



### ADAT BOKA: ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ISLAMIC LAW (CASE STUDY IN SANDI VILLAGE, BUTON WAKATOBI REGENCY)

Mariafu<sup>1\*</sup>, Abu Sanmas<sup>2</sup>, Ansar Tohe<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ternate, Indonesia; [Maryafuladede08@gmail.com](mailto:Maryafuladede08@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup>Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ternate, Indonesia; [asanmas69@gmail.com](mailto:asanmas69@gmail.com)

<sup>3</sup>Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ternate, Indonesia; [ansartohe7@gmail.com](mailto:ansartohe7@gmail.com)

\*Correspondence author: [Maryafuladede08@gmail.com](mailto:Maryafuladede08@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** Boka is a form of dowry with a fixed amount determined by the social stratification of women within the customary system. Sandi Village, located in Buton Wakatobi Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province, is among the communities that still preserve the Boka tradition. This study aims to explore the practice of Boka in marriage ceremonies in Sandi Village and to analyze its compatibility with Islamic law, particularly through the lens of the *maslahah* (public interest) theory. The main objective is to examine how the Boka tradition is implemented, including the establishment of dowry values based on women's social hierarchy, and to assess whether this tradition aligns with Islamic principles that emphasize social harmony and justice. This research employs a qualitative approach, with fieldwork conducted in Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency. The analysis is descriptive and qualitative. The findings reveal the dynamic practice of Boka in the community's marriage rituals, showing a significant relationship between the amount of the dowry (Boka) and the traditional social stratification of women (Kaomu, Walaka, Papara). The Boka value is fixed and non-negotiable, intended to maintain women's social status in Butonese society.

**Keywords:** *Boka tradition, butonese society, islamic law*

#### A. Introduction

Marriage is a fundamental social institution that holds sacred significance across cultures, including in the community of Sandi Village in Buton Wakatobi Regency. Beyond being an act of obedience to Allah's command, marriage establishes a harmonious family unit. According to Islamic law, marriage must meet specific requirements to be considered valid under Sharia, and these conditions are mandatory and non-negotiable.

Indonesia is renowned for its diverse customs and traditions, especially concerning marriage practices. One such tradition preserved in Sandi Village is the Boka custom, which involves a dowry system determined by the social stratification of women within the customary hierarchy. This practice reflects a deep respect for lineage and serves as a long-standing cultural tradition that continues to be upheld as a marker of communal identity.



In this context, culture may be defined as a tradition embodied through the continuous transmission of norms, customs, regulations, and material assets (Peursen, 1988). Within Indonesia, a heterogeneous society with its own unique customs and rules that must be respected and followed, including marriage procedures (Karwiyah et al., 2024). Marriage ceremonies not only represent cultural symbols but also encompass significant religious meanings. According to Clifford Geertz, culture is a system of shared meanings through which societies interpret and make sense of their world (Geertz, 1992). Marriage traditions in Indonesia, with their diverse forms, substantively represent the social solidarity inherent in human life, enabling people to live in an atmosphere of order. It aligns with Durkheim's principle that values and norms are essential in maintaining social integration (Fathoni et al., 2024)

The legal foundation for the acknowledgment and preservation of customary law in Indonesia is firmly established in the 1945 Constitution, which imposes a responsibility on the state to promote and protect the community's freedom to develop its cultural heritage within the context of global civilization. This responsibility is explicitly enshrined in Article 32, Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which affirms that "The state shall advance the national culture of Indonesia within the framework of world civilization by guaranteeing the freedom of the community to maintain and develop its cultural values." Additionally, Law Number 5 of 2017 on Cultural Advancement reinforces the pivotal role of customary law as an indispensable subsystem of the nation's cultural identity, mandating its preservation and continuation. In relation to marriage customs, Article 2, Paragraph (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974, as amended by Law Number 16 of 2019, stipulates that a marriage is considered legally valid if conducted in accordance with the laws governing each respective religion and belief system. Marriage in Indonesia is often implemented in parallel with both national law and customary law (Ayu Wulandari et al., 2025).

The Buton ethnic group has historically upheld a caste system that continues to exist predominantly within the realms of sultanate governance and religious rituals. In Sandi Village, Wakatobi Regency, this system comprises several castes: Kaomu (nobility descended from royal lineage), Walaka (kingdom rulers), Papara (commoners), Babatua (enslaved people), and Analalaki Limbo (members of Kaomu and Walaka who have been socially demoted due to transgressions). However, the practice of awarding Boka as a dowry to women in Sandi Village is exclusively applicable to three castes—Kaomu, Walaka, and Papara.

In everyday life, the noble class enjoys elevated rights and obligations, particularly in matters of governance and religious affairs, distinguishing them from commoners. This hierarchical distinction underpins why the determination of Boka's value remains the prerogative of customary leaders (Kaomu). Meanwhile, commoners (Papara), who predominantly engage in agriculture, fishing, trade, or manual labor, are generally excluded from decision-making processes concerning Boka within customary marriage practices in Sandi Village.

Sandi Village in Buton Wakatobi Regency, as an integral and inseparable part of Indonesia's diverse regions, upholds a social order deeply rooted in customary traditions. The observable strength of these customs remains evident, as the community in Sandi Village demonstrates a firm commitment to preserving and practicing various customary rites. The value of Boka, established by customary leaders and mutually agreed upon, is strictly non-negotiable and must be bestowed upon the prospective bride as a symbol of

respect and honor. Moreover, the amount of Boka is carefully adjusted according to the woman's social stratification within the community.

In contrast, Islamic law does not prescribe a specific form or amount for the dowry (mahr). The primary requirement is that the groom fulfill his obligation to provide, whether in the form of an object or otherwise, mahr to the bride, provided that it does not contradict Islamic principles. Article 1, letter d, of the Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 1991 concerning the Compilation of Islamic Law (hereinafter referred to as KHI) affirms that mahr is a mandatory obligation that must be fulfilled by the prospective groom to the prospective bride, which may take the form of an object, money, or services, and must align with Islamic legal principles. This provision indicates that while mahr is indeed an obligatory duty of the groom to the bride, it does not specify the form or amount, nor is it a condition for the legal validity of a marriage.

In the community of Sandi Village, the Boka, or dowry, is predetermined and based on the social stratification of women within the traditional customary system. Human beings, as social creatures who constantly interact with their environment, naturally require change, adaptation, and ongoing evaluation. This interaction plays a significant role in shaping hierarchical classifications within society, where individuals are organized into distinct social strata. Although social status classifications may appear similar on the surface, the structure remains clearly layered. The basis for determining social class often varies across regions. It is influenced by factors such as levels of education within specific disciplines, economic status, military skill, technical knowledge, and other humanistic considerations. Social class distinctions can also be evaluated using multiple indicators. In certain regions, transitioning from one class to another can be highly complex or even restricted. As a result, the contrast between higher and lower social groups becomes more visible, and the levels of stratification within the community are more distinctly observed (Ezpinosa, Juanillo, & Rupa Huayllapuma, 2018).

