



ISLAMIC FAMILY LAW AND GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON NOBLE AND LOWER CLASS MARRIAGES (CASE STUDY OF MANGKUNG VILLAGE, WEST PRAYE, CENTRAL LOMBOK)

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Abstract: This research was conducted because, in the Merariq tradition, the Sasak tribe has a social hierarchy. Which, at every layer, influences Islamic Family Law and the Gender perspective. This research aims to analyze, from Islamic Family Law and perspectives, marriage among aristocratic and coralline descendants, with a research focus on case studies in Mangkung village, Central Lombok. Regarding gender equality and Islamic Law, different prices for Ajikrame occur when intermarriages occur between groups, especially those of noble descent and those of Jajarkarang descent. The incident of determining Ajikrame has a significant impact on marriage at the social level and affects Islamic Law, particularly in Islamic Family Law. Therefore, researchers are interested in exploring two research questions, namely (1) What is the practice of aristocratic and Jajarkarang marriages in Mangkung village, West Praya District, Central Lombok? (2) What is the Islamic Family Law perspective on noble and Jaja Karang marriages in Mangkung Village, West Praya District, Central Lombok? This research employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive type. The data collection method employed is a combination of documentation and interviews, while the data analysis method used is content analysis. The research utilizes both primary and secondary sources. The research results show that in the context of the marriage between Ningrat and Jajarkarang in Mangkung Village, West Praya District, Central Lombok, which was influenced by the determination of "Aji Krame," there are several aspects from the perspective of Islamic Family Law and Gender that can influence the social and cultural life of the local community. These aspects include societal alienation and its impact on gender justice. The practice of marriage between Ningrat and Jajarkarang in Mangkung Village, West Praya District, Central Lombok, is valid because it has fulfilled the conditions and requirements of a valid marriage transaction.

Keywords: Islamic Family Law, Gender, Ajikrame, Royal Descent, and Jajarkarang

A. Introduction

One of the purposes of marriage is to achieve peace, love, and affection, as described in verses of the Qur'an, the primary source of Islamic Family law, as well as the tradition of the Messenger, as known. In the view of Islamic family law, it is recommended that a married couple understand each other's conditions, so that there is no regret in living life



together, regardless of class and social status, because what matters is togetherness wrapped in mutual respect, trust, honor, and care for one another. Such an approach will have a positive impact on the harmony of their relationship during marriage. The point emphasized in Islamic law is that the harmony of a couple lies in the willingness of each partner to marry and build a household, starting from a small family and growing into a larger one, based on the common faith shared among Muslims. Such boundaries make it easier for Muslims to implement family law in the form of marriage, thereby providing ease for Muslims in practicing their religious teachings (Anonymous, 2025). Islam teaches that practicing its teachings is easy, whether in matters of marriage, transactions, and so on, as long as it does not involve prohibited matters. For example, choosing a marriage partner is one of the conveniences provided by Islamic teachings, as long as they are compatible in terms of religiosity, so a person is not forced to marry against their will due to differences in social status. A girl should not be forced to marry or not marry, according to whom she will marry, because both of them will feel and experience the life they go through together throughout the marriage (Ustaimin, n.d.). Therefore, a person is free to choose a partner to marry, as long as the decision is made willingly and without coercion.

On the other hand, Indonesia, as a nation, has been striving for decades to improve the standard of living for all of its citizens, ensuring that all Indonesians benefit from progress and prosperity (Karim, 2022). A key component of this effort is the focus on gender equality, which is crucial to enhancing the overall well-being of society. This commitment can be traced back to the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which Indonesia signed 22 years ago under Law No. 7 of 1984. The ratification of this international human rights treaty marked a significant step toward achieving gender equality, as it legally bound the Indonesian government to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in various aspects of life (Setyowati, 2021).

However, despite the legal commitment and the ratification of CEDAW, discrimination against women continues to be prevalent in numerous sectors of Indonesian society. Women still face challenges in accessing the same opportunities as men, both in the public and private spheres. This persistent inequality hinders the nation's progress toward achieving true gender justice. It poses a significant challenge to realizing the principles of equality and justice that are foundational to Indonesian society. Gender discrimination remains an obstacle in education, employment, politics, and even in the family structure, underscoring the need for further action to ensure the implementation of gender equality as envisioned by CEDAW (Harry, 2024).

This ongoing struggle for Islamic Family Law and gender equality is not only a matter of legal and institutional reform but also one that touches upon the nation's cultural and societal values. In Indonesia, the values enshrined in Pancasila — the national ideology — provide a crucial framework for advancing social justice (Cameron, 2023). The Indonesian government has made significant progress toward achieving gender equality in various areas. However, challenges remain, particularly when it comes to deeply rooted cultural practices and traditional norms that perpetuate gender-based disparities. One such practice is the system of *Ajikrame*, also known as the customary marriage price, which remains a point of contention and controversy (Akapini et al., 2023). In some parts of Indonesia, particularly in areas like Mangkung Village in Praya Barat District, Central Lombok, marriage based on *Ajikrame* is a deeply entrenched practice that involves the

payment of a marriage price by the groom's family to the bride's family as a condition for marriage (Jumarim & Masnun, 2020). This practice, while viewed as a cultural tradition, can reinforce social hierarchies and perpetuate gender inequalities.

One key issue with this system is that it reflects a stark disparity in marriage prices across different social classes, mainly when cross-group marriages occur. For instance, in Mangkung Village, a significant gap exists in the Ajikrame prices between the noble class (Ningrat), the Purwanse class, and the Jajar Karang class. The noble class is valued at 99 Ajikrame. In comparison, the Purwanse class is valued at 66 Ajikrame, while the Jajar Karang class, considered lower in the social hierarchy, is valued at only 33 Ajikrame. This wide disparity in marriage prices highlights the persistence of social stratification and inequality, where individuals from different social backgrounds are treated differently based on their heritage or family status. The most pronounced effects of the Ajikrame system can be observed in mixed marriages between individuals from different social classes (Glazer-Eytan & García-arenal, 2020). For instance, when a noble-class individual marries someone from the Jajar Karang class, the disparity in the Ajikrame price — 99 versus 33 — creates significant social tensions. The stark difference in the price assigned to each party can lead to feelings of inequality, resentment, and emotional distress, particularly when the individuals involved in the marriage feel the weight of these social distinctions. This could result in an emotional imbalance, where individuals may struggle to navigate the tension between their personal feelings and the social expectations imposed upon them by the Ajikrame system. In some cases, it may even lead to the erosion of the ideal of 'love' in marriage, as the social and economic pressures associated with the marriage based on the Ajikrame system overshadow genuine emotional connection.

