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Uang Panai' Tradition and Household Resilience of Bugis Muslims: A Study of Islamic Law and Local Culture

Tradisi Uang panai' dan Ketahanan Rumah Tangga Muslim Bugis: Kajian Hukum Islam dan Budaya Lokal

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Abstract

The *uang panai'* tradition a customary prestatory payment made by the groom's family to the bride's family in Bugis society of South Sulawesi, Indonesia occupies a contested position at the intersection of Islamic family law and indigenous cultural practice. This article examines the extent to which *uang panai'* contributes to or undermines household resilience among Bugis Muslim couples, evaluating the practice through the frameworks of Islamic law ('adat-shari'a relations), the doctrine of 'urf (customary practice), and contemporary sociological understandings of marital stability. Employing a normative-juridical methodology supplemented by secondary sociological data, the study finds that *uang panai'* functions ambivalently: while it reinforces social dignity, mutual commitment, and family honor that may support long-term marital resilience, its escalating monetary demands increasingly generate economic distress, delayed marriage, and class-based exclusions that destabilize family formation. The article concludes that Islamic 'urf theory and the maqasid al-shari'ah framework together provide normative resources for reforming *uang panai'* practices in ways that preserve cultural identity while aligning them with Islamic principles of facilitation (taysir) and the prevention of harm (dar' al-mafsada).

Keywords: *uang panai'*; Bugis custom; Islamic family law; household resilience; 'urf

Article History

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Abstrak

Tradisi uang panai’—pembayaran prestasi adat yang diberikan oleh keluarga mempelai pria kepada keluarga mempelai wanita dalam masyarakat Bugis di Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia—menempati posisi yang kompleks di persimpangan hukum keluarga Islam dan praktik budaya lokal. Artikel ini mengkaji sejauh mana uang panai’ berkontribusi pada atau justru melemahkan ketahanan rumah tangga pasangan Muslim Bugis, dengan mengevaluasi praktik tersebut melalui kerangka hukum Islam (relasi adat-syariat), doktrin ‘Urf (kebiasaan yang diakui), dan pemahaman sosiologis kontemporer tentang stabilitas perkawinan. Dengan menggunakan metodologi normatif-yuridis yang dilengkapi data sosiologis sekunder, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa uang panai’ berfungsi secara ambigu: meskipun memperkuat martabat sosial, komitmen bersama, dan kehormatan keluarga yang dapat mendukung ketahanan perkawinan jangka panjang, tuntutan finansialnya yang terus meningkat semakin menimbulkan tekanan ekonomi, penundaan pernikahan, dan eksklusi berbasis kelas yang mendestabilisasi pembentukan keluarga. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa teori ‘Urf Islam dan kerangka maqasid al-syari’ah bersama-sama menyediakan sumber daya normatif untuk mereformasi praktik uang panai’ dengan cara yang menjaga identitas budaya sekaligus menyelaraskannya dengan prinsip Islam tentang kemudahan (taysir) dan pencegahan mudarat (dar’ al-mafsada).

Kata Kunci: *uang panai’; adat Bugis; hukum keluarga Islam; ketahanan rumah tangga; ‘Urf*

Introduction

The institution of marriage in Islamic civilization has never existed in a cultural vacuum. Across the diverse Muslim societies of Southeast Asia, the formal requirements of Islamic matrimonial law *ijab and qabul* (offer and acceptance), the *mahr* (dower), the presence of witnesses, and the role of the *wali* (guardian) have historically been embedded within layers of local custom that shape, negotiate, and sometimes contest the normative prescriptions of the *fiqh* tradition. Nowhere is this dynamic more visible than among the Bugis people of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, whose marriage practices combine rigorous Islamic observance with a sophisticated customary framework centered on honor, social rank, and reciprocal obligation. At the heart of this framework lies the institution of *uang panai’*, a

customary prestatory payment that has become one of the most debated social phenomena in contemporary South Sulawesi.

Uang panai, literally meaning ‘climbing money’ or ‘proposal money’ in the Bugis language, is a sum of money paid by the prospective groom’s family to the prospective bride’s family as part of the marriage negotiation process. It is categorically distinct from the Islamic mahr (dowry), which is a religious obligation paid directly to the bride as her exclusive property. *Uang panai*, by contrast, is used primarily to cover the costs of the wedding ceremony and reception, and its amount is determined through negotiation between the two families according to criteria including the bride’s educational level, social standing, family prestige, and physical appearance. In contemporary Bugis society, the amounts demanded have escalated dramatically, often reaching tens or even hundreds of millions of Indonesian Rupiah, creating significant financial burdens on prospective grooms and their families (Hamid, 2021).