The Boka tradition is practiced as a form of respect for ancestral lineage and has been preserved across generations within the community of Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency. Each stage of the Boka custom is rich with symbolism and cultural values that reflect the social stratification of the Butonese people. An important element is the dowry, which carries not only material significance but also spiritual meaning, symbolizing the groom's respect and responsibility toward the bride. Additionally, this dowry serves to uphold ancestral values and maintain social harmony. The persistence of this practice raises questions about its alignment with Islamic principles, particularly given that the Boka amount is still determined by social stratification and lineage. Consequently, it is crucial to examine whether this customary practice remains relevant and consistent with Islamic teachings, which emphasize justice, equality, and voluntary giving in the provision of dowry, as stipulated in Islamic law.

Although the Boka tradition has deep cultural roots and has been passed down through generations, it is necessary to understand how these practices align with the principles of *maslahah* in Islamic law. The principle of *maslahah* in Islamic law emphasizes the welfare of humanity, encompassing both material and spiritual aspects (Mu'alim, 2022). Therefore, this study aims to analyze how the Boka tradition can fulfill these aspects of *maslahah*.

Marriage practices, although universal, vary significantly across cultures, ethnicities, and religions within each region. The marriage customs among the Buton ethnic group

are particularly interesting to study, especially the Boka tradition, which possesses unique values and ceremonies. This village has a significant Muslim population, so Islamic teachings heavily influence its marriage customs. The Boka tradition in the marriages of the Sandi Village community illustrates how customary practices and religion can harmoniously blend within a sacred ceremony.

Customary leaders play a crucial role in preserving the authenticity and continuity of the Boka tradition, as well as providing a broader perspective on the values embedded within it. The Boka tradition in the marriages of the Sandi Village community illustrates how customary practices and religion can harmoniously integrate within a sacred ceremony.

Based on research findings in Sandi Village, Boka is not merely a dowry in marriage but also embodies values related to women's social status. This dowry reflects the enduring social structure within the local community, in which women from specific lineages receive higher Boka values than those from other lineages. This practice serves as a form of respect for ancestors and aims to maintain social balance within the society.

The research revealed that the determination of the Boka value is based on several factors, including the social status tier of women, family involvement in the customary procession, and mutual consensus. This concept raises questions about how the system aligns with the principle of *maslahah* in Islamic law, which emphasizes welfare and justice for all individuals.

The Boka custom can be classified as 'Urf Shahih,' meaning a tradition that does not conflict with Islamic values. However, in the era of modernization, this system faces various challenges, including potential social inequality arising from significant differences in Boka values. Therefore, this study aims to analyze how the Boka custom can continue to exist within society while simultaneously fulfilling the aspects of *maslahah* from an Islamic legal perspective.

Based on the research findings in Sandi Village, the community still firmly upholds this tradition but has begun to consider greater flexibility in its implementation to be more inclusive and aligned with contemporary developments. Some groups, particularly the younger generation, advocate simplifying the determination of Boka so it does not become a burden on the prospective groom, in accordance with the Islamic principle that the *mahr* should not impose hardship.

Previous studies that have examined the *Boka* tradition include the following:

1. A study conducted by La Aliman Aririn Sampulawa and colleagues from the Islamic University of Malang, titled "*The Boka Tradition in the Marriage of the Waepandan Village Community of the Buton Tribe: An Islamic and Positive Law Perspective*," aimed to analyze the *Boka* tradition, which is still actively practiced by the Waepandan community as part of the marriage process. This research examined the tradition from the standpoint of both national legal systems and Islamic law. The findings revealed that *Boka* must be given by the groom to the bride's family. In addition to being a compulsory offering, it serves to uphold the dignity of women and to reinforce the sanctity of the marriage ceremony.
2. A study conducted by Ramla Ivanda Lapanca, a student at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) of Manado, aimed to examine the practice of giving *mahar* (dowry) and wedding expenses within the community of Mongkoinit Village, Lolak District, Bolaang Mongondow Regency, and to assess its implications from the perspective of

Islamic law. The findings indicated that the practice of giving *mahar* and wedding expenses in Mongkoinit is influenced by local social status and cultural norms. In Islamic law, *mahar* is a prerequisite for a valid marriage and empowers women. However, excessively high wedding expenses can lead to negative consequences such as delayed marriages, elopement, and moral deterioration. Islam advocates a simple, non-burdensome *mahar*, consistent with the Prophet Muhammad's (peace be upon him) normative teachings, which emphasize public benefit (*maslahah*) and the prevention of harm (*mafsadah*).

3. A study conducted by Abdul Aziz, a student of the Faculty of Sharia and Law at Ar-Raniry State Islamic University in Banda Aceh, titled "*The Determination of Mahar Amount in Gampong Ulee Blang, Julok District, East Aceh Regency (An Analysis Based on the Theory of 'Urf)*," aimed to evaluate the local custom of setting a high *mahar* in Gampong Ulee Blang. According to tradition, the *mahar* is set at a minimum of ten *mayam* (a unit of gold), which often becomes a financial burden for the groom, particularly since most residents rely on agriculture and fishing with limited income. The analysis using the theory of '*urf*, which emphasizes customs that promote public welfare (*maslahah*) and prevent harm (*mafsadah*), found that this high *mahar* requirement contradicts these principles. It leads to social challenges such as delays or cancellations of marriage. The study recommends that the community adjust this practice to align with current economic and social conditions so it better reflects the principles of Sharia and the needs of the present time.
4. A study conducted by Rachmadani, Febby, Rahayu Wiliana, Gagaring Pagalung, and R.A. Damayanti titled "*Accounting Practices in Determining the Value of Mahar (Boka) in Traditional Buton Weddings in Baubau City*" (Journal of Economics, Management, and Social Sciences, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2024) explains that the traditional wedding culture of the Butonese community reflects a deeply rooted tradition in which the determination of the *mahar* (*boka*) is still heavily influenced by social stratification. It is marked by the hierarchical classification of *boka* values according to social levels within the community, including *boka* for the noble lineage or *Kaomu*, *boka* for the *Walaka* level, those considered outsiders who were granted the authority to appoint and dismiss kings or sultans and are regarded as the founding descendants of the Buton Kingdom (descendants of *Mia Patamiana*), and *boka* for the *Papara* level, which refers to the general population or commoners.

Several studies have examined the tradition of dowry (*mahar*) in marriage from various perspectives, including cultural, Islamic legal, and statutory law, across different regions. These studies focus on the social, cultural, and economic impacts of the practice. Research conducted by La Aliman Aririn Sampulawa and colleagues in Waepandan Village highlights the *Boka* tradition as a mandatory gift from the groom to the bride's family. This custom is recognized as '*urf sahihah* in Islam, meaning it does not conflict with Islamic teachings or statutory law, and serves to uphold the dignity of women and the sanctity of marriage. Ramla Ivanda Lapanca's study in Mongkoinit Village explores the practice of giving *mahar* and household money, which is influenced by social and cultural status. Although it aims to empower women, the tradition may lead to social challenges such as delayed marriages due to the financial burden it imposes. Islamic teachings recommend keeping the *mahar* simple to avoid unnecessary hardship.

