

## Strengthening Family Resilience Through Local Wisdom: *Pulang Ka Bako* Type of Marriage in Minangkabau

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DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.6971>

Received: 04-12-2022

Revised: 27-04-2023

Accepted: 23-05-2023

Cite this article:

Warman, A., Zulkifli, Z., Yustiloviani, Y., Nabilah, W., & Hayati, R. (2023). Strengthening Family Resilience Through Local Wisdom: *Pulang Ka Bako* Type of Marriage in Minangkabau. *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 8(1). doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i1.6971>

### Abstract

This paper aims at explaining the background of the persistence of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage in Lasi area and its correlation to family resilience. This research is field research. The Minangkabaunese still carry out the tradition of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage (marrying the daughter of father's female sibling) in Minangkabau community, especially in Lasi area. This marriage is considered the ideal type of marriage in Minangkabau. The data sources were obtained from the result of interview with married couples, traditional leaders, and religious leaders. The collected data were then reduced, presented, and concluded. This result showed that the background of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage was the community's understanding that this type of marriage can guarantee the development and maintenance of inheritance, kinship social relations, and preservation of traditions and customs. This tradition can build family resilience in the terms of economic and social, and it strengthens cultural resilience as well. From the perspective of *maqashid al-sharia*, *Pulang ka Bako* marriage does not only bring benefit to the individual but also to the family. Besides fulfilling the elements of *hifzūn nasl* (preserving offspring), *hifzūl mal* (managing assets), and *hifzūl 'irdh* (maintaining honor), *Pulang ka Bako* also fulfills the elements of *tabqiqul sahn wal mawaddah wa rahmah* (realizing the sense of peace, love, and compassion) and *tanzīmūl janibul mali* (managing family finances). It

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can be concluded that *Pulang ka Bako* type of marriage has fulfilled the objectives of Islamic law and is capable of being one of the solutions to family resilience issues.

**Keywords:** *Pulang ka Bako*; Local Wisdom; Family Resilience; *Maqasid al-Sharia*

## Introduction

The condition of family resilience in Indonesia has been very deplorable lately. It can be seen from the percentage of divorce cases in Indonesia which continues to increase every year<sup>1</sup>. There are 50 divorce cases per hour in Indonesia<sup>2</sup>. Divorce cases recorded by courts are generally caused by disputes, economic issues, and one party leaving their partner<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the decline in family goes along with the strengthening of modern family concept in society. With the strengthening of the nuclear family, kinship social relations that have been one of the family defenses are no longer functioned. Even so, several regions in Indonesia still maintain the extended family concept in solving family issues<sup>4</sup>.

The tradition of marrying relatives is still practiced by several community groups<sup>5</sup>. Lasi area community in Agam Regency of West Sumatra, for instance, still practices this type of marriage, which is called *Pulang ka Bako* marriage (Returning to father's female sibling's family). *Pulang ka Bako* is a type of marriage in which the prospective wife is the daughter of father's female sibling, meanwhile there is also a type of marriage called *Pulang ka Mamak* (Returning to Uncle), it is carried out between a man's daughter and his nephew. These marriages are considered the ideal types of marriage in Minangkabau<sup>6</sup>. As one of the ideal types of marriage, *Pulang ka Bako* certainly has a positive impact on household life.

There are not many studies on *Pulang ka Bako* marriage tradition. Some of the studies found only focused on the impact of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage on

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<sup>1</sup> Kompas, "Kasus Perceraian," *Kompas.Com*, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Atalya Puspa, "Guru Besar IPB: Setiap 1 Jam, Terdapat 50 Kasus Perceraian Di Indonesia," *Mediaindonesia.Com*, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Tri Purna Jaya, "Banyak Istri Gugat Cerai Suami Sejak Awal 2021, Ini Pemicunya," *Regional.Kompas.Com*, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Fachrina Fachrina and Putra Rinaldi Eka, "Upaya Pencegahan Perceraian Berbasis Keluarga Luas Dan Institusi Lokal Dalam Masyarakat Minangkabau Di Sumatera Barat," *Antropologi Indonesia* 34, no. 2 (2014), doi:10.7454/ai.v34i2.3966.