The sociological and legal significance of *uang panai* has attracted growing scholarly attention in recent years, with researchers highlighting its dual character as both a cultural resource that reinforces Bugis social norms and a potential source of household vulnerability. Pelras (1996), whose foundational ethnographic work on the Bugis remains indispensable, situates *uang panai* within the broader Bugis honor complex (*siri’ na pacce*), in which the proper conduct of marriage ceremonies is central to the maintenance of family dignity and social standing. More recent scholarship has problematized this cultural valorization by examining the economic and demographic consequences of escalating *uang panai* demands, including delayed marriages, elopement (*silariang*), and the financial indebtedness of newlywed households that undermines their economic resilience from the outset (Rasyid, 2020).

The Islamic legal status of *uang panai* is a matter of ongoing juristic debate. Classical Islamic jurisprudence recognizes the concept of ‘Urf (custom) as a legitimate source of legal norms within the framework of Islamic law, subject to the condition that the custom in question does not contradict explicit Qur’anic or

Sunnah prescriptions and does not produce mafsada (harm). Ibn ‘Abidin’s classical dictum that ‘al-‘adat muhakkama’ (custom has the force of law) is one of the foundational maxims of Islamic legal theory, and it provides the principal juristic basis for accommodating indigenous marriage customs within an Islamic normative framework. However, the conditions for ‘Urf legitimacy require careful assessment in the case of *uang panai*, given the documented harms associated with its contemporary manifestations (al-Suyuti, as cited in al-Zuhayli, 2019).

Theoretically, this article draws upon two complementary frameworks. The first is the classical Islamic theory of ‘Urf as elaborated by contemporary scholars, most notably Abd al-Karim Zaidan (2018), who distinguishes between ‘Urf sahih (valid custom) that Islamic law recognizes and enforces, and ‘Urf fasid (corrupt custom) that must be reformed or abandoned because of its conflict with Islamic principles. The second framework is the maqasid al-shari‘ah tradition, particularly in its contemporary elaboration by Jasser Auda (2021), which provides a teleological criterion for evaluating whether a given custom serves or undermines the higher objectives of Islamic law. Together, these frameworks enable a normative evaluation of *uang panai* that is sensitive to both the cultural dimensions of the practice and its compatibility with Islamic legal principles.

The relationship between cultural practices and household resilience is the second major theoretical strand informing this study. McCubbin and Patterson’s (1983) family resilience model, subsequently elaborated by Walsh (2016), understands household resilience as the family’s capacity to withstand adversity and adapt positively in the face of challenges through the mobilization of internal and external resources. Applied to the Bugis context, this framework illuminates the way in which *uang panai* may function as a double-edged sword: on one hand consolidating the social networks and cultural capital that support household resilience, and on the other hand imposing economic burdens that constitute precisely the kind of adversity against which newly formed households must subsequently struggle to remain resilient. Nurhayati and Sulaiman (2022) have developed this insight with specific reference to South Sulawesi Muslim families,

arguing that the inflation of *uang panai*' has created a structural vulnerability within Bugis household formation that existing Islamic legal frameworks have not yet adequately addressed.

Existing scholarly literature on *uang panai*', while growing, exhibits certain persistent gaps. First, most studies approach the phenomenon either from a purely sociological-anthropological perspective—documenting its social functions and demographic consequences—or from a normative Islamic legal perspective that evaluates its permissibility in abstract terms, without integrating both dimensions into a coherent analytical framework. Second, the specific relationship between *uang panai*' and household resilience, as understood through a combination of Islamic ethical criteria and social science methodology, remains underexplored. Third, the potential role of Islamic 'Urf theory as a normative instrument for reforming *uang panai*' practices in ways that preserve cultural identity while reducing their harmful effects has not been systematically developed. The present article seeks to address these lacunae by bringing together normative Islamic legal analysis, maqasid theory, and sociological literature on household resilience in a coherent analytical framework.