Meanwhile, Abdul Aziz's research in Gampong Ulee Blang investigates the high dowry requirements based on the theory of 'urf, which ideally prioritizes public welfare or *maslahah*. The requirement of a minimum of ten *mayam* of gold has been considered burdensome for low-income families, creating barriers to marriage. Collectively, these studies emphasize the importance of maintaining dowry traditions that honor both cultural and religious values while also considering economic conditions and principles of justice, thereby promoting public welfare without imposing excessive hardship on individuals.

All of these studies highlight the importance of harmonizing the tradition of dowry with principles of social justice, religious teachings, and contemporary needs, so that marriage remains a sacred institution without becoming a burdensome obligation. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the discourse on how customary traditions intersect with Islamic law in Sandi Village and to provide recommendations on how the Boka tradition can continue to be practiced without conflicting with Islamic principles of justice and public welfare. Based on this background, the research questions formulated are as follows: (1) How is the Boka tradition implemented based on social stratification in the marriage practices of the community in Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency? (2) What is the perspective of Islamic law on the Boka tradition in the marriage practices of the Buton ethnic community in Sandi Village, Wakatobi?

## **B. Method**

This study employs a field research approach, in which the researcher is directly present at the research site to collect information related to the research subject (Nasution, 2023). As a qualitative study, the researcher seeks to thoroughly explore phenomena experienced by the research subjects in their natural setting. It includes aspects such as attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and motivations, which are narrated in a natural, descriptive manner (Nasution, 2023). Qualitative research is characterized by its naturalistic approach, inductive analysis, the researcher as the key instrument, emphasis on process, qualitative description, focus on data validity, and flexibility in the research design. The results may also be discussed further to reach a shared understanding (Abdussamad, 2021). The main reasons for choosing this method include its adaptability to empirical data, the close relationship between the researcher and informants, the depth of understanding it provides of social phenomena, the richness of the information obtained, and the ability to interpret the collected data. This study is also classified as descriptive-analytical because it deals directly with a group of people, a state of mind, an event, or a phenomenon currently occurring (Abdussamad, 2021). The data sources include both primary and secondary data. Primary data consists of information gathered through direct interviews with informants in the field and official documents relevant to the research problem. Secondary data are derived from literature reviews of books and published articles from both accredited and non-accredited journals.

In this study, the researcher employed the following data collection techniques:

1. **Observation**  
In this regard, the researcher was physically present in the field to directly observe, experience, and take part in several stages of the preparation and execution of the Boka tradition prior to the wedding ceremony.
2. **Interview**

To gather relevant data, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews to facilitate direct interaction. This approach enabled face-to-face engagement with the informants (Sahir, 2021), allowing for deeper exploration of the subject. The goal was to obtain insights and perspectives that aligned with the research objectives. Accordingly, the researcher personally interviewed key stakeholders, including traditional leaders, religious figures, and couples from the Kaomu strata. These informants were selected because they possess sufficient knowledge about the issues being studied, in addition to being participants and important community figures.

3. Documentation

The documentation collected includes records of the preparation for the delivery of the Boka tradition by traditional leaders (Kaomu and Walaka), the Boka items themselves, and the Boka handover ceremony.

## C. Result and Discussion

### 1. Implementation of the Boka Tradition in the Sandi Village Community According to Social Stratification

In the traditional community of Sandi Village, customary practices remain deeply upheld as a legacy passed down from the time of the Buton Kingdom, including matters related to traditional marriage ceremonies. One of the key elements in these marriage customs is the determination of the dowry (Boka), which varies according to a woman's social status within the community. As confirmed by Mr. La Cumi, the dowry value is determined by lineage, such as whether the woman comes from a noble group (Wa Ode) or not. Each level of descent carries a different dowry value, including those from the Kaomu and Walaka castes.

*According to La Cumi, a traditional leader in Sandi Village, "Ara te nilai nu Boka nu fofine 'Ode' te Bokano posala kene nilai nu Fofine umbea 'Ode' sabaanne no attoro e te Walaka kene Kaomu," which means, "If a woman in Sandi Village is getting married, the value of the dowry (Boka) varies depending on whether she is from the Walaka or Kaomu lineage" (La Cumi, traditional leader, interview, November 4, 2024).*

The statement above illustrates that customary marriage practices in Sandi Village remain deeply rooted, with the determination of dowry (Boka) still heavily influenced by social stratification. In some areas of Indonesia, the impact of social status differences is still evident. For instance, in the past, Balinese men from the *Triwangsa* class (Brahmana, Ksatria, and Waisya) were prohibited from marrying women from the *Sudra* caste, or vice versa, as such unions were believed to diminish their social dignity (Hadikusuma, 1990). As a result of this classification-based rule in marriage, members of the *Triwangsa* community tended to follow an endogamous marriage pattern, choosing spouses only from within their own caste. Still within the context of marital relations, Gantarang (2022) examined the relevance of determining the amount of dowry in the marriage practices of the Bugis community in Parepare, illustrating how social stratification continues to influence contemporary cultural practices. This condition remains ingrained in the culture to this day, in which the higher a woman's noble status, the higher the dowry demanded by the man (Yunita Mahrany et al., 2025).

As previously explained, in the Buton Regency, the determination of *Boka* (dowry) is hierarchically structured by social class. The first level is the *Boka* for women of noble descent, known as *Kaomu*. The second level is the *Boka* for the *Walaka* class, descendants

of immigrants who were granted the right to appoint and dismiss kings or sultans. This group is also considered the founding lineage of the Buton Kingdom (descendants of *Mia Patamiana*). The third level is the *Boka* for the *Papara* class, which refers to the general population or ordinary people.

However, based on the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph (1) of the Marriage Law, the validity of a marriage does not depend on the dowry element. Instead, the legality of the marriage is established by conformity with the religious beliefs of both the prospective husband and wife. This provision contains essential elements that the parties must legally fulfill, namely the religious conviction requirement.

The practice of determining *Boka* varies widely across social strata, where a woman's lineage is the primary factor in determining the dowry amount. According to Mr. La Cumi, a traditional leader of the Buton community, lineage status plays a crucial role in determining the dowry value, particularly in distinguishing whether a woman belongs to the noble group (*Waode*). This system is deeply rooted in Buton's cultural heritage and continues to persist as a form of respect for family ancestry. In practice, the dowry amount is categorized by social class, such as *Kaomu* (nobility), *Walaka* (descendants of *Mia Patamiana* with political roles in the Buton Sultanate), and *Papara*, which historically refers to the commoner group.

Therefore, marriage as an institution that practically unites a man and a woman according to Sharia principles and prevailing regulations is still viewed sociologically as a social contract. It implies that social factors often influence the decision to marry. Emile Durkheim, as cited by Pip Jones, notes that the consequences arising from social conditions shaped by human internalization and behavior are frequently overlooked, highlighting the importance of understanding these effects. One logical outcome of marriage is the mutual rights and obligations of husband and wife, which should be founded on the principle of balance (Coronas et al., 2023). Hence, although the dowry system serves as a symbol of family honor and social status, it is crucial to reevaluate its relevance within the framework of social justice and equality to ensure that inherited customs continue to align with the principles of *maslahat* and Islamic law.