Furthermore, a marriage price based on social class introduces a form of economic disparity that is deeply tied to gender norms (Karney, 2021). The lower the Ajikrame price, the less value is placed on the woman, not only within her family but also within the broader community. This reinforces the gendered notion that women from lower social classes have less worth, which can perpetuate cycles of poverty, limited opportunities, and social marginalization.

In light of these issues, this research aims to explore the marriage of the noble and lower classes within the context of Islamic Family Law and gender equality, focusing on whether the practice aligns with or contradicts the principles of Islamic Family Law and gender justice, particularly in relation to the Ajikrame system. Islamic Family Law and gender justice theory emphasize the need for the elimination of marginalization, subordination, violence, negative stereotypes, and the double burden placed on individuals based on the Islamic value and their gender. It advocates for creating a sense of equity and fairness in all aspects of life, whether in the economic, familial, political, or religious spheres.

The research will seek to answer several important questions: Does the disparity in marriage prices between the noble and lower classes in Ajikrame align with the principles of gender equality and Islamic Family Law? How does the practice impact the lives of individuals, particularly women, in terms of their social status and personal dignity? What are the emotional and social consequences of this practice for those involved, especially in mixed marriages? By examining these questions, the study aims to shed light on the broader implications of Ajikrame pricing for the pursuit of Islamic Family Law and gender justice.

B. Literature Review

This research examines the potential for Islamic Family Law and gender injustice within the marriage between nobles and lower in Mangkung Village, Central Lombok, particularly in the context of inter-caste marriages between individuals of Ningrat and Jajar Karang descent. To better understand this phenomenon, the theory of Islamic Family Law and gender justice is employed as an analytical tool to uncover various forms of injustice that may arise. The following section elaborates on the theory of Islamic Family Law and gender justice used in this case, as well as its relevance.

1. Islamic Family Law and Gender Justice Theory

Islamic Family Law and the gender justice theory emphasize the importance of equality in various aspects of social life for both men and women. The theory is applied to evaluate whether the existing social system is, with a specific focus on how the Ajikrame system governs the marriage of nobles and lower classes. The theory provides a framework for analyzing five primary forms of Islamic Family Law and gender injustice that may be present in this cultural practice.

The first is marginalization (*al-Tanfīr*). Islamic Family Law and gender justice emphasize that marginalization (*al-Tanfīr*) is not allowed (*al-Ustaimin*, 1421). It can refer to the exclusion of specific individuals or groups, whether socially, economically, or politically. This often disproportionately affects women, who are frequently perceived as holding an inferior position compared to men. In the context of Mangkung Village, marginalization may occur when social norms or customary rules, such as marriage between nobles and lower class based on the Ajikrame system, cause specific groups—especially women from lower social classes—to become further marginalized. This marginalization places them in more vulnerable social and economic positions, reinforcing existing inequalities (Stewart et al., 2021).

The second theory is that "violence encompasses acts." It is not allowed by Islamic Family Law and gender justice too, because it impacts an imbalance between men and women, manifesting in physical, psychological, or structural forms (*al-Maharib*, n.d.). In this context, the differing marriage patterns between the noble and lower classes, based on social status, can be considered a form of structural violence. The marriage based on the Ajikrame system creates social pressure on certain parties, particularly women from lower social classes, who often find themselves in a subordinate position during marriage negotiations. The imbalance in the marriage price further compounds their vulnerability, limiting their ability to negotiate or assert their rights within the marriage arrangement (Karney, 2021).

Third, "stereotyping involves the negative labeling of individuals or groups based on their social roles". According to many verses of the Qur'an and Sunnah, the two primary sources, negative labeling of a person's type, such as calling someone a derogatory name or labeling their gender in a derogatory manner, is not permitted (Najad, 1996). In Mangkung Village, stereotypes are evident in the societal perceptions of men and women from specific social strata. For example, women from the Ningrat class are often considered "more valuable" than those from the Jajarkarang class. This societal perception influences how inter-caste marriages are viewed, reinforcing the notion that some women are inherently worth more than others based solely on their caste or social class (Wadekar et al., 2023).

Fourth, subordination refers to the idea that one gender, typically women, holds a lower or less significant status compared to men. Considering people as inferior is a less praiseworthy trait, because basically, someone was born freely from criticism that comes from anywhere and in any form. However, the appearance of criticism is a reaction to an action that is considered not good by the perpetrator. In the view of Islamic law, considering someone despicable to the point of being fertile is unwise or not good, because what is a measure of badness is a person's devotion to Allah, not class reasons in social life (al-Syankitiy, 1995). In Mangkung Village, subordination is evident when women from certain social classes are perceived as having fewer rights or lower status in marriage processes. This can manifest in various ways, such as diminished respect for their social standing or limited agency in decision-making during marriage negotiations. Women from lower social classes, in particular, may be seen as having little say in terms of their marriage, further entrenching their subordinate role in the social hierarchy.

Finally, the double burden refers to the situation in which women are expected to take on responsibilities in both the domestic and public spheres without a fair distribution of roles (Al-Haisami, 1992). Islamic teachings emphasize equality between men and women across various laws, including matters of cleanliness in the context of worshipping Allah. Likewise, in the field of muamalah or social interactions, such as household or community relationships. This is based on the Hadith of Prophet Muhammad, which describes men and women as being like siblings, brothers, and sisters (al-Manawiy, 1988). Based on this, Islamic teachings actually give women equal positions to men in the fields of social transactions and worship, that is, equality in earning rewards from the work produced in community life. While this aspect is not directly evident in the marriage based on the Ajikrame system, the tradition may still contribute to unequal gender expectations. For instance, women from certain social classes may be expected to shoulder additional responsibilities to compensate for differences in social status, creating an uneven workload both at home and within society. This can reinforce traditional gender roles and limit women's ability to pursue opportunities outside the domestic sphere. Each of these forms of gender injustice—marginalization, gender-based violence, stereotyping, subordination, and double burden—can be exacerbated by the Ajikrame system in Mangkung Village. Through these lenses, the practice of determining marriage prices based on caste and gender is seen as reinforcing and perpetuating social inequalities that disproportionately affect women, particularly those from lower social classes (Fitriyanti, 2023).