The article is structured as follows. The methodology section describes the normative-juridical approach adopted and outlines the primary and secondary sources consulted. The results and discussion section is organized around three thematic subsections: the first examines the historical and cultural foundations of *uang panai*' and its relationship to Islamic law; the second analyzes the empirical relationship between *uang panai*' dynamics and Bugis Muslim household resilience, supported by comparative data; and the third develops a normative framework for reforming *uang panai*' practices through the application of Islamic 'Urf theory and maqasid al-shari'aḥ. The conclusion synthesizes the findings and offers recommendations for scholars, religious authorities, and policymakers engaged with Islamic family law reform in the Indonesian context.

This study contributes to the broader scholarly conversation on the relationship between Islamic law and indigenous custom in Muslim Southeast Asia,

a conversation that has gained renewed urgency in the context of Indonesia's ongoing democratic consolidation and the increasing visibility of demands for Islamic legal reform from civil society organizations, women's groups, and progressive religious scholars. By demonstrating that the Islamic 'Urf tradition contains the normative resources to both affirm and reform customary practices such as *uang panai*', the article argues against both uncritical cultural relativism and decontextualized Islamic legal formalism, and in favor of a contextually grounded jurisprudence that takes seriously the social consequences of legal norms and the Islamic ethical imperative to promote human flourishing.

Research Method

This study adopts a normative-juridical research methodology, understood in the sense articulated by Marzuki (2017) as a form of legal inquiry focused on the systematic analysis of legal norms, principles, and doctrines rather than on the empirical description of social behavior. The primary legal sources examined include the classical Islamic juristic texts relevant to the doctrines of 'Urf and maqasid al-shari'ah, Indonesian statutory instruments governing marriage and the recognition of customary law (including Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage and Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, which recognizes the governance role of customary institutions), and the fatwa documents and legal opinions issued by Indonesian Islamic scholarly bodies on marriage customs and the distinction between mahr and customary marriage payments. The normative analysis is grounded in established principles of Islamic legal methodology (*usul al-fiqh*), including the rules governing the recognition and limitation of 'Urf, the application of the principle of *la darar wa la dirar* (no harm shall be inflicted or reciprocated), and the teleological criteria of maqasid theory. Soekanto and Mamudji (2015) observe that normative-juridical research achieves its highest analytical potential when the doctrinal examination of legal norms is coupled with critical reflection on their social context and consequences, a methodological principle this study embraces.

To situate the normative analysis within its empirical context, the study also conducts a systematic review of secondary sociological and anthropological

literature on *uang panai*' published between 2015 and 2024, drawing on peer-reviewed journal articles, academic theses from Indonesian universities, and reports from civil society organizations working on marriage access and family welfare in South Sulawesi. Quantitative data cited in the discussion section are drawn from existing published studies rather than original fieldwork, in keeping with the normative orientation of the research. As Creswell and Creswell (2023) note, qualitative-normative studies are appropriately strengthened by the triangulation of doctrinal analysis with empirical secondary data, particularly where the normative framework being evaluated has direct implications for measurable social outcomes such as marriage rates, household economic stability, and family conflict levels. The integration of secondary empirical data into the normative analysis enables the study to ground its juristic evaluations and reform proposals in the observable social realities of contemporary Bugis Muslim family life.

Results and Discussion

The findings of this normative-juridical analysis are presented across three thematic subsections. The first subsection traces the historical and cultural foundations of *uang panai*' and examines its relationship to Islamic legal categories, particularly the mahr and the doctrine of 'Urf. The second subsection analyzes the relationship between contemporary *uang panai*' dynamics and the resilience of Bugis Muslim households, drawing on comparative secondary data. The third subsection develops a normative framework for reforming *uang panai*' practices through the application of Islamic 'Urf theory and maqasid al-shari'ah. Together, these subsections offer a comprehensive analysis that integrates legal doctrine, cultural anthropology, and Islamic ethical theory.

1. Historical and Cultural Foundations of *Uang panai*' and Its Relationship to Islamic Law

Uang panai' is deeply embedded in the pre-Islamic social structure of the Bugis, a society organized around a hierarchical system of status ranks (arung, ana'

mattola, tau deceng, and ata) that regulated social interaction, including the choice of marriage partners and the protocols of matrimonial negotiation. In the pre-Islamic Bugis world, the exchange of valuables at marriage served to publicly affirm the social rank of the contracting families, establish obligations of mutual support between the two family networks, and constitute the bride as a socially valuable person worthy of honor and protection. The Islamization of the Bugis, which occurred progressively from the early seventeenth century, did not abolish these customary marriage exchanges but rather integrated them into an Islamic matrimonial framework, creating a layered structure in which the Islamic mahr coexists with the customary *uang panai'* and a range of other prestatory exchanges such as the sompa (symbolic royal gift) and the dui' menre (ceremonial gifts) (Pelras, 1996).

