

# Family bonding in the tradition of Badantam in Pariaman, West Sumatera, Indonesia

*by Salma Salma*

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**Being muslim in a disrupted millennial age**

Laras Asri Resort & Spa, Salatiga  
1-2 August 2018

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**Date:**

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## FOREWORD

Assalamualaikum wr. wb.

Praise be to Allah SWT for His blessings and grace that this conference can be held this year. Shalawat and salam always be handed over to our Prophet Muhammad SAW.

The first International Conference on Islam and Muslim Societies (ICONIS) was organized as the effort of the IAIN Salatiga Graduate Program to realize the vision as one of the "Referral Center of Islamic Studies" in Central Java and Indonesia. We continue to work hard on the road map to achieve the milestones of that vision. This conference is also an annual program that will be continuously implemented as a meeting place for scholars from various fields of social sciences and humanities who have concern for Islamic studies. We benefit from this conference as a vehicle to build collaborative networks between researchers and universities, as well as capturing quality articles for the publication of Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies (IJIMS). Thanks to God's grace and systematic work (patience), this journal has been indexed by Scopus since August 13, 2017, and indexed by Scimago Journal Ranking (SJR) on the next 9 months, exactly on June 2018.

<sup>1</sup> The theme of this conference is "Being Muslim in a Disrupted Millennial Age". The conference was motivated by the real challenges of the millennial generation and era. Indonesia is predicted to get demographic bonus in 2020-2045. According to the calculations of the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN) RI, in the decade, as many as 70 percent of Indonesian citizens are in the productive age, which is between 15 to 64 years. Only 30 percent are unproductive, for instance under 14 years and over 65 years old. Of course, demographic bonuses have an impact on the increasing number of young people, or more specifically, millennial generation.

According to Neil Howe and William Strauss in the book *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation* (2000), millennial generation are those born between 1982 and 20 years later. This means that this year, they are between 15 to 35 years old. Neil and William call the millennial as the generation that determines the future. In Indonesian context, the millennial lifestyle has had a profound influence on various aspects of personal and public life; social, cultural, economic, political and even religious. The most noticeable aspect is the increasing role of social media, which is mainly driven by the millennial generation. The role of social media, for example, has far-reaching impacts on the creative economy, with the increasing variety of digital entrepreneurship-based professions utilizing online sites, youtube, instagram, twitter and facebook. While in politics, social media becomes the personal space of branding and attention seekers that characterize millennials. Interestingly, in many parts of the world, research on millennial generation has grown considerably. In addition to the above books, some of the more popular ones were the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and University of Berkeley research in 2011 about the millennial generation of America; The Pew Research Center Review entitled *Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next* (2010). Similarly the Texas-US based Center for Generational

Kinetics through the intense genhq.com site is doing recent research on Millennial and Z generations.

Similar research focusing on Muslim millennials is done by the Tabah Foundation of the United Arab Emirates entitled *Muslim Millennial Attitudes on Religion and Religious Leadership* (2016); The work of British Muslim writer Shelina Zahra Janmohamed *Generation M: Young Muslims Changing the World* (2016) is also interesting. In Indonesia, research and publications on millennial generations begin, but it is still difficult to find specific references to Muslim millennials. In fact, Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. According to the latest data of the Central Intelligence Agency, the number of Indonesian Muslims reaches a range of 225 million, far beyond Muslim countries such as Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and countries in the Arabian Peninsula. The proportion of Indonesian Muslims is also very significant, namely 87.2% of the total population of Indonesia. Given that fact, Muslim millennial of Indonesia has a very strategic position in the future. Millennial Muslims in this country can lift the image of Indonesian Islam to become a world reference in realizing a peaceful and harmonious society. Actually, the image has been recognized world widely. Two decades ago, various international media praised Indonesian Islam as an ideal portrait of Muslim society. Newsweek in 1996 labeled Islam Indonesia as "Islam with a smiling face". Newsweek is so fascinated with the style of religious people in Indonesia, calling it: *everyone was kind; everyone was moderate; everyone respected humanistic values and a harmonious life*. Interestingly, six years ago, precisely in 2011, Indonesianist Martin van Bruinessen reviewed the label in his paper with a question: What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam? Martin seemed restless with the Indonesian Islamic movement, which was originally identical with the vision of nationality and humanity, into a movement that tends to be more political and partisan.

This is where Muslim millennial Indonesia can take on the role. Today, around us, the narrative of hatred seems so real. It is laid out clearly through utterances, arguments, and comments on the mass lines crammed with verbal and visual violence. With such great potential, Indonesian Muslim youth are given a choice: To let the hate narrative expand its space, or to present a counter-narrative, through viralization of virtues as the part of millennial-style. This is the significance of organizing this annual conference.