2. The Marriage Based On Ajikrame In Mangkung

Marriage is a natural matter; it is a way for humans to reproduce, which is why humans are created in pairs, such as male and female. Marriage, which serves as a means of increasing the human population from the perspective of Muslim family law, is a beneficial method and is encouraged by Islamic teachings, providing the freedom to choose a life partner. However, there is something unique in the village of Mangkung related to this marriage, which is strongly influenced by a tradition called 'Ajikrame', serving as a symbol of social status value. Ajikrame becomes a symbol of equality or equivalent social status for those who are getting married, as is the case in Mangkung. In Mangkung Village, the tradition of determining Ajikrame plays a crucial role in defining the social value of individuals within the context of marriage. This practice assigns different monetary values to individuals based on their caste or social class, serving as a

visible reflection of their standing within the community. Specifically, individuals from the Ningrat class are valued at 99 Aji Krame, those from the Purwase class at 66, and individuals from the Jajar Karang class at 33. These differences in valuation represent a deep-seated social stratification, where the value placed on a person is not only determined by their social class but also reinforces the existing hierarchical structures that govern the village's social order. The disparity in Aji Krame values reveals a clear division between the various classes, highlighting how these divisions permeate every aspect of social life, particularly in the realm of marriage. The practice of assigning distinct Aji Krame values based on caste plays a significant role in shaping the dynamics of inter-caste marriages, particularly when individuals from the Ningrat class, traditionally seen as the noble or elite group, marry individuals from the Jajar Karang class, a lower social group. In these inter-caste unions, the disparity in Aji Krame values acts as a symbolic marker of inequality, where the marriage price is viewed as a tangible representation of social worth and respect. This disparity in the assigned values inevitably impacts the social standing of the couple, as it reinforces the idea that individuals from the higher social strata, such as the Ningrat class, are more valuable and deserving of greater respect than those from the Jajar Karang class.

For individuals from the Jajar Karang class, this unequal valuation can lead to feelings of inferiority, humiliation, and discrimination, both economically and socially. Those who come from this lower caste may feel as though their worth is diminished not only in the eyes of society but also within the context of their own relationships. The impact of this social stratification extends beyond the realm of marriage and permeates broader societal interactions, influencing how individuals from different social classes are treated and perceived. The devaluation of individuals from lower social classes fosters a sense of exclusion and reinforces stereotypes about their social worth, often relegating them to subordinate roles within the community.

This deeply ingrained inequality embedded in the Aji Krame system stands in stark contrast to the principles of gender equality, which emphasize fairness and equal treatment for all individuals, regardless of their caste, gender, or social background. Gender equality, as a guiding principle, calls for the recognition of each individual's inherent worth and dignity, irrespective of their social status. However, the Aji Krame practice in Mangkung Village undermines this ideal by creating a system where individuals from certain social classes are inherently valued more than others. This discrepancy not only perpetuates social inequality but also perpetuates gender-based discrimination, as women from lower social classes may feel even more marginalized due to their dual status as both women and members of a lower caste.

By assigning varying Aji Krame values based on caste, the tradition further exacerbates gender disparities, as women from the Jajar Karang class may feel that their worth is not only diminished because of their social class but also because of their gender. This unequal valuation of women based on their caste reinforces the idea that women from higher social strata are more valuable than those from lower strata, further entrenching societal stereotypes that limit women's opportunities and agency. As a result, the practice of Aji Krame in Mangkung Village, while rooted in cultural tradition, perpetuates a cycle of inequality that contradicts the broader goals of gender justice and equality, which aim to dismantle systems of discrimination and promote fairness for all

individuals, regardless of their social or economic background (Sukroyanti & Sutajaya, 2024).

In conclusion, the marriage based on the tradition of Ajikrame in Mangkung Village not only reflects the sharp divisions within the community's social structure but also reinforces a system of inequality that contradicts the principles of gender equality. By assigning different values to individuals based on their caste, the practice perpetuates social stratification. It creates an environment in which people from lower social classes, particularly women, feel marginalized and devalued. It underscores the need for a critical examination of such practices to challenge traditional systems that perpetuate gender-based injustice and inequality, and to promote a more inclusive and equitable society for all. Marriage based on the Ajikram system is a part of customary traditions passed down through generations since the era of kingdoms, symbolizing that they were descendants of people of the high social class, setting them apart from others. However, behind this, various issues persist after rapid social changes and increased openness to the global world. Thus, marriages that occur in Mangkung Village between the descendants of the nobility and those of Jajarkarang symbolize an effort to maintain their position within the social hierarchy. From a religious perspective, such a marriage is considered valid because it possesses the essential elements that constitute a valid marriage. It is because the nature of marriage is indeed made very easy to avoid adultery. Therefore, even if a marriage is carried out unseriously, as long as the essential conditions are fulfilled, the marriage is considered valid, in accordance with the spirit of the hadith, which states that there are three matters considered valid even if done jokingly, namely marriage, divorce (thalaq), and reconciliation (ruju') (al-Rahim, n.d.).

3. Social Impacts and Islamic Family Law of Marriage Based on the Aji Krame System

The varying values assigned to marriage based on Ajikrame in Mangkung Village have the potential to create a range of complex social issues that negatively affect individuals, particularly those from lower social classes. First and foremost, the unequal distribution of Ajikrame values perpetuates social inequality, reinforcing the idea that people from certain social groups are inherently more valuable than others. In this system, individuals from lower social classes, such as those from the Jajar Karang group, may experience feelings of marginalization and discrimination. This social stratification not only affects the way they are viewed in terms of marriage prospects but also in their general interactions within the community. As a result, people from these lower strata often feel excluded or disregarded in both social and marital relationships, creating a deep divide between different social classes. These divisions further limit their opportunities for upward mobility, ensuring that their positions in society remain fixed and reinforcing their lower status. The Aji Krame system, in this sense, contributes to a cycle of inequality, where people from lower social classes struggle to overcome the barriers that limit their chances for social recognition and respect.