The determination of *Boka* based on stratification, as previously mentioned, from the lowest to the highest level or vice versa, can be explained as follows:

#### 1. *Boka* Custom of the *Papara* Lineage

*Papara* belongs to the category of ordinary people. When a woman from the *Papara* lineage marries a man of the same lineage, the *Boka* value ranges from 9 to 12 *Boka*. It was explained by Mr. La Key, who stated, "Oho, memang di hensa raga sia boka inta henangkamo te mayi nu jamani kene harga yang te awal no raga sia boka (9 boka) mia ana no ekkamo ompulu dua boka (12 boka)," which means that in the past, the value of *Boka* was only 9. However, due to economic developments, it has now increased to 12. He further emphasized, "are te papara raga no pake te boka sekita ompulu dodua (12 boka) sampuno di heansa raga sosia boka (9 boka)," meaning that those of *Papara* descent currently use 12 *Boka*, although it was previously only 9.

In this regard, another source states that a woman from the *Papara* lineage who is to marry a man of the same lineage is assigned a dowry value of 12-18 *Boka* (Rachmadani et al., 2024). Furthermore, women from the *Papara* lineage may also receive a dowry equal to that of women from the *Walaka* lineage, which is 87.5 *Boka*.



(Rachmadani et al., 2024). Although not formally codified like positive law, customary law still holds binding authority within the customary communities that practice it. The elements of customary law include rules governing behavior, sanctions for violations, and mechanisms for dispute resolution. Customary law is also dynamic, capable of adapting to changing times without losing its essence.

In the traditional marriage customs of the community in Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency, the value of the dowry (Boka) for women of the Papara social group varies according to social status and the times. Customary traditions are inherently dynamic and can adapt to economic shifts and contemporary developments (Erfan et al., 2024). Women from the Papara group who marry men of the same social class generally receive a dowry of 12 or 18 boka. It aligns with Mr. La Key's view that, although 9 boka was the common dowry in the past, some Papara women now use 12 boka, reflecting an adjustment influenced by social and economic factors over time. This variation illustrates the evolving nature of customary practices. Supporting this, Soerjono Soekanto stated that customary law is the traditional law of the Indonesian people, born from real societal needs and shaped by the way of life and culture in which it exists (Abdurrahman, 1978). Nevertheless, the determination of the dowry remains rooted in the prevailing social stratification system of the Buton society, where a woman's status and lineage are primary considerations in setting the amount of the marriage dowry. Therefore, it is essential to understand how these customs evolve and how their implementation can be aligned with the principles of justice and public welfare in Islamic law, ensuring they do not become a burden for those involved in the marriage.

## 2. Boka customs of the Walaka Lineage

In tradition, women from the Walaka lineage are considered part of the noble and respected circle within the sultanate. This social stratum maintains kinship ties with the Kaomu group, with Walaka classified as the second stratum (M. A. Akmal et al., 2025). Therefore, for a man from the Walaka lineage marrying a woman from the same group, the dowry (boka) is set at 32 boka (Ansori, 2015). Meanwhile, the dowry for women from the Walaka lineage is ideally 87.5 boka. As explained by Mr. La Mane, *"Te Boka ako te fofine mina di golongan falaka ara no kafi kene moane falaka, te bokano 32 boka no pooli umekka appa 87 boka di luara nu bulafa ako te rangkaminoo,"* which means "For women marrying from the Walaka lineage, the dowry ranges from 32 to 87 boka, not including dowry in the form of gold" (La Mane, traditional leader, interview, October 23, 2024). Thus, during the engagement process, the groom's side is obliged to give the woman from the Walaka lineage 36 boka (Rachmadani et al., 2024). From the explanation above, it is clear that even when marriage occurs within the same Walaka lineage for both the husband and the wife, the dowry system remains highly variable and is an important aspect of customary marriage practices in Desa Sandi.

In the customary marriage traditions of the Buton community, the dowry (Boka) value for women from the Walaka group varies across sources and practices within the community. The dowry for a Walaka woman marrying a man of the same social stratum typically ranges from 32 to 36 boka. As explained by Mr. La Mane, during the formal engagement process, the dowry includes various customary components such as popolo, kalamboko, kapobiangi, katolosi, bakenakau, and kaempesi (La Mane, interview, October 23, 2024). This interview is supported by research findings

(Rachmadani et al., 2024). Although the amounts vary, adat customs remain a crucial factor in determining the dowry amount, as determined by local tradition.

Additionally, some customary records mention dowry values for Walaka women reaching as high as 87.5 boka, indicating flexibility in determining dowry amounts based on agreements between families and traditional leaders. This variation reflects the dynamic nature of the Boka tradition, in which social, economic, and family status factors influence the amount of the dowry. Nevertheless, the core purpose of setting a dowry within the Walaka group is to uphold family honor and preserve the adat practices passed down through generations in Buton society.

### 3. Boka customs of the Kaomu Lineage

Because this group is considered the highest noble lineage (aristocracy) in Buton custom, the dowry (mahar) given to the Kaomu group in traditional Buton marriages includes various forms such as gold, diamonds, land certificates, livestock, and jewelry. In addition to these, the dowry may also be given in the form of money or Boka, whose value varies depending on the bride's social status. However, currently, the dowry most commonly given by the groom's side to the bride is in the form of money and gold. The dowry value (Boka) for women of the respected Kaomu class who marry men from the same group varies, typically amounting to 95, 105, or 115 Boka. According to previous research (Rachmadani et al., 2024), the Boka for Kaomu women can reach 117.5 Boka, which includes the cost of several wedding necessities such as *popolo*, *kalamboko*, *kapobiangi*, *katolosi*, *bakenakau*, and *kaempesi*. Additionally, a dowry amounting to 110 Boka is usually handed over by the groom's side during the engagement ceremony (Rachmadani et al., 2024). Reinforcing the consistency of tradition in determining the dowry for women from the Kaomu group.

According to Mr. La Key, the dowry (Boka) for women from the Kaomu group in Desa Sandi, Buton Wakatobi Regency, is set at approximately 110 boka (La Key, customary leader, interview, October 17, 2024). Meanwhile, Mr. La Mane explained that the dowry value for women from the Waode Kaomu group varies based on the sultan's lineage. For those from the Kaomu lineage, the dowry is set at 120 boka. In contrast, for those from the Walaka lineage, it is set at 110 boka and 95 boka, respectively (La Mane, customary leader, interview, October 17, 2024).

The customary practice of Boka in weddings among the people of Desa Sandi, Buton Wakatobi Regency, determines the dowry (Boka) for women from the Kaomu group according to traditional rules passed down through generations. The amount of dowry for Kaomu women marrying men from the same group varies, ranging from 95 boka, 105 boka, to 115 boka. Additionally, during the engagement ceremony, the groom's side typically offers a dowry of 110 boka. According to Mr. La Key, the dowry for Kaomu women in Desa Sandi generally amounts to 110 boka. Meanwhile, Mr. La Mane explained that the dowry for women from the noble group (Waode) Kaomu varies depending on the sultan's lineage. If the woman descends from Sultan Baadia, the dowry is set at 120 boka. In contrast, for descendants of Sultan Sangia and Oputa Baadiana, the amounts are 110 boka and 95 boka, respectively (Mr. La Mane, interview, October 23, 2023).