<sup>5</sup> Hafizatul Anisa, Aman Aman, and Dyah Kumalasari, "Bajapuik Tradition the Traditional Marriage in Minangkabau," *Budapest International Research and Critics in Linguistics and Education (BirLE) Journal* 4, no. 2 (April 21, 2021): 814–21, doi:10.33258/birle.v4i2.1854.

<sup>6</sup> A. A. Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru, Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Pustaka Grafitipers, 1986).

kinship relations, such as the study conducted by Weri<sup>7</sup>. Likewise, a study conducted by Devi<sup>8</sup>, examines the effect of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage on family integrity using quantitative methods. Nonetheless, studies on marriage traditions in West Sumatra, especially Minangkabau area, have been widely carried out. The study can be grouped into three trends. First, the study of marriage and matrilineal customs in Minangkabau<sup>9</sup>. Second, the study of marriage traditions in Minangkabau in relation to Islamic law<sup>10</sup>. Third, the study of marriage traditions that are still maintained by the Minangkabaunese<sup>11</sup>. Up to this point, there has been no study that specifically examines marriage traditions in Minangkabau in relation to family resilience. This is what distinguishes this research from the previous studies.

This paper is intended to complement the shortcomings of previous studies, especially in the study of marriage traditions and their relation to family

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<sup>7</sup> Wery Gunawan, “Dampak Perkawinan Pulang Ka Bako Terhadap Hubungan Sosial Kekerabatan Di Kanagarian Balingka Kabupaten Agam” (Universitas Negeri Padang, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Devi Novita Sari, “Effect Of Marriage Home Kabako The Deity Families In The Village Muara Uwai,” *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Keguruan Dan Ilmu Pendidikan* 2, no. 2 (2011): 1–12.

<sup>9</sup> Asmaniar Asmaniar, “Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau,” *Binamulia Hukum* 7, no. 2 (2018): 131–40, doi:10.37893/jbh.v7i2.23; Roswita Sitompul et al., “Revitalization Model the Role of Tigo Tungku Sajarangan in Fostering Character of Children in Minangkabau Family and Its Socialization through Website,” *International Journal of Engineering and Technology(UAE)* 7, no. 2.5 Special Issue 5 (2018): 53–57, doi:10.14419/ijet.v7i2.5.13950; Yayan Sopyan and Helma Suryani, “Marriage with Same Tribes in the Customary Law of Minangkabau Batipuh Ateh (A Legal Anthropology Approach),” *Jurnal Hukum Islam* 18, no. 2 (2020): 157–72; Alexander Stark, “The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective,” *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 13, no. January 2013 (2013): 1–13; Marcel Vellinga, “A Family Affair: The Construction of Vernacular Minangkabau Houses,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 92 (March 2004): 100–118, doi:10.1080/1363981042000263480.

<sup>10</sup> Firdaus Arifin, “Marriage Agreements Made in the Time of Marriage and Its Legal Consequences on Third Parties and Minangkabau Traditional Law after the Constitutional Court ’s Decision Number 69 / PUU-XIII / 2015 Comes Into Force,” *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences Journal* 4, no. 4 (2021): 7932–41; Dwi Rini Sovia Firdaus, “The Coexistence between Matrilineal Family Structures and the Religious Order of the Minangkabau Community,” *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia* 4, no. 1 (2019): 18–25.

<sup>11</sup> Eko Saputra and Busyro, “Kawin Maupah: An Obligation to Get Married after Talak Tiga in the Tradition of Binjai Village in Pasaman District a Maqâsid Al- Shari’ah Review,” *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2018): 181–219, doi:10.21043/qjii.v6i2.3738; Riyeen Gusti Suparta, “Tradisi Uang Ilang Sebagai Hukum Adat Dalam Pelaksanaan Pernikahan Di Nagari Campago Selatan,” *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 17, no. 1 (2018): 97–113; Nofiard Nofiard, “Perkawinan Dan Baganyi Di Minangkabau: Analisis Sosiologis Kultural Dalam Penyelesaian Perselisihan,” *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 1 (2018): 49–72, doi:10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1613; Nofiard, “Adat Rantau as A Solution for Multi-Ethnic Marriage in Pasaman, West Sumatera,” *Al-Risalah* 20, no. 2 (2020): 243–56, doi:10.30631/al-risalah.v20i2.544.

resilience. This paper attempts to see what is behind the tradition of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage which is still practiced by the community in Lasi area, and how this tradition can strengthen family resilience. This paper begins by focusing on the background of some communities that still maintain this tradition. Furthermore, this tradition will be viewed from the perspective of welfare, especially for married couples in their household lives.