The Islamic legal categorization of *uang panai'* has been a subject of sustained juristic debate among South Sulawesi religious scholars. The majority position, endorsed by the South Sulawesi Provincial MUI, holds that *uang panai'* is a form of 'Urf sahih (valid custom) that may be recognized within Islamic law provided that: its amount does not create undue hardship (haraj) for the groom's family; it is not treated as a condition for the legal validity of the marriage contract (nikah); and it does not lead to prohibited outcomes such as the prevention of legally suitable marriages or the encouragement of prohibited practices such as free mixing during excessive ceremonial preparations (Hamid, 2021). This position reflects the classical Islamic legal principle, articulated by Ibn Qudama and echoed by al-Zuhayli (2019), that customs governing the social dimensions of marriage—as distinct from its strictly legal requirements—fall within the domain of permissible practice (mubah) and are subject to the general Islamic principle that original permissibility (ibahah) obtains in the absence of explicit prohibition.

A minority scholarly position, associated with reformist and modernist scholars within Muhammadiyah circles, is more critical of *uang panai'*, arguing that its contemporary form has acquired characteristics of 'Urf fasid (corrupt custom) due to the ostentation (riya'), financial hardship, and class-based discrimination it

generates. This position draws on the classical maxim that any custom which leads to manifest harm (*darar*) loses its claim to Islamic legal recognition, and that the 'Urf foundation of a practice does not immunize it from reformation when the social conditions that originally justified it have materially changed. Zaidan (2018) provides theoretical support for this view by noting that the recognition of 'Urf in Islamic law is always conditional and revisable, contingent upon the continued satisfaction of the conditions of general acceptance, practical reasonableness, and absence of harm that constitute the criteria of valid custom.

The distinction between *uang panai'* and the Islamic mahr is legally and practically crucial, though the two are frequently conflated in popular understanding. The mahr is an unconditional right of the bride established by divine command (QS. 4:4), paid directly to her as her exclusive property, and constitutes one of the validity conditions of the Islamic marriage contract. *Uang panai'*, by contrast, is a customary obligation payable to the bride's family, used to cover the costs of wedding ceremonies, and carrying no Qur'anic mandate. The conflation of the two in practice risks obscuring the bride's independent entitlement to her mahr, particularly in contexts where the financial burden of *uang panai'* leads families to minimize the mahr amount as a compensatory measure. Rasyid (2020) has documented this dynamic in South Sulawesi, noting that the escalation of *uang panai'* demands has, in some cases, been accompanied by a corresponding reduction in mahr amounts, a development that the Religious Courts of South Sulawesi have begun to address through judicial guidance emphasizing the inviolability of the mahr obligation.

2. *Uang panai'* Dynamics and Bugis Muslim Household Resilience: Comparative Analysis

The relationship between *uang panai'* and Bugis Muslim household resilience is empirically complex and varies significantly across socioeconomic strata, geographic locations (urban versus rural), and generational cohorts. Studies conducted between 2018 and 2023 consistently identify the financial burden of *uang panai'* as among the most commonly cited reasons for delayed marriage

among Bugis Muslim men aged 25–35, with survey data from Makassar and Bone regencies indicating that between 38 and 52 percent of respondents in this age group identified inability to meet *uang panai*’ expectations as a primary obstacle to marriage formation (Nurhayati & Sulaiman, 2022). This demographic pattern has significant implications for household resilience at the societal level, since delayed marriage formation is associated in the Islamic family law literature with increased vulnerability to illicit sexual relationships (*zina*), diminished capacity for early asset accumulation, and reduced household network support in the critical early years of married life.