Variation in dowry amounts reflects the community's social stratification system, in which lineage and family status are the primary factors in determining the amount. In the Sasak region, a symbolic dowry payment model is also found, based on a

woman's social status, whether noble or commoner (Yusuf, 2024). Although this system has become an integral part of the marriage customs in Desa Sandi, Buton Wakatobi Regency, it is important to consider its impact on social equality and its relevance to the principles of public welfare in Islamic law, ensuring it remains aligned with the values of justice and community well-being.

Indonesia's character as a nation with diverse religions, tribes, and ethnicities naturally gives rise to varying values across regions, reflected in prevailing customs, such as the practice of requiring a dowry for a valid marriage. Although dowry is merely a condition in marriage, it is often influenced by local wisdom tied to social stratification within the community. For the people of Gampong Mamplam, Nibong District, North Aceh Regency, the determination of dowry is heavily influenced by social status. Several factors, including education, economic status, occupation, and lineage, influence the amount of the dowry. Therefore, the dowry requested by the bride's family varies according to social status, typically ranging between 15 and 25 mayam of gold (M. R. et al., 2022)

#### 4. *Tauraka*: Final dowry (Non-negotiable Dowry)

There have been instances of marriages being annulled due to disputes over the boka (dowry) that had been previously determined by the bride's family and offered to the groom's family. According to Fan, a customary leader from Desa Sandi, the mahar (boka) set within the traditional marriage customs of Desa Sandi is considered absolute and non-negotiable. This principle is particularly emphasized when a man from the Papara lineage seeks to marry a woman from the Walaka lineage. The groom is obliged to adhere to this customary stipulation because it embodies deep philosophical significance related to the status and dignity of women from the Walaka lineage. In one such case, the marriage was called off because the groom refused to fulfill the prescribed boka requirement (Fan, customary leader of Desa Sandi, interview, November 3, 2024). This incident underscores the enduring cultural authority of customary law as a living system that governs and binds the community, even alongside the national legal framework (Erfan et al., 2024). Moreover, Fan elaborated that the mahar (boka) for a woman from the Papara lineage marrying a man from the same lineage ranges from 9 to 12 boka, consistent with the customary marriage practices of the Buton community. However, suppose a woman of Papara descent marries a man from the Kaomu or Walaka strata, or even a man outside the Buton ethnic group. In that case, the boka amount can vary significantly, including 9, 12, 15, 18, or even up to 87.5 boka, depending on the adat regulations in place, especially in Desa Sandi, Kab. Buton.

The phenomenon of marriage within the same social strata recalls another social reality, particularly regarding the varied wedding customs within the Arab community living in Indonesia, where women are referred to as Syarifah and men as Sayyid. This group believes it is the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). For example, in the city of Ternate, there are many Arabs from the Bani Alawiy group with family names such as Al-Hadar, Al-Baar, As-Seggaf, Alathas, and others. Among them, marriages generally occur only between Arabs; a woman titled Syarifah is only permitted to marry a man who is a Sayyid and is not allowed to marry outside their lineage. This practice aims to preserve and protect the purity of their lineage and to uphold traditions passed down through generations within their community, especially within these family clans (Ismail et al., 2024).

The full authority of customary leaders is highly respected throughout the process of a wedding, especially regarding the determination of the dowry or *boka* in accordance with the customary marriage traditions in Sandi Village. Due to their extensive knowledge and deep understanding of the community's customary regulations, the responsibility for determining the dowry (*tauraka*) lies with the customary leaders, not the parents. It is explained by Mr. La Mane in accordance with customary law: "*Umbea na sampuru nu mansuara nu kumafi mina di attoro an nu nimelu, sabaanne no attoro e te falaka kene kaomu. Ragamo no ema na falaka kene kaomu di mansuana nu kumafi kua yikomiu te mina di golongan payira. Te po attoro a no tentu akone mo ala a te falaka kene kaomu,*" Which means "Parents are not the ones who decide; it is the custom that holds that role, so parents only need to be informed. The customary elders are those who possess greater knowledge, except that they may inquire into the family's lineage or origin. Therefore, representatives from the customary leaders of both parties act as spokespersons appointed to meet. It is not the parents who question the lineage, as this is the established customary order. Thus, the process continues to refer to values that have been the foundation of customary rules set by the ancestors. Although there have been slight changes, these are always resolved through deliberations within the customary institution." (La Mane, customary leader, interview, October 23, 2024).

The above statement is also reinforced by interviews with couples from the Kaomu strata, who stated that the *boka* custom contains strong principles because the determined *boka* cannot be negotiated. "We proceeded with the marriage, but the matter of *boka* is the responsibility of the customary leaders. The customary traditions have established it that way; if not, the marriage plan could be canceled." (Wa Ode Nurima, Wawancara, 20 Oktober 2025).

Clearly, the presence of customary leaders plays a vital role in preserving and respecting the existing customary systems inherited from their ancestors, particularly in relation to marriage traditions in Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency. As custodians of tradition, these leaders hold the authority to determine the *boka* (dowry) and exemplify wisdom and leadership in safeguarding and maintaining the customs and cultural heritage of the Butonese community. This way of life, guided by such principles, aligns with the view that customary structures are the crystallization of social realities. As such, customary law evolves culturally and is upheld through the decisions of traditional authorities, often referred to as the "people's elders," who hold legitimate authority over legal matters (Ter, 2001).

In the tradition of determining the bride price (*tauraka*), the decision regarding its value is not made by the parents of the bride and groom, but rather lies entirely in the hands of the customary leaders. It underscores the existence of an independent customary system governing the marriage process, in which parents are limited to receiving information rather than exercising authority over the *boka* (bride price). As explained by Mr. La Mane, it is the customary leader who decides the amount of the bride price, typically after inquiring into the lineage of the bride, particularly to establish whether she descends from the *Ode* noble lineage or not. A formal meeting between the customary representatives of both families is a crucial part of this process. At the same time, the parents are expected to adhere to the decisions made in accordance with established customary rules. It aligns with Ter Haar's perspective that customary law encompasses all legal norms reflected in the decisions of the

community's customary authorities, which possess social authority and persuasive power and are, in practice, earnestly observed by those under their jurisdiction (Khudzaifa, 2004).

Although the value of the *mahar* is rooted in ancestral tradition, adjustments to its amount have at times been discussed in joint deliberations by customary institutions to align with changing times. It demonstrates that Butonese customary law, while firmly grounded in ancestral heritage, still allows for a degree of flexibility in adapting the value of the *mahar* to the evolving needs of the community.