This study is essential to be carried out considering the importance of family resilience in Indonesia through the development of economic and socio-cultural resilience. Strengthening economic and social resilience of families should also be built through local wisdom that is still maintained by the community. In this study, it is assumed that there is a connection between the tradition of *Pulang ka Bako* and building family resilience because this type of marriage is an ideal marriage for Minangkabaunese. Thus, this study aims at explaining the factors behind the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage and the correlation between this tradition and maintaining the resilience of Minangkabaunese families.

This research is field research that was enhanced by conducting a literature study. This research was conducted in Lasi area in West Sumatra. The data were obtained from married couples who practiced *Pulang ka Bako* marriage, traditional leaders, and religious leaders. The data were then confirmed with traditional texts about marriage in Minangkabau. The data were collected through interviews and documentation. The collected data were reduced and presented, then and conclusions were drawn.

## **Discussion**

### **The Marriage System in Minangkabau Custom**

Minangkabau custom views marriage as an important event related to the life cycle and an initial transition from a small family group to forming a new family of descendants. Especially for a man in Minangkabau, marriage is a step into entering a new world of life. Likewise for a woman, marriage is a process of adding members to *Rumah Gadang* community<sup>12</sup>.

Marriage does not only concern one individual but also relates to the relationship between two families, therefore this is a joint affair of relatives in Minangkabau. Minangkabau society is a society that lives with a communal system, so that even in marriage all processions are the concern of relatives, starting from finding a partner, establishing and making agreements, getting

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<sup>12</sup> Asmaniar, "Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau."

engaged, to getting married, cannot be separated from traditional rules<sup>13</sup>. The rules regarding marriage customs contain responsibilities on many things such as physical and spiritual living, life insurance, and responsibility for the education of children to be born. If this rule is violated, then the customary punishment that is imposed is heavy. In fact, sometimes it is far more severe than the punishment imposed by the religious court or the district court. Indigenous punishments are subtle. It can be executed in the form of ostracism and alienation from the association of Minangkabau society. Due to the strength of this rule, the Minangkabau people in matters of marriage always try to fulfill all the common marriage requirements in Minangkabau<sup>14</sup>.

The Minangkabaunese adhere to an exogamy marriage system, in which a person may not marry another person from the same tribe as them. In other words, the marriage must be carried out with people from different tribes or outside the tribe<sup>15</sup>. Basically, this marriage system is not against Islam<sup>16</sup> and has long lasted in Minangkabau society. This marriage system gave birth to marriage models in Minangkabau. There are at least four types of marriages in Minangkabau: ideal marriage, inadequate marriage, abstinent marriage, and discordant marriage.

### 1. Ideal Marriage

The most ideal type of marriage in Minangkabau society is marrying close relatives from different tribes, for example a man marries his father's niece. This ideal marriage is also known as *Pulang ka Bako* and *Pulang ka Mamak*. *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is a marriage carried out between a man and his father's female sibling's daughter, while *Pulang Ka Mamak* means marrying an uncle's daughter. In addition, the ideal marriage in Minangkabau society is *ambiak-maambiak* marriage when a brother and sister marry another brother and sister from another family. Furthermore, an ideal marriage also includes marrying fellow villagers or fellow Minangkabaunese<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Dini Nur'ainy Gita Saputri, "Budaya Pada Novel Memang Jodoh Dan Siti Nurbaya Karya Marah Rusli Serta Tradisi Pernikahan Minangkabau : Perspektif Kajian Sastra Bandingan," in *Sastra, Pendidikan Karakter Dan Industri Kreatif*, 2015, 184–91.

<sup>14</sup> Zike Martha, "Persepsi Dan Makna Tradisi Perkawinan Bajapuik Pada Masyarakat Sungai Garingging Kabupaten Padang Pariaman," *Biokultur* 9, no. 1 (2020): 15–31.