In addition to fostering inequality, the disparity in Ajikrame values also imposes significant emotional stress on those involved, particularly women. The differing values assigned to individuals based on their caste can lead to feelings of shame, inferiority, and psychological pressure. This emotional toll is particularly pronounced for women, who, in many traditional societies, are already subject to various forms of societal scrutiny and evaluation. In the context of Mangkung Village, women from lower social classes may

internalize the belief that their worth is inferior to that of women from higher social classes, leading to a diminished sense of self-worth and identity. This disparity in valuation places an immense psychological burden on women, as they may feel compelled to conform to societal expectations or even endure the emotional discomfort of feeling less valuable in comparison to others. The pressure to conform to traditional values surrounding marriage and social standing can cause women to experience stress and anxiety, as they struggle to reconcile their personal desires with the expectations placed upon them by the community.

Furthermore, the Aji Krame system contributes to the perpetuation of gender-based discrimination by reinforcing stereotypes and subordination. The practice indirectly reinforces the belief that women from certain groups are inherently less valuable than women from higher social classes. As women's worth is often tied to the amount of Aji Krame assigned to their family, this system encourages the idea that women from lower social strata, such as the Jajar Karang class, are subordinate and less deserving of respect or social recognition. By attaching a financial value to women based on their caste, the Aji Krame system implicitly dehumanizes them, reducing them to mere commodities whose worth is determined by their social standing rather than their inherent qualities or abilities. This type of valuation perpetuates gender-based inequality, as it reinforces traditional stereotypes that limit women's autonomy and their ability to participate fully in social, economic, and political life. As a result, the practice not only contributes to the ongoing subordination of women but also strengthens the overall social hierarchy, where gender and caste work together to define an individual's place in society.

These dynamics underscore the importance of critically examining the Aji Krame system and its implications for gender equality. The unequal distribution of Aji Krame values creates a system that benefits some individuals while discriminating against others, particularly women from lower social classes. The emotional stress caused by these disparities, combined with the reinforcement of gender-based discrimination, highlights the need for a rethinking of traditional practices that perpetuate such inequalities. A shift toward a more inclusive and equitable society requires dismantling these harmful systems and promoting values that prioritize the inherent worth and dignity of every individual, regardless of their social status or gender. As Stewart et al. (2021) argue, this type of gender-based discrimination can only be addressed by challenging the deep-rooted stereotypes and subordination that have long shaped social structures and practices. The recognition of each individual's intrinsic value, independent of their caste or gender, is essential for creating a society that upholds true justice and equality for all.

Marriage from the perspective of Islamic Family Law is a path to achieving life goals in society, namely attaining a sense of tranquility (*al-sakinah*) between partners, enabling them to live together within their family environment. This sense of tranquility is a natural trait inherent in every couple (Ashur, 1997). The second is the feeling of love (*mawaddah*); the love cultivated in every couple will strengthen their relationship, enabling them to build a happy family, even if it is small and straightforward. It is the way provided by Allah, the Creator of the universe, to prosper the world that will submit to the Creator, and this applies to humans in various parts of the earth. The third is the feeling of love and compassion (*rahmah*). This feeling of affection will continue endlessly, allowing a family to grow into a large family and multiply, thus forming a large community

alongside other communities (al-Jazair, 2003). Related to the nature of marriage, marriages that occur between the nobles of Ningrat and the lower class of Jajarkarang should not be restricted by such price limitations, except where there are higher religious restrictions as explained in the maqashid al-Shari'ah, such as the aspect of maintaining religion (hifz al-Din). One of the objectives of Sharia is to preserve religion in all circumstances, which is why the prohibition of interfaith marriage is one of the preventive measures to safeguard religion, as it is possible that, as a result of interfaith marriage, the maintenance of religion could be neglected.

C. Method

1. Research Approach

This study employs a descriptive-analytical approach complemented by qualitative methods. The descriptive approach is used to depict social phenomena within the community, particularly focusing on customary practices and marriage based on Ajikrame traditions in Mangkung Village, from the perspective of Islamic Family law and gender. Helps provide an overview of the tradition of marriage based on Ajikrame and the social dynamics that shape it. On the other hand, the qualitative approach facilitates in-depth explanation and analysis of events, offering insights into the community's social conditions, attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions regarding marriage within the Ajikrame tradition. By adopting qualitative methods, the research aims to explore the underlying reasons, motivations, and cultural factors that influence these social practices, focusing on processes and phenomena that numerical data cannot easily represent. This approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the social, and the research combines two primary approaches: the Islamic Family Law Approach and the Gender Approach. The normative approach in this context is Islamic Family Law. It seeks to understand the perspectives of religious and community leaders regarding the determination of marriage based on Ajikrame as a mark of social status. It specifically examines the Islamic legal aspects that inform and influence traditional marriage, as outlined in the Ajikrame, offering insights into how religious norms interact with local customs. The sociological approach, particularly Islamic legal sociology, is applied to explore how the community's social conditions influence their religious thinking and customary behaviors. This perspective is crucial for understanding the broader social forces at play in shaping marriage traditions in Mangkung Village, especially in relation to caste distinctions and their impact on social equality.

2. Data Sources

The data sources for this research are diverse and aim to support the analysis by providing a well-rounded understanding of marriage based on the Aji Krame tradition in Mangkung Village. The first primary source of data comes from informants, who include individuals with in-depth knowledge of the village's traditions and marriage culture. These informants are selected based on their familiarity with the subject matter and their involvement in the community's social processes. They include key figures such as community leaders, religious leaders, and residents who are directly involved in determining marriage based on the Aji Krame. These informants provide valuable insights into the lived experiences and perceptions of those who practice and enforce this tradition.

In addition to informants, the research also utilizes literature, such as books, articles, journals, and other academic and non-academic materials that discuss similar themes. These sources strengthen the analysis by offering theoretical perspectives and contextualizing marriage within the Aji Krame tradition, as well as broader cultural, Islamic Family Law, and gender-related frameworks. Unpublished manuscripts also serve as important data sources. These documents, while not widely available, may contain critical information about the historical development of the tradition and its implications for the community. The combination of these various sources ensures that the research is well-supported and provides a broad and deep understanding of the topic at hand.