At the household level, the financial trajectory initiated by *uang panai*’ payment frequently shapes the economic resilience of newly formed Bugis Muslim households in ways that may persist for years. Where *uang panai*’ is financed through debt—a common practice documented by Rasyid (2020)—newlywed couples begin their marital lives already burdened with obligations that constrain their capacity to invest in productive assets, save for emergencies, or absorb financial shocks. Walsh’s (2016) resilience framework would classify this pattern as a structural pre-stressor that reduces the household’s adaptive capacity before it encounters the normal adversities of marital and family life. Conversely, research also documents cases in which the social capital consolidated through the *uang panai*’ negotiation process—including the strengthening of inter-family bonds, the mobilization of community support networks for the wedding, and the public affirmation of the couple’s social standing—contributes positively to household resilience by embedding the new family unit within a protective web of social relationships.

Table 1. Comparative Indicators of *Uang panai*’ and Household Resilience Among Bugis Muslim Couples in South Sulawesi

Indicator	Urban High-Income HH	Urban Low-Income HH	Rural Low-Income HH	Source
Avg. <i>Uang panai</i> ’ Amount (IDR)	50–200 million	20–50 million	10–30 million	Hamid (2021)

Indicator	Urban High-Income HH	Urban Low-Income HH	Rural Low-Income HH	Source
% Funded via Debt	18%	61%	53%	Rasyid (2020)
Average Marriage Age—Male (yrs)	26.4	29.8	27.5	Nurhayati & Sulaiman (2022)
Divorce Rate within 5 Years (debt-financed UP)	9%	27%	21%	Rasyid (2020)
Elopement (Silariang) Incidence	Low	Moderate	High	Hamid (2021)
Perceived Contribution to Marital Stability (%‘positive’)	72%	44%	58%	Nurhayati & Sulaiman (2022)

Note. HH = Household; UP = *Uang panai*. Data are drawn from secondary published sources and are illustrative of patterns identified in the literature rather than original fieldwork findings.

The data summarized in Table 1 reveal a clear socioeconomic gradient in the impact of *uang panai* on household resilience. Among urban high-income households, where the financial burden of *uang panai* is more manageable relative to household resources, the practice is perceived more positively and the divorce rate within five years is comparatively low. Among urban and rural low-income households, however, the high proportion of debt-financed *uang panai* payments correlates significantly with elevated divorce rates within the first five years of marriage, suggesting that financial stress induced by excessive *uang panai* constitutes a material threat to household resilience in economically vulnerable segments of Bugis Muslim society. The elevated incidence of elopement among rural low-income couples further indicates that the normative pressure of *uang panai* is, in some contexts, driving young people toward matrimonial practices that circumvent both customary and Islamic legal requirements, with potentially severe social and legal consequences including family conflict, community ostracism, and the legal ambiguity of unregistered marriages (Rasyid, 2020).

From an Islamic household resilience perspective, these findings are normatively significant. The concept of *sakinah* (tranquility), *mawaddah* (affection), and *rahmah* (mercy) articulated in QS. 30:21 as the foundational objectives of the marital relationship provides an Islamic criterion against which the household consequences of *uang panai'* may be evaluated. Where the financial pressures generated by *uang panai'* contribute to marital conflict, premature divorce, or the destabilization of the household economic foundation, they stand in direct tension with these Qur'anic objectives. Nurhayati and Sulaiman (2022) argue that Islamic family counseling agencies (Bimbingan Perkawinan/BIMWIN) in South Sulawesi have identified financial stress related to *uang panai'* debt as among the three most commonly reported precipitating factors in marital disputes referred to Religious Court mediators in Makassar, a finding that gives concrete empirical content to the normative concern that excessive *uang panai'* threatens the realization of the Qur'anic vision of *sakinah* marriage.

3. Reforming *Uang panai'* Through Islamic 'Urf Theory and Maqasid al-Shari'ah

The normative evaluation of *uang panai'* through the framework of Islamic 'Urf theory requires the application of the classical conditions for 'Urf sahih to the contemporary practice as documented in the preceding subsections. Zaidan (2018) identifies four essential conditions: first, the custom must be widely and consistently practiced (*al-ittatād*); second, it must be current at the time of the legal transaction in question (*al-qadim*); third, it must not contradict any explicit textual prescription of the Qur'an or Sunnah; and fourth, it must not have been explicitly overridden by the contracting parties. Applying these conditions to contemporary Bugis *uang panai'*, the practice satisfies the first and second conditions, since it remains widely practiced and socially expected across South Sulawesi. However, the third condition is increasingly problematic given the documented harms associated with excessive *uang panai'*, which implicate the Islamic prohibition on *darar* (harm) and the principle of *taysir* (facilitation of Islamic obligations), both of which have Qur'anic and Sunnah foundations.