<sup>15</sup> M. Sayuti Dt. Rajo Pangulu et al., "Marriage System in Minangkabau Culture: Temporary Minangkabau People'S Perception," *Journal of Cultura and Lingua* 3, no. 1 (2022): 49–55, doi:10.37301/culingua.v3i1.106.

<sup>16</sup> Muhammad Taufiq and Busyro, "Marriage System in Minangkabau : Interpreting the Concept of Culture Promoted in the Quran," *Islam Transformatif: Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2022): 173–87, doi:10.30983/it.v6i2.6114.

<sup>17</sup> Asmaniar, "Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau."

## 2. Inadequate Marriage

Minangkabaunese adhere to a matrilineal system which follows mother's lineage<sup>18</sup>. It results in the types of marriage in Minangkabau. When someone marries a woman who is not from Minangkabau, then her child does not have a tribe according to Minangkabau custom, because the tribe is obtained from the mother's line. The children of non-Minangkabaunese women are seen as other people's children. Therefore, this marriage model is considered less than ideal or inadequate in Minangkabau society. Marrying outsiders is also seen as damaging the Minangkabau traditional order and structure<sup>19</sup>.

## 3. Abstinent Marriage

Abstinent marriage is a marriage that is prohibited in Minangkabau. This prohibition of marriage is because it conflicts with religion and the customary system. Marriages that are against religion, for example, marrying a blood relative, marrying a milk kinship woman, or marrying sibling-in-law or step family<sup>20</sup>. Meanwhile, marriages that are contrary to custom are marrying the members of the same tribe<sup>21</sup>.

## 4. Discordant Marriage

The word "discordant" basically means to do an act that is inappropriate which is considered unpleasant in society's viewpoint. Thus, discordant marriages can be understood as inappropriate marriages. In other words, this type of marriage is a marriage that is unacceptable or should not be carried out because it does not meet the provisions of people agreement. This type of marriage is the same as abstinent marriage, which does not meet customary requirements. When this marriage is carried out, it is considered to have violated customary provisions and is given customary sanctions, for instance the marriage of a man to his niece<sup>22</sup>.

### ***Pulang ka Bako* Marriage Practice in Lasi Area**

One of the ideal forms of marriage in Minangkabau society is *Pulang ka Bako* marriage. *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is a marriage performed by a man with

<sup>18</sup> Stark, "The Matrilineal System of the Minangkabau and Its Persistence Throughout History: A Structural Perspective."

<sup>19</sup> Asmaniar, "Perkawinan Adat Minangkabau."

<sup>20</sup> Arisman, "Mahram Dan Kawin Sesuku Dalam Konteks Hukum Islam (Kajian Tematik Ayat-Ayat Hukum Keluarga)," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 17, no. 1 (2018): 47–61, doi:10.31958/juris.v17i1.1017.

<sup>21</sup> Nailur Rahmi and Rinta Okta Henny, "Sanksi Adat Tentang Larangan Perkawinan Terhadap Orang Sesuku Dengan Pelaku Zina," *Al-Istinbath : Jurnal Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2020): 329, doi:10.29240/jhi.v5i2.1525; Muhamad Rizky Setiawan, Hairul Amri, and Mohd Yunus, "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Sanksi Adat Perkawinan Sesuku Di Masyarakat Minangkabau," *Journal of Sbaria and Law* 2, no. 2 (2023): 470–84.

<sup>22</sup> Navis, *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru, Adat Dan Kebudayaan Minangkau*.

his father’s niece. In other words, it is a marriage carried out by a man with a daughter from his father’s sister<sup>23</sup>. Although this marriage is considered the most ideal marriage, but nowadays, this type of marriage has begun to be abandoned by many Minangkabaunese because it prevents the family to extend and grow since they only marry their relatives. In addition, it is suspected that *Pulang ka Bako* has caused damage to family relations, because all families already know the issues and disgrace among them<sup>24</sup>.

Some areas still maintain this type of marriage, such as Lasi area. When looking for a husband for their daughter, a father chooses the closest one first like his nephew. If no one else is close enough, then they look for the fellow villagers. From the data obtained in Lasi area, there are still many practices of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage. In this study, several samples were taken from each village. The data can be seen in the following table:

**Table 1.** *Pulang ka bako* marriages in Lasi area

No	Name	Address
1	ER and AN	Lasi Tuo Village
2	ML and DW	Lasi Tuo Village
3	AR and SR	Lasi Mudo Village
4	SY and MR	Lasi Mudo Village
5	EZ and YT	Lasi Tuo Village

There are a number of reasons why *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is still being practiced in Lasi area: economic, social, and cultural factors.