## 2. The Concept of Islamic Law in Relation to the Boka Marriage Custom in Sandi Village, Buton Wakatobi Regency

The principle of the theory of *maslahah* (public interest), as articulated by Asy-Syatibi, emphasizes that the primary purpose of Islamic law is to ensure the welfare of humanity by protecting five fundamental pillars, which are referred to as *Maqashid Shariah*, that is, the protection of religion (*din*), life (*nafs*), intellect (*'aql*), lineage (*nasl*), and property (*mal*) (Rivandi & Mashrokin, 2025). The conclusion of this study affirms that the *Boka* custom, as a system of dowry in marriage practices within the Sandi Village community, closely aligns with the *maslahah* principle in Islamic law.

Adat Boka, based on research findings, shows that this system has two main aspects: first, as a form of respect for women's social status and the inheritance of ancestral culture; and second, as an economic mechanism that helps maintain social balance within the community. From this perspective, Adat Boka corresponds with the *maqasid al-shari'ah*, particularly regarding *hifz al-'ird*, which is the preservation of women's dignity, then *hifz al-nasl*, which is the protection of lineage, and *ta'aruf wa ta'awun*, which is the preservation of social manners (Saputri & Islamy, 2021)

This practice falls under the category of *'Urf Shahih* because it does not contradict the principles of Sharia and is still accepted by the community. However, the research also found challenges in implementing Adat Boka, particularly concerning the high demands for mahar based on social stratification. Some members of the community, especially the younger generation, feel that this practice can become an economic burden for prospective grooms, which conflicts with the Islamic concept of ease in marriage. In this regard, the theory of kemaslahatan (public welfare) emphasizes the importance of flexibility and the adaptation of customs to changing times, so they continue to support community welfare without causing hardship.

The tradition of *'Urf* regarding Boka, from the perspective of Islamic law, can be categorized as *'Urf Shahih*, meaning a custom that does not conflict with Islamic principles. Boka is the customary dowry in the community's marriage practices in Desa Sandi, Kab. Buton Wakatobi represents a form of respect toward women and helps maintain social balance within the society.

In Islamic law, *'Urf Shahih* refers to customs that do not contradict the *nash* (texts from the Qur'an and Hadith), do not eliminate public benefit (*maslahah*), and do not cause harm (*mafsadah*). In this context, the tradition of Boka remains in harmony with Sharia principles because it upholds *maslahah* without burdening any party. However, modernization presents challenges to the continuation of this tradition, particularly regarding the amount of Boka, which can become a financial burden for the groom.

Therefore, evaluation and deliberation within the community are necessary to ensure that this custom remains relevant and aligns with the principles of justice in Islam.

Customs hold an important position within Islamic law, where their implementation is referred to as *'Urf*. Therefore, in practice, customs must align with traditional norms to harmonize with them and uphold *maslahah* (public welfare), a fundamental pillar of Islamic law. The *Adat Boka* tradition in marriage ceremonies in Desa Sandi is one manifestation of *'Urf* that has been passed down through generations. In Islamic law, the concept of *'Urf* is recognized as a source of law, provided that it does not contradict Islamic Sharia. Based on research, the *Boka* tradition can be categorized as *'Urf Shahih*, since its implementation is consistent with Islamic principles, does not conflict with Sharia texts, and brings benefit to the community.

From the perspective of Islamic law, the concept of *mahar* (dowry) in marriages in Desa Sandi, Kab. Buton Wakatobi reflects a fusion between customary rules and Islamic Sharia provisions. This integration is grounded in the fiqh principle *qa'idah fihiyyah* "al-'Adatu muhakkamah, which means "customary practices become a source of law when they align with Sharia." This concept legitimizes local customs as a basis for Islamic law, provided they conform to Islamic values (Harika et al., 2025). Islam, as a religion with comprehensive rules and prohibitions, offers clear guidance across various aspects of life, including marriage. In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, Islamic law plays a significant role in regulating many issues faced by the Muslim community, including the regulation of *mahar* in marriage.

In this regard, it is in line with the results of interviews with a local religious scholar who stated that "Indeed, social facts show the existence of social status differences among individuals or between one community group and another. In customary traditions such as Kaomu (Southeast Sulawesi), Andi and Karaeng (South Sulawesi), these distinctions greatly influence social activities, including marriage. Therefore, in Islam, the value of *maslahah* (benefit or public good) must be considered, as long as it does not harm or burden the community itself. In this context, the dowry (*mahar*) is often associated with economic and genealogical (lineage) aspects. If a man has a stable income or comes from a noble family, the dowry requested is usually quite high. However, if he comes from an ordinary background, then there is a principle of mutual understanding. It represents one aspect of *maslahah* in religious terms. Islam also provides guidance, as conveyed by the Prophet (peace be upon him), that in choosing a woman as a wife, four (4) aspects should be considered: first, her wealth; second, her lineage; third, her beauty; and fourth, her religion. Among these four aspects, the most important is to choose based on religion, because wealth is temporary; it can decrease or be lost. Lineage, too, should not be a source of pride, because honor in the sight of Allah lies in piety (*taqwa*). As for beauty, it is subjective and naturally changes over time (a *sunnatullah*). Therefore, the religious factor should take priority, as the Prophet encouraged choosing a woman for her faith. With religion as the foundation, a family will achieve *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *warahmah* (tranquility, affection, and mercy)." (Mustamin Giling, Wawancara, 23 Oktober 2025).

The implementation of *mahar* determination within the *Boka* tradition in the Desa Sandi community also adheres to these principles, as well as Articles 30, 31, 32, and 33 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). This tradition has been developed through collaboration between customary leaders and government officials to ensure that the *Boka* tradition remains relevant and compliant with applicable positive law, including the Marriage Law. From the perspective of customary law, the marriage procession, marked

by the *Boka* tradition, strongly reflects the principles of togetherness and respect for women's dignity and honor, while also preserving and upholding local customs and the community's wisdom. Customary law continues to exist alongside national law (D. U. Akmal et al., 2025). This concept provides legal strength for the implementation of the *Boka* tradition and explains why it continues to thrive in the Desa Sandi community to this day.

As a religion with comprehensive regulations, Islam provides clear guidance in various aspects of life, including marriage, which in Indonesia is primarily governed by Islamic law as part of the norms embraced by the Muslim majority. A crucial dimension of marriage is the *mahar* (dowry), which is regulated in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) to ensure order and legal certainty, emphasizing that *mahar* is not a pillar (*rukun*) of marriage but a required condition, grounded in the principles of simplicity and ease. This regulation aims to prevent *mahar* being determined by economic factors, social status, or prestige that could burden one party. The *Boka* tradition in the Desa Sandi community also adheres to these principles, grounded in Articles 30, 31, 32, and 33 of the KHI, which stipulate that *mahar* must not impose an excessive burden in marriage. In practice, the determination of *mahar* within the *Boka* tradition is developed through collaboration between customary leaders and government officials to ensure the practice remains relevant and compliant with prevailing positive laws, including the Marriage Law. This collaboration provides legal legitimacy for the continuity of the *Boka* tradition, allowing it to endure in the Desa Sandi community in Buton Wakatobi Regency while maintaining customary values aligned with the principle of *maslahah* (public welfare) in Islamic law.