3. Types of Data

The data used in this study can be classified into two main categories: Primary Data and Secondary Data. Primary data are the main data collected directly from the field. In this study, the data were gathered through interviews with informants who have extensive knowledge of marriage, based on Aji Krame in Mangkung Village. This includes the perspectives of community leaders, religious figures, and residents who are directly involved in marriage customs between the noble and lower classes. The primary data collected in this study provide a firsthand account of the community's views and practices regarding marriage based on Aji Krame. Secondary data, on the other hand, are supplementary data used to support and contextualize the primary data. These sources include references from literature, documents, archives, and other secondary materials that provide background information on the subject. Secondary data are essential for strengthening the research argument and providing additional perspectives on the customs and traditions of Mangkung Village. They help to contextualize the local practices within broader cultural, historical, and legal frameworks, offering a richer understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

4. Data Collection Methods

The researcher employed several methods for data collection, with the primary methods being interviews, informant selection, and documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted with informants to gather detailed information about marriage within the Aji Krame tradition and local marriage practices in the village. These interviews were unstructured, allowing for open-ended conversations that provided flexibility in exploring the topic in-depth. This method enabled the researcher to capture nuanced opinions and perspectives from the informants, making it possible to uncover hidden aspects of the marriage based on the Aji Krame system and its implications for gender equality and Islamic Family Law.

The selection of informants was conducted using purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was employed to identify key individuals who were most knowledgeable about marriage based on the Aji Krame tradition and its impact on the community. Snowball sampling, on the other hand, was used to identify additional informants through referrals from those initially selected, allowing the researcher to reach a broader range of perspectives. Both methods ensured that the informants chosen were relevant and provided valuable insights into the research topic.

Additionally, documentation was an important data collection method. The researcher collected relevant written materials, including manuscripts, archives, and other documents that shed light on the history and development of marriage in the Aji

Krame tradition. These documents were essential for providing additional context to the interview data and offering insights into the tradition's legal, social, and cultural dimensions.

5. Data Analysis

The data analysis process in this study involved several stages to ensure a thorough and systematic examination of the collected data. The first stage of analysis was content analysis, where the researcher examined the literature data to uncover deeper meanings and insights relevant to the research. Content analysis enabled the researcher to identify recurring themes and patterns in the texts, informing the study's findings. Next, the researcher employed inductive analysis to process and classify the data obtained from interviews. This approach involved organizing the interview data according to the research objectives, enabling a systematic understanding of the views and experiences of community leaders, religious figures, and residents. Inductive analysis was crucial in identifying the key issues related to the Aji Krame tradition and its impact on social relations, particularly in terms of gender equality.

Finally, data classification was employed to categorize the collected data according to the research theme. The researcher classified the data according to cultural background, traditional perspectives, and social practices in the community, ensuring that the analysis remained focused and relevant to the study's goals. This classification helped to draw meaningful connections between the various factors that contribute to the social dynamics surrounding the Aji Krame tradition.

6. Data Validity

To ensure the validity of the data and the robustness of the findings, the researcher implemented several measures to validate the results. One of the key strategies was an extended presence in the field. By spending more time in Mangkung Village, the researcher was able to observe the community's social practices over an extended period, which contributed to a deeper understanding of the Aji Krame tradition and its implications. This prolonged engagement allowed for a more comprehensive data collection process, providing a more accurate and reliable account of the phenomena under study.

Another important measure for ensuring data validity was expert review and discussion. Before finalizing the research report, the researcher held discussions with experts in sociology, anthropology, and Islamic law. These experts provided valuable feedback on the research findings, helping to refine the analysis by offering alternative perspectives and interpretations. Expert discussions played a crucial role in enhancing the validity and credibility of the study.

Lastly, data triangulation was used to validate the findings. This method involved comparing interview results with observations and documentation to ensure consistency and reliability across different data sources. By cross-checking the data obtained through multiple methods, the researcher confirmed the accuracy of the findings and ensured that the conclusions drawn were well-supported by the evidence.

D. Result of Research and Discussion

After reviewing the theoretical data from this research work, the researcher can present the conclusions, which are summarized in two sub-discussions:

1. Noble Marriages and Jajarkarang Islamic Family Law And Gender Perspective

Marriage is a religiously sanctioned means of increasing the human population, influenced by various factors such as beauty, wealth, character, and lineage (Al-Qurthubi, 2003). Therefore, marriage in Arabic is understood as the gathering (al-Dhummū), bringing together two different aspects, both physical and non-physical (al-Syarbiniy, 1415). The scholars emphasize that a marriage is considered valid and legitimate if it fulfills the fundamental requirements and pillars, such as having a guardian, witnesses, a handover, two parties, and no factors that invalidate the marriage (al-Syarbiniy, 1415). Regarding this marriage, in fact, society has diverse social statuses, which become a reality in social life. Therefore, it is not surprising that some people want to maintain their status at the highest level in the eyes of society, so many are unwilling to marry off their daughters to someone of a different status, especially if the other person is of a lower status. It can be seen at Mangkung Village. In Mangkung Village, the community has a social stratification system divided into the Raden, Perwangse, and Jajarkarang groups. This stratification impacts the marriage process, particularly when individuals from different social statuses marry. For instance, if a woman from the Raden class marries a man from the Jajarkarang class, there will be different customary practices. The woman's family typically sets a higher dowry or mahar as a sign of respect for their social status.

On the other hand, if a man from the Raden class marries a woman from the Jajarkarang class, the woman is seen as elevating her social status. This differing treatment reflects the importance of respecting customs and social stratification in Mangkung Village society. However, in modern times, some members of the community have begun to question the relevance of this system in marriage (Rafiq & Sen, 2024).