### 1. The Development of Inheritance and Family Economic Resilience

One of the reasons found in the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is to protect the inheritance. Inheritance in Minangkabau is divided into two categories; there are high-inherited wealth and low-inherited wealth. High-inherited wealth is bequeathed to women, while low-inherited wealth is handed down based on Islamic provisions<sup>25</sup>. In order for this inheritance to be maintained and passed on properly to nephews and nieces, the marriage must be carried out with the closest person, such as a father’s niece (from father’s female sibling’s family only) or an uncle’s daughter<sup>26</sup>. This is because the women know all about the inheritance in their families. In addition, when a marriage takes

<sup>23</sup> Sari, “Effect Of Marriage Home Kabako The Deity Families In The Village Muara Uwai.”

<sup>24</sup> Gunawan, “Dampak Perkawinan Pulang Ka Bako Terhadap Hubungan Sosial Kekerabatan Di Kanagarian Balingka Kabupaten Agam.”

<sup>25</sup> Elfia, Meirison, and Qasim Muhammadiyah, “Distribution of Heritage Association of Harta Pusaka Tinggi And Harta Pusaka Rendah in Padang Pariaman,” *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 30, no. 1 (2020): 39–60, doi:10.21580/ahkam.2020.30.1.5273.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Syahril Sutan Bagindo, 14 January 2023.

place, it is their own family who will enjoy the inheritance and will not hand it down to other people. Family needs will be fulfilled because there are two families that support each other's economic resilience through inheritance.

## 2. Strengthening Family Kinship and Social Resilience

In addition to maintaining and developing the inheritance, *Pulang ka Bako* marriage also strengthens the ties of kinship. A person who initially only has brotherhood as cousins, when he marries the daughter of his father's sister, then the bond increases to become husband and wife. In addition, the parents who are siblings, then become parents-in-law as well<sup>27</sup>. The strong kinship ties are also supported by the lack of disputes in the household. Disputes or fights in the household can be avoided because the husband and wife also have family kinship. If there is a fight, it is not only a fight between a husband and wife, but also between extended families<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the occurrence of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is able to maintain the integrity of household from various problems, because if there is a sign of dispute, it will immediately be suppressed by feeling of shame for the two extended families.

## 3. Preserving Customs and Traditions

Many Minangkabau people have left behind *Pulang ka Bako* marriage. With so many people migrating, they marry overseas people and build families there<sup>29</sup>. In addition, the changes of era and modernity have changed the kinship pattern of the Minangkabaunese from the extended family to the nuclear family<sup>30</sup>. This is a challenge for the Minangkabaunese in preserving their customs and traditions. The continuation of the tradition of *Pulang ka Bako* in Lasi area is one form of effort to maintain and care for the customs and traditions of the Minangkabaunese. By marrying fellow Minangkabaunese and *Pulang ka Bako*, Minangkabau customs can be passed on to children and nephews/nieces<sup>31</sup>.

Based on this explanation, it can be concluded that the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is still carried out in Lasi area, because this tradition is considered capable of maintaining the community within a Minangkabau family, starting from preserving offspring, managing inheritance, kinship, and caring for the custom itself.

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Doni Sutan Tejo, 15 January 2023

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Dt. Tumangguang, 14 January 2023

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Syahril Sutan Bagindo, 14 January 2023

<sup>30</sup> Nancy Makepeace Tanner, "The Nuclear Family in Minangkabau Matriliney: The Mirror of Disputes," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 138, no. 1 (April 29, 2013): 129–51, doi:10.1163/22134379-90003484.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Doni Sutan Tejo, 15 January 2023



### ***Maqashid al-Sharia* and Family Resilience in *Pulang ka Bako* Marriage Tradition**

Based on the data, it can be concluded that the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage contains benefits. The realization of prosperity is one of the objectives of Islamic law enforcement<sup>32</sup>. The purpose of sharia (Maqasid Al-Sharia) is classified into several levels: necessity (*daruriyat*), needs (*hajiyat*), and luxuries (*tahsiniyat*)<sup>33</sup>. *Daruriyat* level is divided into five points such as protecting religion (*hifz al-din*), safeguarding soul (*hifz al-nafs*), managing property (*hifz al-mal*), safeguarding mind (*hifz al-aql*), and preserving offspring (*hifz al-nasl*). In addition to the five principles above, *ushul fiqh* experts add maintaining honor (*hifz al-'ird*) as the sixth principle<sup>34</sup>.