In this conference, there are 54 papers with 65 presenters coming from various institutions in Indonesia and collaborators from the George Washington University and Aligarh Muslim University India. On behalf of the rector IAIN Salatiga and committee of ICONIS, I would like to extend our warmest welcome to all keynote speakers and presenters from UIN Gunung Djati Bandung, Akademi Akuntansi YKPN Yogyakarta, IAIN Bengkulu, IAIN Bukit Tinggi, IAIN Kudus, IAIN Madura, IAIN Palu, IAIN Pekalongan, IAIN Ponorogo, IAIN Purwokerto, IAIN Salatiga, IAIN Samarinda, IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo, IAIN Surakarta, IAIN Tulungagung, ITS Surabaya, Institute of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies Yogyakarta, SMART Indonesia, STEBIS IGM, STKIP PGRI Gunung Panglun, UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, UIN Sunan Ampel, UIN Walisongo, Universitas Ahmad Dahlan Yogyakarta, Universitas Airlangga Surabaya, Universitas

Aisiyah, Universitas Andalas Padang, Universitas Brawijaya Malang, UGM, Universitas Ibrahimy Situbondo, Universitas Islam Makassar, UIN Mataran, UIN Sultan Kasim Riau, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. Hamka, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Universitas Padjadjaran, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta, Universitas Pancasila, Universitas Syiah Kuala Aceh, Universitas Tadulako Sulawesi, and Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta.

Finally, we hope that in the coming years, this conference can be accessed and followed by more scholars from abroad so as to have a strong resonance on the issues being discussed.

Wassalamualaikum wr. wb.

**Zakiyuddin Baidhaw**  
Director of Postgraduate Program  
IAIN Salatiga

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**Family bonding in the tradition of Badantam in Pariaman, West Sumatera, Indonesia  
(collecting fund at the night of the wedding party in 'urf perspective)**

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**Abstract**

The tradition of badantamin a wedding in Pariaman is an event of collecting money, gold and other valuable things at the night after the wedding party held on the day. The badantam activity takes place after Isha prayer (around 09.00p.m.) and ends around 12 in the midnight. The names of the givers, the amount, and type of the items they give are mentioned openly and recorded in a special book. Therefore, every member of the community feels indebted and feels saving amount (in hope) that they will get the same amount or more at their own party later. The money and the collected items are given entirely to the family who is having the party. If the invited people do not want to participate in this activity, they will usually get social sanction in the form of 'dibuang sepanjang adat' (exile from all customary events). The tradition has lasted long and has severe social penalties. In addition, people are also reluctant to attend the badantam held by immigrants (perantau) returning to hometown only for the party because they know the money or property that they give in badantam will not be paid back. The type of the study was field research with a qualitative approach. The data was gathered by observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation study. The analysis was done descriptively by data reduction, display, and verification (drawing conclusion).

**Keywords:** Badantam, marriage, Pariaman, tradition, 'urf, walimat al-'ursy

**Introduction**

'Urf is one of the *dalil* of law (*adillat al-ahkâm*) in the science of *ushul fiqh* used as a method in finding the law of an act which is not described in detail in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Based on that, 'urf is a method taken through *ijtihad* to find an Islamic law in the customs of society that have been conducted continuously. This is necessary because the religion of Islam was delivered by the Prophet (peace be upon him) into the middle of a society which had had hereditary customs in various aspects of life. Among those customs, some were recognized by the Qur'an and some were stopped and forbidden to continue. When its development has spread widely, Islamic teaching is exposed to a variety of people's customs previously unknown during the time of the Holy Prophet, so it takes serious effort from the *ulama* (Islamic experts) to place the law of those customs, so that people can distinguish which customs need to be nurtured and maintained and which customs must be abandoned. The customs of the people are not only in the field of worship but also many found in the field of marriage.

Marriage is an institution that binds a man and a woman inwardly and mentally, and justifies the relationship of a husband and wife, so the relationship causes the rights

and obligations between them. Marriage is one of the Sharia set by God and His Prophet, and Muslims are commanded to carry it out as mentioned in many verses in which among others in an-Nisa '(4): 3 and also in many hadiths of Prophet Muhammad. The rules of religion, state, and tradition are united in the implementation and the management of marriage, including in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra describing the forms and the characteristics in accordance with the tradition that lives and thrives in society. West Sumatra is one of the provinces in Indonesia with the majority of Muslim population and is known as Minangkabau<sup>1</sup>.

The unification of religion, state, and custom in Minangkabau marriage tradition brings its own consequences. It means the provisions of custom, state, and religion in regulating social life cannot be ignored, especially in conducting marriage. If there is a violation in particular against any of the provisions of custom or the religion of Islam in matters of marriage, then the perpetrator and his/her family will receive a bitter result for the rest of their life and continue up to their offspring by what is called *dibuang sepanjang adat*.<sup>2</sup> The punishment of *dibuang sepanjang adat* has been commonly applied in Minangkabau to couples of adultery, and the punishment is also applied to their whole family. Formerly, the punishment of *buang adat* imposed by society was not written, yet in modern times it has been written in various local and nagari's regulations.<sup>3</sup> Thus, its implementation has a stronger foundation because the custom implementers who impose the sanctions get legitimacy and more power to drop it on a people who violate the custom. Both types of customary punishment are sometimes much more severe than the punishments set by the state/court. Therefore, the Minangkabau people strive hard to meet the conditions of marriage established by both religion and custom, although many of these conditions determined by customs have hard value and are not regulated by the religion that seeks to alleviate its people.

