching the culmination of the implementation of marriage, *Gau Ala’ / Masuro* has a customary process that includes the following stages: The initial In the course of the three-day proposal, the man's family inquired about the lady on the first day, the woman was questioned about her preparedness on the second day, and rings were exchanged on the third day. The lady will also tie the knots—whether there are one, two, three, or more—needed to secure the thread to the ring. Therefore, if the ring is knotted in one knot, the marriage will occur the following month; if there are two knots, the marriage will occur the following two months; and so on. Thirdly, the guy is required to guarantee the lady for a month prior to the wedding date by providing her with clothing, food, and other essentials. It is called *Makuleh* in this instance (Bajo language). The fourth step involves incorporating fininang (marriage prerequisites) into the practice of daily conversations.

   b) **Silayyang / Gau Raha’** (elopement)

   This kind of marriage is implemented in a different way from
how the application form is implemented. The implementation in this case is as follows: The first one arrives as a male side messenger to inquire as to whether the female side family has assembled. Three representatives from the male side then arrived at the female family. Each of the three delegates has a specific responsibility. Others serve as witnesses, dowry holders, or spokespersons. They came to pay the improper payments to the men and inquired about the amount of dowry for the women, whether it be Custodian Dagah, Kapitah, or Punggawe (bajo language). Over the course of the delegates' three journeys, this dowry will be awarded progressively.

Giving the lady a portion of the dowry that is kept private, requesting the woman to be the guardian of her marriage, and finally reading the prayer together while sharing meal between the male family and the female family. The steps taken at the time the marriage was implemented. This process consists of two steps: the bride's delivery and the wedding ceremony.

1) The delivery process for the bride and groom
   To gather women to join hands and enter the location where the marriage vows are exchanged, the groom will be brought to the bride's home during this procedure.

2) A marriage license
   As a result, the author details a number of Bajo people marital rituals. For the Bajo people in the community of Adonara, this is the last of several traditional marriage ceremonies.

**Islamic Law Perspective on the Bajo Indigenous People's Marriage Tradition in Adonara Village**

All people are subject to God's laws, including Muslims, who are strongly advised to adhere to and implement Allah's sharia laws that have been confirmed and implemented in accordance with their provisions. Furthermore, Islamic law is in accordance with the precepts of the Qur'an and hadith, which are obligatory and binding.

Islamic law is a manifestation of God's eternal law, which will always maintain, supervise, and restrict human behavior. Therefore, both ingrained habits and other actions that are against the sharia of Allah SWT are governed by Islamic law, which by its very nature is applicable to all people, especially Muslims (Pane, 2016: 67).
In terms of marriage, the community has customary laws with unique implementation methods in each location, all of which have been followed from generation to generation. The pillars and conditions for a valid marriage in Islam are thought to be very simple and not complicated which does not become a big burden on the family, so the form of marriage will be considered valid in terms of Islamic law if it meets the criteria for the pillars and conditions for a valid marriage (Yaşar, 2022: 88). As long as the implementation methods do not clash with Islamic law or God's regulations, Islam is a religion that has never prevented the implementation of marital traditions according to the customs and procedures of indigenous people from each region (Gazali, Iskandar, & Dusu, 2022: 78).

The Bajo indigenous people of the village of Adonara follow a marriage custom that was passed down from their ancestors. This custom has holy values and is obligatory and binding for all subsequent generations of their lineage. According to the author's explanation above, the Bajo indigenous people of Adonara village have similar marriage customs to other tribes in that both aim to produce generations of descendants, increase relations, widen and add to the family, and build relationships between families. As stated in "Q.S. An-Nisa (4):1," which reads: "O people, fear your Lord who formed you from a single individual, and from him Allah produced his wife, and from them Allah brought out numerous males and females. And fear Allah, who you ask one another in His name, and keep cordial ties. Undoubtedly, Allah is constantly keeping an eye on you."

With the limitation that a marriage should not be performed in line with this Bajo traditional marriage tradition, specifically regarding the marriage of blood relations or breast-fed siblings. Both Islamic law and the local Bajo customary law of the community of Adonara forbid this outright. Furthermore, Islamic law, which does not forbid marriage and permits such unions, is in conflict with Bajo norms, which forbid marriages between members of the same clan or tribe (Gazali, Iskandar, & Dusu, 2022: 4).

In light of the fact that this is in line with Allah's declaration in "Q.S. Al-Hujurat (26): 13," which reads: "O people, certainly We created you from a male and a female, and We divided you into nations and tribes so that you may know each other. The person who is most devout among you is undoubtedly the one who is most honorable in Allah’s eyes. Allah is undoubtedly All-Wise, All-Wise."

It is interesting to note the tension between the Bajo indigenous people's cultural practices and the Islamic values of the majority population in Indonesia. The Bajo people have been practicing their marriage traditions for generations, and these practices have become an integral part of their way of life. However, these practices may be perceived as going against Islamic values, which are dominant in the country.
The Bajo people's elopement procedures, which may be caused by unmarried pregnancies or men's financial incapacity, may be viewed as a violation of the Islamic principle of decency and the commandment of God. The Quranic verse "And do not approach adultery; In reality, adultery is a grievous deed" (Q.S. Al-Isra'(17):32) explicitly forbids sexual relations outside of marriage.