Marriage in Mangkung Village is influenced by a clear social stratification system, where the Aji Krame price differs between the noble and Jajarkarang classes. The noble class has an Aji Krame price of 99, while the Jajarkarang class has an Aji Krame price of 33. This disparity reflects the difference in social status, which impacts the community's perspective and approach to relationships, especially in the context of marriage. Despite this, marriage is not limited to individuals of equal social status, but can also occur between individuals of different social levels. For example, a man from the noble class with an Aji Krame price of 99 can marry a woman from the Jajarkarang class with an Aji Krame price of 33, or conversely, a woman from the noble class may marry a man from the Jajarkarang class (Jihad & Muhtar, 2020). Various internal and external factors drive the marriage process. Internal factors could include feelings of love, attraction, or personal preference, while external factors involve customary pressures, social norms, and expectations from family or society related to social status. These external factors include not only pressure or expectations from specific social groups but can also be linked to the goal of expanding or strengthening groups or lineages. In Mangkung society, where social stratification is highly emphasized, marriage across social levels reflects the dynamics that shape individual choices in marriage.

Moreover, cross-status marriages can be seen as a means to improve or strengthen one's social position within the existing social structure, eventually becoming an everyday reality for marriages between individuals from different social classes or levels. This is considered acceptable as it is based on a sense of commonality. In Mangkung Village, a marriage between a noble woman (Aji Krame 99) and a man from the Jajarkarang class (Aji Krame 33) gives rise to distinct social dynamics. Even though driven by love, such a marriage is considered a decline in status for the woman from a noble family. The wedding ceremony itself is not as grand as those between couples of the same social level. One informant, who experienced this, shared that although she was aware of her social status being lowered, she chose to marry a man from a lower class because of her deep love for him. However, this marriage carries social consequences, including feelings of shame and sadness, as the community recognizes the breach of social status levels. In this case, when a woman from a higher social stratum, such as a noble lineage with an Aji Krame price of 99, marries a man from a lower stratum, such as a Jajarkarang descendant with an Aji Krame price of 33, social exclusion occurs against the woman. The woman's parents often distance themselves or isolate her from the family for five years after the marriage. This process not only physically alienates the woman but also diminishes her social status and that of her descendants, rendering them undervalued in society.

However, when compared with the cultural practices of the Batak Angkola community in Padangsidempuan, a different pattern emerges in the relationship between adat (customary law) and religion. Harahap's research shows that the philosophy 'hombar adat dohot ibadat' places adat and worship in harmony, so that tradition does not weaken social status but instead strengthens Islamic values in daily life (Harun et al., 2021). This contrast highlights that in Lombok, adat tends to reinforce social stratification, whereas in Batak Angkola, adat functions inclusively and harmoniously. A similar dynamic can be observed in the Sasak tradition of child adoption (anak akon). As Jumarim and Masnun (2020) demonstrate, the Religious Courts in Lombok tend to adopt a strictly normative and legalistic approach, often overlooking the broader sociological changes that adoption brings to Sasak society. This echoes how adat in Lombok, whether in marriage or adoption, frequently collides with egalitarian principles in Islamic law and state regulation. Such parallels strengthen the argument that Sasak adat, unlike Batak Angkola's integrative philosophy of 'hombar adat dohot ibadat', tends to reinforce social stratification rather than diminish it.

In the author's view, the phenomenon of marriage based on Ajikrame values in Mangkung Village between the noble class and lower class can be elaborated through the Islamic Family Law approach and the gender justice approach, as the author's findings are as follows:

- a. Marginalization refers to the process by which individuals or groups are pushed to the margins in various aspects of social, economic, and political life. Marginalization is a condition in which individuals or groups are excluded from full participation in society, thereby hindering their ability to achieve well-being and equal rights. In this context, marginalization leads to the inequality felt by women in marriages across social strata. It creates gender injustice, as women who choose to marry outside their social strata are forced to accept a reduction in their social status. As a result, women involved in these cross-strata marriages often face social and economic difficulties. They typically take on undervalued jobs, such as fieldwork during

harvest time, which worsens their poverty. This phenomenon reflects how marginalization and gender injustice operate within the society of Mangkung Village, where marriages across social strata affect not only the individuals involved but also the social status and well-being of their families and descendants. According to Islamic Family Law, marriage is a truly noble path to strengthening relationships. It is not merely a means of establishing a family relationship, but rather a strong bond (*mistaqan ghaliza*) (Djuwairiah Ahmad, 2020) between a man and a woman. Therefore, the basic principle of marriage is that it is permissible. However, suppose the marriage is intended to demean or abuse someone. In that case, it becomes forbidden, as the legal status of marriage depends heavily on the intentions and purposes of the people entering into marriage (al-Lusiy, n.d.). Therefore, if someone in Mangkung Village intends to demean or hurt someone, then that goal is not a commendable one; the purpose of marriage depends on their intention. In relation to the perspective of gender justice, marginalization is something that is prohibited in communal life, especially in a household, because it is an abuse of policies in social relations.

- b. Stereotypes are a form of gender injustice commonly found in society, where negative labels are applied to individuals or groups based on attributes or characteristics typically associated with particular social groups. In the context of cross-strata marriages in Mangkung Village, stereotypes may arise when someone from a lower social level marries an individual from a higher social class. It can lead to feelings of shame within the family and become a subject of gossip within the community. When this happens, the individuals or groups involved are stereotyped with negative labels, leading to social discrimination. Gender stereotypes usually involve the view that men and women possess inherently different traits, affecting how they are treated in society. For instance, stereotypes suggest that women are emotional, passive, and illogical, while men are seen as dominant, rational, and aggressive. These views result in injustice toward women, especially when it comes to recognition of achievements or social positions. Even though women may achieve the same success as men, gender stereotypes can prevent them from receiving the recognition or position they deserve. Moreover, stereotypes are often reflected in mockery or distorted depictions of individuals or groups. When society associates certain characteristics or behaviors with a specific group, it can reinforce a social stigma that is difficult to change. For example, the stereotype that overweight people are lazy and gluttonous is an unfounded assumption.
- c. Similarly, in the context of gender, stereotypes can harm individuals who fall outside the norms set by society, worsening the existing social injustice (Stewart et al., 2021). From the perspective of Islamic Family Law, labeling someone with a bad label is truly a moral violation, because a person is essentially born pure, free from blame ('Ashur, 1997). Even the Quran itself forbids mocking others, because the person being mocked may be better than the one doing the mocking (Anonymous, n.d.). Therefore, if the marriage that took place in Mangkung Village was intended to mock each other, it is actually unethical, because it infringes upon the freedom from being called bad names or titles. Even if a marriage is considered valid because it meets the requirements, if a marriage between people of different social statuses is deemed unnatural, resulting in mutual belittling of each other, by degrading one's value in life, then such a union is unwise. Moreover, if a married woman of high

status marries someone of lower status, she is considered to be bad, and such a method is unwise, because blood ties are stronger than social status. Moreover, from the perspective of maqashid al-shari'ah, the actual purpose of marriage is to continue offspring in good condition, without compromising their rights within the family, such as being granted equal rights and justice in service alongside other family members.