Referring to Jamaluddin Athiyah, the concept of *maqasid al sharia* is reoriented into four scopes that are well known as *Majallatul Arba'ah* which is the scope of the individual, family, community, and humanity. This *Pulang ka Bako* marriage study is focused on the scope of individual and family. The scope of individual consists of *hifdun nafs* (safeguarding soul), *i'tibarul 'uql* (empowering mind), *hifz ut tadayyun* (managing diversity), *hifz ul 'ird* (maintaining self-respect/honor), and *hifz ul mal* (managing assets/property). The scope of family consists of *tanzimul 'alaqah baynil jinsayn* (making arrangements for the relationship between a man and woman), *hifzun nasl* (preserving offspring), *tahqiqul saken wal mawaddah wa rahmah* (carrying out a sense of peace, love, and compassion), *hifzun nasab* (carrying out lineage preservation), *hifz ut tadayyun fil usrah* (managing diversity in the family), *tanzimul janib mu'assasi lil usrah* (managing basic aspects in the family), *tanzimul janibul mali* (managing finances in the family)<sup>35</sup>.

Based on *maqashid usrah* initiated by Jamaluddin Athiyah, *Pulang ka Bako* marriage basically brings benefit not only to the individual, but also to the family or household<sup>36</sup>. From the scope of individual, it fulfills *hifz al-mal* (managing property) and *hifz ul al-'ird* (maintaining honor), while within the scope of family or household, it fulfills *hifzun nasl* (preserving offspring), *tahqiqul saken wal mawaddah wa rahmah* (carrying out the realization to the sense of peace, love, and affection), *hifzun nasab* (carrying out lineage continuity), *tanzimul janibul mali*

<sup>32</sup> Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A System Approach* (London: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Darlin Rizki, Frina Oktalita, and Ali Sodikin, "Maqasid Sharia Perspective in Changes the Marriage Age Limits for Women According to Law Number 16 of 2019," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (2022): 487–508, doi:10.29240/jhi.v7i2.4016.

<sup>34</sup> Ratna Gumanti, "Maqasid Al-Syariah Menurut Jasser Auda (Pendekatan Sistem Dalam Hukum Islam)," *Jurnal Al-Himayah* 2, no. 1 (2018): 97–118.

<sup>35</sup> Jamaluddin Athiyah, *Nabw Taf'il Maqashid Syariah* (Damaskus: Dar al Fikr, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> Jāsir Audah, *Fiqh Al-Maqasid: Ināṭat Al-Aḥkām Aṣy-Syar'iyah Bi Maqasidihā* (London: al-Ma'had al-Ālamī li al-Fikr al- Islāmī, 2007).

(managing finances in the family). Thus, the marriage of *Pulang ka Bako* does not bring any harm to the husband and wife in carrying out their household life. In addition, when referring to the Quran, such as Chapter An-Nisa, verses 22-23, there is no provision that marrying cousins is prohibited. Based on the rule of *ushul fiqh* that basically everything is permissible, unless there is an argument that forbids it. Hence, the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is permissible in Islam<sup>37</sup>.

*Pulang ka Bako* marriage still exists in Lasi area because of its capability in preserving offspring, managing and developing inheritance, maintaining kinship, customs, and traditions. These factors based on the perspective of *maqashid al-sharia*, include *hifz al-nasl* (preserving offspring), *hifz al-mal* (managing assets/properties), and *hifz al-'ird* (maintaining honor)<sup>38</sup>.

*Pulang ka Bako* marriage is included in *hifz al-nasl* at the *hajiyat* level. *Pulang ka Bako* aims to protect and care for offspring. Couples who are married in this way already have a clear lineage. This is because the parents of the two married couples come from the same lineage, which are from the father's or uncle's family. *Pulang ka Bako* marriage removes uncertainty about lineage between the two partners. In addition, children who are born from a *Pulang ka Bako* marriage also have a definite lineage, which are from the families of the father and mother who are from a particular lineage as well. Conversely, if a marriage occurs with a non-Minangkabaunese partner, there is a possibility that the offspring will be questioned to have disability, both psychologically and socially.