This raises the question of how to reconcile cultural traditions with religious values. It is important to recognize and respect the cultural diversity and traditions of different communities while also promoting and upholding universal values such as human dignity and respect for human rights. It is crucial to strike a balance between cultural diversity and the values that unite us as a society. This can be achieved through education and dialogue, which can help to foster greater understanding and appreciation for different cultures and traditions.

The woman's position in her clan determines the amount of dowry that must be paid by the man. This is true in regards to the payment of dowry. This has been done for generations, from one generation to the present. The levels are as follows: the first level is Custodian of the Dagah (Bajo language), which is determined by a large or high amount; the second level is Kapitah (Bajo language), which denotes a moderate amount of dowry and depends on the order of the girls, whether first, second, or second; as well as the youngest child; and the third level is Punggawae (Bajo language), which denotes a small amount of dowry. The dowry must be given in accordance with the corresponding levels. The author contends that because one party, the guy, suffers due to the dowry, it is not permissible under Islamic law. As stated in the Qur'anic verse 286 of Surah Al-Baqarah, which reads, "Allah does not burden a person but according to his capabilities. He receives a reward (from the good) for which he strives, and he also receives a penalty (from the evil) for his actions. Therefore, our Lord, please spare us from punishment if we forget or make a mistake. Do not burden us, O our Lord, as you taxed those who came before us. Do not endure it, Lord what we find unbearable. Please pardon us, pardon us, and have mercy on us. You are our Helper; thus, aid us in our struggle against the unbelievers."

The issue of modifying or abandoning cultural practices that may contradict religious teachings is a complex one, particularly in the context of indigenous communities where culture and tradition are deeply intertwined with identity and way of life. The Bajo indigenous people of
Adonara village, for instance, have been practicing the dowry tradition for generations, and it has become an integral part of their cultural identity.

On the other hand, it is essential to note that religious teachings and values also play a significant role in shaping cultural practices and customs. In the case of Islam, for example, the concept of marriage is considered a sacred bond between two individuals and their families, and the practice of dowry should not be a burden or a means of financial exploitation.

Therefore, finding a balance between cultural traditions and religious values is crucial, especially in cases where cultural practices may be harmful or go against religious teachings. It requires a nuanced approach that considers the unique cultural and social contexts while prioritizing the well-being and dignity of individuals involved. Ultimately, it is a collective responsibility of the community and its leaders to critically reflect on and evaluate cultural practices and to find ways to preserve their identity while also upholding religious values.

The Bajo indigenous people of Adonara village follow the exact mandatory requirements for the family of the male party who will be treated when it comes to marriage procedures. These requirements apply to both marriage proposal procedures and elopement marriages, also known as Gau Raha' in the Bajo community. Perform when Surang 'Ada' (customary speech) is in effect and the following conditions are met:

The first is a white cloth, which denotes that it is a required present from a man to a woman's family and has a significance as a sign of the sanctity of the family who will dismantle a secretive household between a husband and wife. The second is that Malay fabric is an incarnation of the word Pamungkos, which in the Bajo language is known as Panapo 'aib in a family and means defender, cover, and hider. The third is dowry, sometimes referred to as "Doi real," which is a way of preserving a woman's sovereignty over her values so that men cannot treat women any way they choose. All of these practices are punishable as well. In terms of calculating the amount of real money that is by the level, such as Titipandagah, Kapitah, and Punggawe, which results in a restriction in religious teachings since this level might hurt one party and generate conflicts between families. Even though Islam has advised against burdening or making it difficult for men to determine the amount of dowry, as stated in Allah SWT's word and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad above, Islam strongly advises against doing so. But because it is a natural part of how people live their lives, it
cannot be quickly abandoned or changed. Instead, tradition will carry on and be used from generation to generation.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the marriage practices of the Bajo indigenous people in Adonara village contain elements that are in line with Islamic values, such as the application process and the pillars of Islam, but also contain practices that go against Islamic values, such as the dowry system and certain sanctions. The deeply ingrained nature of these practices in the local culture poses a challenge to modifying or abandoning them. Therefore, it is essential for the community to continue to have discussions and education about the compatibility of their traditions with Islamic teachings to ensure that they can uphold both their cultural identity and religious beliefs.

Although this research provides insights into traditional Bajo marriage practices in the context of Islamic law, there are several limitations that need to be considered. Firstly, this study only focuses on Bajo marriage practices in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, so the research findings may not apply widely to Bajo communities elsewhere. Secondly, this research only uses qualitative methods with a limited sample, so the research findings cannot be generalized to the Bajo population as a whole.

The research suggests that future studies should concentrate on creating practical guidelines and approaches for the Bajo people to sustain their cultural heritage while adhering to Islamic principles in their marriage customs.

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