2. The Determination of Aji Krama from Islamic Family Law and Gender Perspective

The determination of "Aji Krama" in Mangkung society is a form of customary practice that involves values and traditions officially recognized within the community's social life. Generally, "Aji Krama" consists of two words: "Aji," meaning value or price, and "Krama," meaning custom or tradition. Therefore, "Sorong Serah Aji Krama" refers to the customary handover process of values that has been carried out within the community. There are several interpretations of "Aji Krama," one of which considers "Aji" to mean "king" or "ruler," and "Krama" to refer to a group of people bound by customary law in a particular area. Other views suggest that "Aji Krama" can also mean "father of customs," indicating that this process holds significant importance in the community's traditional system. In this context, "Aji Krama" functions as a formal ceremony or the inauguration of descendants born from a marriage. Mangkung society, which adheres to a patriarchal family system, uses Aji Krama as a symbol of respect for the woman in marriage, where the man offers something in honor of her status or social position. In Mangkung Village, the "Aji Krama" tradition plays a central role in the marriage process as a symbol of respect for the social status of each party involved. "Aji Krama" consists of two parts: "Aji," meaning value or price, and "Krama," meaning custom or tradition, making it an essential part of local culture. In this custom, the man offers respect to the woman's family by establishing the value of "Aji Krama," which is determined by the woman's social strata, such as noble (Purwangse) or Jajar Karang. This process is referred to as "Sorong Srah" and serves as a symbol of respect for the woman's family (Lalu, 2023).

According to several customary figures, such as Mamik Haji Turmuzi and H. Lalu Karde, "Aji Krama" is viewed as a form of honoring and respect in marriage, and is significant within the traditions of Mangkung society (Lalu Karde, personal communication, August 15, 2023). This aligns with Islamic teachings that encourage simple yet meaningful marriages, as reflected in the hadith that mentions a wedding feast (walimah) should not be extravagant. However, even a goat can symbolize respect (Turmuzi, personal communication, September 2, 2023). However, from a gender perspective, the establishment of "Aji Krama" may be seen as inconsistent with the principles of gender equality. This is because the price of "Aji Krama" is determined by the woman's social status, which is often unjust and reinforces social hierarchy. The established values, such as 99, 66, or 33, for each social class create inequality, where women from lower social statuses are assigned lower values, reflecting injustice in their recognition. This demonstrates that while "Aji Krama" serves as a symbol of respect in marriage, this practice may reinforce gender inequality in society.

Furthermore, the following is the author's analysis of the determination of Aji Krame as a symbol of marital status in the Mangkung Village community, that the determination of Aji Krame is a custom accepted by the ancestors of the community who have noble status, which is a sign that they have a royal lineage of the past. Furthermore, regarding

the determination of the price of Aji Krame today, it is very reasonable, as determining the price is their right, which differs from other communities due to their cultural background, customs, or sociology. However, if the price of Aji Krame is too high, and some feel they cannot afford it, it will cause friction in social life. Therefore, the Prophet taught that the most blessed marriage is one that costs less (al-Rahim, n.d.). The establishment of "Aji Krama" in Mangkung Village organizes social stratification, differentiating people's positions based on their family lineage and social level. This system, inherited from the era of the kingdom, continues to influence social life today. The titles and prices of "Aji Krama" given during wedding ceremonies reflect an individual's social status. People with noble descent are valued at a higher price, such as 99, while those from lower descent (Jajar Karang) are valued at a lower price, such as 33. This division creates a gap between social groups, significantly affecting individuals' social positions within the community (Otero et al., 2022).

In the view of Islamic family law, marriage is established to form a family to achieve happiness in the personal lives of each family member, in various aspects of life. The achievement of this goal can be seen from the following indicator: 1. Al-Sakinah (tranquility) (al-Lusiy, n.d.). The peace that someone experiences in a marriage is a blessing from God. When a person understands the meaning of marriage, they grasp the way to jointly uphold the mutual obligations and shared rights inherent in the relationship. The peace that a person gains in a marriage is a blessing from Allah. When someone understands the meaning of marriage, the way to jointly uphold the mutual obligations, and what constitutes shared rights, then indeed they have found tranquility in marriage. However, suppose from the beginning of the marriage, someone is threatened with being unable to receive rights as a family member due to a differing status. In that case, a woman married to someone of unequal status will not attain peace. This is the place where marginalization occurs for noblewomen when marrying into the commoner class; the woman does not receive the same reception as the noble class, marked by the different Aji Krame system, which has already become a norm in the wider global society. The price division of "Aji Krama" based on social status creates marginalization, especially for groups with lower prices, such as the descendants of Jajar Karang. They feel excluded and are forced to accept a lower social status. This marginalization contradicts the principle of gender equality, which advocates for equal social, economic, and political rights, as well as opposing any form of discrimination against women or those with lower social status 2. love (mawaddah) (al-Zuhailiy, 1992), Love that develops within a household begins to take root during the initial acquaintance, as a form of mutual attraction. This formed love can be disrupted due to social threats arising from unmet social status. This can occur in Mangkung Village because of elements of coercion in marriage due to differences in status, which result in disadvantages for women there. Women who are forced to marry may feel insecure, whether they are forced to marry someone chosen by their parents or choose not to marry at all. For instance, if a woman wants to marry a man who is not of noble status, she may face risks from her own family, such as reduced social and civil rights, including a decrease in inheritance rights. If all such things happen in Mngkung Village, it will certainly trigger disharmony between the two parties, as they try to uphold the social status inherited from their ancestors. Such disharmony is something that must be avoided. Therefore, Islam provides a straightforward and noble way to express mutual affection, even in the simplest of marriages (Abdillah, 2000). 3. Al Rahmah (affection) (Sabik, 1992). Affection is an inner