The maqasid al-shari‘ah framework provides a complementary evaluative lens that enables a more holistic normative assessment than purely ‘Urf-based analysis. Evaluated against the five objectives, *uang panai*’ in its current form presents a mixed normative picture. It contributes positively to hifz al-nasl (preservation of lineage) by creating a socially structured pathway for marriage formation and reinforcing norms of family responsibility and mutual commitment. However, when its financial demands delay or prevent marriage, it works against hifz al-nasl by obstructing the primary institutional vehicle through which legitimate progeny is produced and social lineage is maintained. Its contribution to hifz al-mal (preservation of property) is similarly ambivalent: while it redistributes resources between families in ways that may support the economic foundation of the bride’s household, the debt-financed form of *uang panai*’ actively undermines hifz al-mal by saddling new households with unproductive financial obligations that impair their long-term economic security. Auda (2021) has argued that any customary practice whose maqasid ledger is negative on balance—that is, which undermines more Islamic objectives than it promotes— should be reformed or modified through the instruments of Islamic legal policy (*siyasa shar’iyya*).

A normative reform framework for *uang panai*’, grounded in Islamic ‘Urf theory and maqasid reasoning, would involve three interlocking elements. First, the establishment by local religious authorities (supported by institutional endorsement from MUI South Sulawesi and the two major Islamic organizations) of community-level guidelines setting reasonable ceilings on *uang panai*’ amounts, calibrated to local economic conditions and income levels rather than solely to family prestige. Such guidelines would find juridical support in the classical principle of hisba (public accountability for the preservation of Islamic social norms) and the tradition of maslaha-based regulatory intervention in customary practices that was exercised by historical Islamic authorities across the Muslim world. Wahid (2022) has specifically called for Indonesian Religious Courts to develop judicial guidelines on *uang panai*’ that can be applied in cases where

disputes over its payment constitute a ground of complaint in divorce or family maintenance proceedings.

Second, the reform framework would require a sustained effort at religious education (*tarbiyah*) to clarify the categorical distinction between the obligatory mahr and the customary *uang panai*, and to reframe the cultural significance of *uang panai* from a marker of family prestige to an expression of sincerity (*niyyah*) and mutual commitment that is better measured by quality than quantity. This reframing draws upon the prophetic tradition that ‘the best of dowries is that which is most easily paid’ (*ahsan al-mahr aysaruhu*), a Sunnah principle that can be analogically extended to all marriage-related financial obligations to privilege ease, sincerity, and mutual benefit over ostentation and competitive display. Third, the reform framework would involve the development of institutional support mechanisms—including Islamic microfinance products designed to facilitate marriage without recourse to interest-bearing debt, and community marriage facilitation programs (*takaful pernikahan*)—that reduce the structural economic barriers to marriage formation in lower-income Bugis communities without requiring the abolition of the *uang panai* institution as a whole (Nurhayati & Sulaiman, 2022).

Conclusion

This study has examined the *uang panai* tradition of the Bugis Muslims of South Sulawesi through the integrated lenses of Islamic ‘Urf theory, *maqasid al-shari‘ah*, and sociological research on household resilience, revealing a practice whose normative and social character is more complex and contested than either its cultural advocates or its Islamic legal critics typically acknowledge. The findings demonstrate that *uang panai*, as a form of ‘Urf embedded within the Bugis marriage system, possesses genuine cultural and social functions that Islamic jurisprudence can accommodate and even affirm, including the reinforcement of family commitment, the mobilization of social capital, and the public recognition of the bride’s social value. At the same time, the escalation of *uang panai* demands in contemporary South Sulawesi has introduced a range of harms—delayed

marriage, debt-induced household vulnerability, elevated divorce rates among economically stressed couples, and the encouragement of elopement practices that circumvent both Islamic and customary legal requirements—that cumulatively undermine multiple maqasid objectives and render the contemporary form of the practice increasingly difficult to justify as ‘Urf sahih. A contextually grounded ijtihad, drawing on the principles of taysir, dar’ al-mafsada, and maslahah, offers the most promising normative path for reforming *uang panai*’ in ways that preserve its cultural identity and social functions while eliminating its harmful excesses, thereby better serving both the Islamic objectives of marital sakinah and the resilience of Bugis Muslim households in the contemporary era.

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