*Pulang ka Bako* marriage also belongs to *hifz al-mal* at the *hajiyat* level. This is because one of the reasons for *Pulang ka Bako* is to manage and expand the inheritance. Inheritance can be handed down properly and clearly to their own children in which they can expand and take the benefit from. The management of inheritance will also avoid conflict, because the one who manages it is their own relatives, so that the inheritance can be inherited, maintained, and developed properly.

*Pulang ka Bako* also belongs to *hifz al-'ird*. *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is considered ideal by the Minangkabaunese because it prioritizes the honor of the people. A Minangkabaunese who marries a woman outside the Minangkabau tribe will usually be isolated from society. Children who are born are not considered Minangkabau children because their mothers are not from the Minangkabau tribe. Meanwhile, children who are born from the same

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<sup>37</sup> Khaidir Hasram, "Al-Qawaid Al-Ushuliyah Al-Tasyri'iyah Sebagai Basis Metodologi Fikih Kontemporer," *Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab* 1, no. 2 (2019): 146–65.

<sup>38</sup> Deri Wanto, Rahmad Hidayat, and R. Repelita, "Maqasid Shariah's Change as Theory: From Classical to Cotemporary Maqasid Shariah," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (2021): 427, doi:10.29240/jhi.v6i2.3122.

Minangkabau families, especially from a *Pulang ka Bako* marriage, have a higher honor in the community's viewpoint.

In addition to getting benefit for individuals, *Pulang ka Bako* in terms of family scope fulfills *tabqiqul saken wal mawaddah wa rahmah* (realizing the sense of peace, love, and compassion). *Pulang ka Bako* can bring such positive feelings in the family because it can minimize family conflicts. Furthermore, from the perspective of *tanzimul janibul mali*, *Pulang ka Bako* avoids potential economic crises in the family because the family's finances are supported by inheritance that is well managed by both families.

Based on the conformity with the *maqashid al sharia*, *Pulang ka Bako* marriage leads to family resilience. Family resilience is understood as a condition in which the family has the physical, psychological, and independent abilities to survive. It is proven by the realization of a safe and prosperous life as well as being happy physically and spiritually<sup>39</sup>. The purpose of a *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is to preserve offspring, manage and expand wealth, maintain honor, and tie kinship to produce a family that is resistant to various problems. In the perspective of family resilience, a family will be considered to have resilience if it is able to deal with various family problems, both psychological, economic, social, and cultural problems<sup>40</sup>.

*Pulang ka Bako* marriage is one of the media in strengthening the family so that it can survive well from various household problems. In strengthening economic resilience, for example, the inheritance is managed, expanded, and passed down by the two families tied by *Pulang ka Bako* marriage, so that the family economy will be safe from various issues. Likewise in terms of family social security, *Pulang ka Bako* minimizes household disputes because of respect for both families.

## Conclusion

The practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage has been abandoned by many Minangkabaunese, but Lasi area community. The people of Lasi area still practice this tradition. Based on the research findings, the reasons for maintaining the existence of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage are because it can manage and expand the inheritance, preserve offspring, strengthen kinship and brotherhood, and maintain customs and traditions. Basically, the practice of *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is not against Islamic teachings. In fact, *Pulang ka Bako* marriage is in accordance with sharia objectives, which are called *hifẓh al-nasl*

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<sup>39</sup> Amany Lubis, *Ketahanan Keluarga Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Cendekiawan Muda, 2018).

<sup>40</sup> Ramdan Wagianto, "Konsep Keluarga Masalah Dalam Perspektif Qira'Ah Mubadalah Dan Relevansinya Dengan Ketahanan Keluarga Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19," *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 20, no. 1 (2021): 1–17, doi:10.31958/juris.v20i1.2889.

(preserving offspring), *hifz al-mal* (managing properties), and *hifzul al-'ird* (maintaining honor). In the context of today's modern society, the tradition of *Pulang ka Bako* is one of the solutions to ensure family resilience in the household.

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