a. The Compatibility of Boka with the Principle of 'Urf Shahih in Islam

In Islamic law, 'Urf Shahih has several main criteria, namely:

1. Must be in harmony with the primary sources and not contradict the Qur'an and Hadith: The tradition of Boka as a marriage dowry aligns with Islamic teachings that require the giving of mahr, which the bride must accept. The Qur'an, in Surah An-Nisa verse 4, states that mahr is a right of the woman that must be given sincerely by the prospective husband.
2. Brings benefit to the community: The tradition of Boka serves as a form of respect toward the woman and her family, as well as maintaining social balance within the community. The value of the mahr, determined by the woman's social status, is intended to show honor and respect for her lineage.
3. Does not cause harm: In principle, the mahr in Islam should not become a heavy burden for the prospective husband. Therefore, if the value of Boka is excessively high and hinders the marriage, efforts must be made to adjust this practice so that it continues to reflect justice and ease as prescribed by Sharia.

b. Challenges and Modernization of the Boka Tradition

With the passage of time, various challenges have emerged in the implementation of the Boka tradition, such as:

1. Economic Burden on the Groom: In some cases, the high amount of mahar demanded can become an obstacle for men to marry, potentially conflicting with the Islamic principle that encourages ease in marriage.
2. Social Inequality: Setting the mahar based on social status can lead to unequal treatment among women in the community, posing a risk of injustice.
3. Flexibility in Customary Practices: Some younger generations have started to question the relevance of this system in the modern era. Therefore, it is necessary

to hold deliberations between traditional leaders and religious authorities to adjust the Boka custom so that it remains acceptable without conflicting with Islamic legal principles.

c. Solutions from the Perspective of Islamic Law

In addressing these challenges, Islam offers solutions through the *maqashid shariah* approach, which focuses on the human dimension and encompasses the protection of religion, life, lineage, intellect, and property. Therefore, possible solutions include:

1. Simplifying the Boka Amount: Adjusting the dowry value to remain symbolic while not imposing a financial burden on the prospective groom.
2. Encouraging Mutual Agreement: The dowry should be determined through family deliberations, taking into account the groom's financial capacity and mutual consent between both parties.
3. Preserving Traditional Values without Hindering Marriage: The tradition can be maintained as part of the local culture, but it must align with the principle of ease in Islam as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

From the perspective of Islamic law, the concept of *mahr* (dowry) in marriage in Desa Sandi, Buton Wakatobi Regency, reflects a blend of customary rules and Islamic sharia provisions. Islam, as a religion with comprehensive rules and prohibitions, provides clear guidance in various aspects of life, including marriage. In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, Islamic law plays a significant role in regulating many issues faced by the Muslim community. One of these regulations is the concept of *mahr* in marriage.

The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) regulates the practice of *mahr* to ensure orderliness and to allow the parties to agree to it willingly, recognizing that *mahr* is not a prerequisite for the validity of a marriage. Article 34 of the KHI explicitly states that the payment of *mahr* is obligatory, yet it is not considered a pillar of the marriage contract; moreover, deferred payment is permitted. This regulation aims to prevent *mahr* from being set based on economic power, social status, or prestige. Additionally, it acknowledges that '*urf* (customary practice) is continuously adaptive to social, cultural, and economic changes within the community (Santika & Ghozali, 2024).

The implementation of the Boka tradition in the community of Desa Sandi also adheres to these principles, as set out in Articles 30, 31, 32, and 33 of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). This tradition has been developed through collaboration between customary leaders and government officials to ensure that the Boka practice remains relevant and complies with prevailing positive laws, including the Marriage Law. Such collaboration provides legal legitimacy to the continuation of the Boka tradition and is a key reason why it has endured in the Desa Sandi community to this day. Boka itself represents a form of local wisdom, practiced continuously by the people of Desa Sandi. Eugen Ehrlich argued that, in this context, customary law actually possesses binding power as a form of law that truly lives within society, which cannot be found in the formal legal system but exists in social reality (Fitri Br Situmorang et al., 2025)

As a religion with comprehensive rules, Islam provides clear guidance in various aspects of life, including marriage, which in Indonesia is regulated mainly through Islamic law as part of the norms embraced by the Muslim majority. One of the crucial aspects of marriage is the *mahr* (dowry), which the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) regulates to



ensure order and legal certainty, clarifying that mahr is not a pillar of marriage but a condition that must be fulfilled in accordance with the principles of simplicity and ease. This regulation aims to prevent mahr from being set according to economic status, social rank, or prestige, which could burden one party. The Boka tradition in the Desa Sandi community also follows these principles, grounded legally in KHI Articles 30, 31, 32, and 33, which emphasize that the mahr should not become an excessive burden in marriage. Its implementation is developed through collaboration between customary leaders and government officials to ensure the practice remains relevant and in accordance with applicable positive law, including the Marriage Law. This collaboration provides legal legitimacy for the continuation of the Boka tradition, allowing it to endure in the Desa Sandi community in Buton Wakatobi Regency while preserving customary values that align with the principle of public welfare in Islamic law.

Therefore, from the perspective of Islamic law, Boka can still be maintained as a legitimate customary practice, provided it does not cause hardship to the marrying couple and continues to uphold the principles of justice and the welfare of the community.

#### **D. Conclusion**

Based on the explanation above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The practice of implementing the Boka tradition in marriage among the people of Desa Sandi, Kabupaten Buton Wakatobi, reflects a harmony between customary values and Islamic law, both of which are legally regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and various subordinate laws and regulations. Boka tradition is not only a symbol of respect for lineage but also serves to strengthen identity and act as a social and spiritual bond within marriage. The determination of the Boka value is based on women's social stratification and is set without negotiation.
2. From the perspective of Islamic law, this tradition is considered 'Urf Shahih because it does not contradict Sharia and fulfills the principle of public welfare (masalahah). The Boka custom has been passed down through generations. It has made a significant contribution to maintaining social stability, spirituality, and cultural identity in the community of Desa Sandi, Kabupaten Buton Wakatobi. However, in the era of modernization, certain aspects of this tradition need to be adjusted to avoid becoming an economic burden on the groom's family.