attitude of a person towards others, expressed through mutual love shown through acts of kindness, which strengthens the bond between them, whether in colleague relationships, family, faith, or other relationships, especially in the relationship between husband and wife. Therefore, something that is done because it is forced will result in an unfavorable situation for those who do it, whether directly or indirectly, sooner or later. This is because things must proceed normally, not under compulsion. A marriage that is carried out forcibly or under pressure to comply with certain practices will affect the life of the couple, as long as there are matters to be avoided that violate religious norms or customary norms that are not contrary to religious teachings. Based on the discussion above, the determination of the Ajikrame value, which serves as a determinant for marriage among residents, is a custom accepted by the community. However, it presents problems for residents, as it perpetuates stereotypes, where the price of "Aji Krama" also reflects social stereotypes that differentiate between the status of men and women, as well as social groups based on perceived traits or characteristics. Negative labeling of groups with lower prices, like Jajar Karang, leads to discrimination and injustice. These stereotypes reinforce the belief that women from lower social classes have a lower status and therefore do not deserve recognition equal to that of men or women from higher classes. This phenomenon also creates inequality in opportunities and recognition of individual achievements, regardless of gender. Thus, the "Aji Krama" pricing system not only reinforces a hierarchical social structure but also contributes to gender inequality in Mangkung Village. According to the researcher's analysis, the establishment of "Aji Krama" prices does not align with the spirit of gender equality, as it creates two forms of injustice: marginalization and negative labeling. The varying prices (e.g., 99 for noble descendants and 33 for Jajar Karang) lead to differing levels of recognition based on lineage. Descendants from lower social classes may feel inferior or be looked down upon by society, often through derogatory labels such as "Amak Kangkung" or "Amak Lembain." It creates degrading and unjust stereotypes, which contradict the principles of gender equality, such as ending discrimination, eliminating violence, and ensuring full participation of women in social, political, and economic life.

E. Conclusion

Marriages between the nobility (Ningrat) and lower social classes (Jajar Karang), underpinned by the establishment of "Aji Krama" values, have had profound impacts on marriages in Mangkung Village, Praya Barat, Central Lombok. This cross-class marriage system, shaped by the practice of Aji Krama, introduces dynamics that do not fully align with the principles of gender equality. One of the most significant impacts of this practice is the marginalization that occurs, where individuals in such marriages often face alienation within society. This exclusion stems from their violation of long-standing customs that dictate social interactions and the acceptable boundaries for inter-class unions. As a result, these individuals may experience feelings of isolation or sidelining, which can erode their confidence and discourage them from participating in social activities beyond their immediate home environment.

Furthermore, stereotyping emerges as a form of discrimination, where individuals from different social strata—particularly those from the Jajar Karang class—are subjected to negative labels. This is not a typical issue unless it directly violates societal norms or laws. In the case of marriages that cross these caste boundaries, it mirrors the legal

regulation seen in interfaith marriages, which are also governed by specific laws that may further amplify societal stigmas.

Based on the findings of this study, it can be affirmed from the perspective of Islamic family law and gender justice, as mentioned in the following conclusion: The first is Islamic Family law. The marriage between descendants of nobility and non-nobility is which occurs in Mangkung Village, when viewed from a procedural standpoint, states that marriages between Ningrat and Jajarkarang are legitimate and valid, as they have met the requirements and pillars, such as the presence of two spouses, two witnesses, a guardian, and the marriage contract (*ijab qabul*). However, from the perspective of motivation, marriage between nobles and commoners in Mangkung Village is detailed into several rules: it can be considered haram if the intention is to harm the partner, disliked (*makruh*) if there is no actual necessity to marry, and recommended (*sunnah*) if it is the right time to marry. There is fear of falling into adultery. Marriage between Nobility (Ningrat) and commoners (Jajarkarang), marked by the specification of the *Ajikrame* price, is a symbol of social status that has been passed down through generations and remains valid today. From the perspective of Islamic Family Law, it is lawful and valid because it adheres to the essential principles of marriage. Regarding motivation, the reasons for marriage are varied; they can be obligatory, prohibited, discouraged, recommended, or allowed.

The second perspective is gender justice. It can be confirmed that several suggestions could be implemented to promote gender equality in customary practices, particularly in determining the "Aji Krama" price in Mangkung Village. First and foremost, there is a need to increase awareness of gender equality within the community. The people of Mangkung Village should receive education about the importance of gender equality in their social and cultural lives. Raising awareness about the equal rights of both women and men, especially in the context of traditions like Aji Krama, can help reduce the persistent stigma and stereotypes that contribute to the unequal valuation of individuals based on their social status. A crucial step in addressing these issues is reforming the determination of the "Aji Krama" price. The current system, which ties the price to social class, risks exacerbating existing marginalization and discrimination, particularly against women from lower social backgrounds. To create a more inclusive and equitable system, the process of determining the "Aji Krama" price should be reconsidered, with a focus on the principles of equality and social justice. A fairer system would prioritize respect for individuals, regardless of their social status, ensuring that everyone is valued equally and treated with dignity and respect.

Furthermore, empowering women within customary traditions is essential. Women must be actively involved in customary processes, especially in decision-making related to the "Aji Krama." Their involvement not only boosts their self-confidence but also ensures they hold an equal position with men in societal matters. It will contribute to a more balanced and fair practice of customary traditions in the village. Additionally, eliminating gender stereotypes should be a key priority in all aspects of social life in Mangkung Village. Stereotypes regarding the roles and positions of men and women perpetuate inequality and discrimination. By promoting education on fair and balanced gender roles, the community can reduce such discriminatory practices. Ensuring that individuals are valued based on their abilities, rather than being restricted by their gender or social status, is crucial for fostering equality. Finally, the development of gender equality-supportive policies by local governments is necessary to support these efforts.

Policies should be implemented to ensure that gender equality is recognized in all aspects of customary practices, including marriage traditions such as "Aji Krama." These policies should guarantee equal recognition for individuals regardless of their gender or socio-economic background, providing a framework where women can fully participate in political, social, and economic life without facing cultural or customary barriers. By implementing these suggestions, it is hoped that Mangkung Village will be able to reduce gender inequality within its customary practices, thereby achieving greater equality between women and men in their social interactions and beyond. These efforts will not only improve the fairness of marriage practices but also contribute to a more inclusive and just society overall.

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