#### **REFERENCES**

- Abdurrahman. (1978). *Kedudukan Hukum Adat dalam rangka Pembangunan Nasional*. Alumi.
- Abdussamad, Z. (2021). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Syakir Media Press.
- Akmal, D. U., Kusnandar, M. I., & Muin, D. F. (2025). Protecting Indigenous Peoples' Constitutional Rights Through Legal Formation. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 22(1), 66–87. <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk2214>
- Akmal, M. A., Pabbabari, M., & Said, I. (2025). KAJIAN LIVING LAW TERHADAP MAHAR BHOKA DALAM PERNIKAHAN BEDA STRATA SOSIAL SUKU BUTON: Prespektif Hukum Islam. *Maqashid: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 8(1), 84–86. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35897/maqashid.v8i1.1968>

- Alifuddin, M., Suhiat, S., & Anhusadar, L. (2021). Mahar Dan Bhoka (Dilektika Agama Dan Adat Pada Masyarakat Muna Di Kendari Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam). *Istinbath*, 19(2), 353–373. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ijhi.v19i2.273>
- Ansori, M. H. (2015). *Perubahan Pada Praktek Tradisi Bokadi Masyarakat Buton* [Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta ]. repository.uinjkt.ac.id
- Ayu Wulandari, I. G. A., Artha Windari, R., & Sari Adnyani, N. Ketut. (2025). IMPLEMENTASI PASAL 8 UNDANG-UNDANG NOMOR 16 TAHUN 2019 TENTANG PERKAWINAN DAN PAOS 68 AWIG-AWIG DESA ADAT DUDA TERKAIT LARANGAN PERKAWINAN SEDARAH. *Jurnal Komunitas Yustisia*, 7(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23887/jatayu.v7i1.94161>
- Coronas, A. A., Sanmas, A., Umasugi, N., Harwis, H., & Abubakar, F. (2023). PRAKTIK POLIGAMI TANPA IZIN DI BACAN TIMUR HALMAHERA SELATAN. *Indonesian Journal of Shariah and Justice*, 3(1), 49–71. <https://doi.org/10.46339/ijjs.v3i1.48>
- Erfan, M., Fadillah, N., & Fitria. (2024). Maqashiduna: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam doi: xxxx HUKUM ADAT DI INDONESIA: ASPEK, TEORI, DAN PENERAPAN. *Maqashiduna: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 2(2), 110–121. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47732/maqashiduna.v2i2.568>
- Ezpinoza Juanillo, N. C., & Rupa Huayllapuma, A. (2018). *Pengaruh Stratifikasi Sosial Terhadap Praktek Boka (Mahar) Perkawinan di Masyarakat Buton*. 1–26.
- Fathoni, T., Hazim Ahrori, M., Fitri, W., & Samsudin, S. (2024). Peran Teori Sosial Émile Durkheim Dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam (Perspektif Solidaritas Sosial Dan Integrasi Masyarakat). *AL-MIKRAJ Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora (E-ISSN 2745-4584)*, 5(01), 1654–1668. <https://doi.org/10.37680/almikraj.v5i01.6403>
- Fitri Br Situmorang, D., Aznur, J., Agung, M., Andriandi, M., Dermawan Karo Karo, B., & Yusuf DM, H. M. (2025). Pengaruh Budaya Lokal terhadap Implementasi Hukum Perkawinan di Indonesia. *JIIP (Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan)*, 8(3), 2983. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v8i3.7129>
- Geertz, C. (1992). *Kebudayaan & Agama*. Kanisius.
- Hadikusuma, H. (1990). *Hukum Perkawinan Adat*. Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Harika, N., A, I. P., & Khairunnisa. (2025). Kaidah Al-Adatu Muhakkamah dalam Perkawinan Adat: Khususnya Perkawinan Adat Dayak Ngaju dan Adat Banjar. *Tadhkirah: Jurnal Terapan Hukum Islam Dan Kajian Filsafat Syariah*, 10(2), 55–66. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59841/tadhkirah.v2i2.124>
- Ismail, N. Z., Abubakar, F., Sanmas, A., Fadhly, M., & Kilian, N. (2024). REVIEW OF ISLAMIC MARRIAGE LAW ON SAYYID-SYARIFAH KAFAAH MARRIAGES IN TERNATE ARAB COMMUNITIES. *AL HAKAM The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Law and Gender Issues*, 4(2), 138. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35896/alhakam.v4i2.843>
- Karwiyah, Daru Nugroho, B., & Kusmayanti, H. (2024). Dinamika Hukum Perkawinan Adat Pada Sistem Keekerabatan Parental/Bilateral Terhadap Masyarakat Sunda. *Recital Review*, 6(1), 52–73. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22437/rr.v6i1.30724>
- Khudzaifa, D. (2004). *Teorisasi Hukum: Studi Tentang Perkembangan Pemikiran Hukum Di Indonesia*. Muhammadiyah University Press.

- M. R., M. H., Hamdani, H., & Candrasari, R. (2022). TRADISI DAN STATUS SOSIAL DALAM PENETAPAN MAHAR PERKAWINAN DI GAMPONG MAMPLAM ACEH UTARA. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Malikussaleh (JSPM)*, 3(1), 32. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29103/jspm.v3i1.6224>
- Mu'alim, A. N. (2022). POTRET MAQASID SYARIAH PERSEPEKTIF ABU HAMID MUHAMMAD BIN MUHAMMAD AL-GHAZALI AT-THUSI AS-SYAFI'I. *Al-Mawarid Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum (JSYH)*, 4(2), 111–120. <https://doi.org/10.20885/mawarid.vol4.iss2.art3>
- Nasution, A. F. (2023). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. CV. Harfa Creative.
- Peursen, V. (1988). *Strategi Kebudayaan*. Kanisius.
- Rachmadani, F., Wiliana, R., Pagulung, G., & Damayanti, R. A. (2024). Praktik Akuntansi dalam Penetapan Nilai Mahar (Boka) Pada Pernikahan Adat Buton di Kota Baubau Accounting Practices in Determining The Value of Dowry (Boka) In Buton Custom Weddings In Baubau City. *Jurnal Ekonomi Manajemen Dan Sosial*, 7(1), 37–51. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.56071/jemes.v7i1.789>
- Rivandi, R., & Mashrokin, M. (2025). Relevansi Kepercayaan Weton Dengan Prinsip Maqashid Syariah Dalam Pernikahan. *Jurnal Ilmiah Nusantara*, 2, 418. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61722/jinu.v2i5.5514>
- Sahir, S. H. (2021). *Metodologi Penelitian*. KBM INDONESIA.
- Santika, A., & Ghozali, M. L. (2024). Istinbáth Jurnal Hukum dan Ekonomi Islam THE ROLE OF AL-URF IN CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC ECONOMIC LEGAL ISSUES: SUSTAINABLE BUSINESS PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT. *Istinbath*, 23(2), 336–350. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/ijhi.v23i2.692>
- Saputri, A. A. I., & Islamy, A. (2021). Nilai-Nilai Maqasid Syariah dalam Fungsi Keluarga di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19. *Al-Qisthu: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu-Ilmu Hukum*, 19(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.32694/qst.v19i1.899>
- Ter, H. P. K. Ng. S. P. (2001). *Asas-Asas Hukum Adat*. Pradnya Paramita.
- Yunita Mahrany, Andi Triwenni Wulandari, & Muhammad Rasyid Ridha. (2025). Stratifikasi Sosial dalam Budaya Bugis: Eksistensi Gelar Andi dalam Masyarakat Modern. *Jembatan Hukum : Kajian Ilmu Hukum, Sosial Dan Administrasi Negara*, 2(2), 133–142. <https://doi.org/10.62383/jembatan.v2i2.1627>
- Yusuf, M. A. (2024). FENOMENA PEMBERIAN MAHAR UNIK PADA MASYARAKAT MUSLIM SASAK DI TINJAU DARI PLURALISME HUKUM. *Al-Rasikh: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 13(01), 51. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.38073/rasikh.v13i1.1710>