West Sumatra consists of several regencies and cities including Padang Pariaman. The District of Padang Pariaman is basically a *rantau* Minangkabau and not Luhak as

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<sup>1</sup>Minangkabau is an indigenous area in West Sumatera Province and its surroundings. Understanding Minangkabau is not exactly the same as the understanding of West Sumatra. This is because the word Minangkabau contains more socio-cultural meaning, while the word of West Sumatra more administrative geographical meaning. Thus, it can be said that Minangkabau lies within the administrative geographical area of West Sumatra and also extends outside the West Sumatra region to the western part of the administrative geographical area of Riau Province and the western part of the geographical area of Jambi Province. Both of these areas are included into the socio-cultural environment of Minangkabau because they are socio-cultural similar in general to the people residing in West Sumatra. See Helmy Panuh, *Pengelolaan Tanah Ulayat Nagari pada Era Desentralisasi Pemerintahan di Sumatera Barat*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2012, 15

<sup>2</sup>The punishment of *buang sepanjang adat* has been conducted by the society of Minangkabau for a long time. In a documentation of Nagari Koto Gadang in Bukittinggi, it was found a Decision of Kerapatan Nagari Koto Gadang Number 40 on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1920 which contained the decision of punishment of *buang sepanjang adat*. In the decision, it was called with the term of *buang tikarang* on a Minang woman whose innitial was D who eloped with a man from the island of Java whose innitial was P. The decision of *buang tikarang* confirmed that the woman was expelled from the adat in Nagari Koto Gadang, no longer the member of *penghulu nan 24 suku* in Koto Gadang, not equally despicable nor equally noble, not equally suffered nor equally happy, and no longer had the same custom and heritage with the people of Koto Gadang anymore. If there was a *ninik mamak* or her family welcome D well when visiting Koto Gadang, she/he would also be expelled from the custom like D. See Chairul Anwar, *Hukum Adat Indonesia Meninjau Hukum Adat Minangkabau*, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1997, 147.

<sup>3</sup>There have been many regions and nagari writing the rules of the adat into local regulations or nagari regulations, among others are customary regulations of Sub-district of IV Angkek Canduang. All nagari in the area of this sub district have written their customary regulations including the regulation and the sanction of violation of marriage invarious names such as *Buek Taguah Ganggaman Arek* in Jorong Koto Hilalang, *Buek Arek Satian Taguah* in Jorong Tigo Jorong, and *Buek Arek Parik Putuih* in Kenagarian Ampang Gadang.

Minangkabau original territory.<sup>4</sup> This area is approximately 70 km from Padang, the capital of West Sumatra Province and can be reached within 1.5 hours of land travel. The district of Padang Pariaman has very different traditions in arranging marriage from other Minangkabau *luhak* and *rantau*. For example, Pariaman society is well known for its traditions of *tabuik*<sup>5</sup>, and *uang japuik* and *uang hilang* in marriage.<sup>6</sup> In addition, Pariaman society is also known for *badantam* activity on the day of the wedding party. This event is routinely carried out by every family that is holding a wedding party by collecting data of the invitations and collecting money for the family who is having the party at the night after the wedding party. However, these traditions are not found in other Minangkabau areas.

Nagari Ketaping of Batang Anai District is one of the nagaris in Pariaman that carry out the tradition of *badantam* in a wedding party. In the preliminary study conducting in January 2017 at a wedding party of a couple, the *badantam* activity was found.<sup>7</sup> The party had been prepared since around 09.00am in the morning. The invitees began to arrive around 10.30am and brought a gift or envelope containing money with the name of the giver written outside the envelope. In the afternoon after *Ashar* time, envelopes from the invitees with gift money in it were collected by a committee from the family and piled in a room. The envelopes with the name of the invitee on it were separated from the unnamed ones. Each name on the envelope was written in a ledger as well as the amount of money in it. After the *Isha* prayer, people with certain custom clothing, mostly men, began to arrive and sat in the middle of the house that had been provided by the partying family. After all invited guests were present at the house; the *badantam* activity was begun and led by a committee appointed by the bride's family.

The committee began to mention the names of the bride's family and each of the names mentioned raised his/her hands and took out money, clothing (the purchase price was mentioned) and gold jewelry from his/her luggage and placed it in the center of a container like a *talam/dulang* provided in the middle of the *badantam* participants. In a place where is not so far away, the other committee member noted in the ledger the name of the person who contributed and the amount of his/her contribution. The smallest

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<sup>4</sup>There is no difference of opinions found about the fact that *Luhak Nan Tigo* is the core of Minangkabau land. It was first a *taratak* which developed into a *dusun*, *dusun* became a *nagari*, *nagari* became a *koto* (city) and *koto* became a *Luhak*. The area around Mount Marapi, Singgalang, Tandikat, and Sago then were separated into three *Luhaks*, which were *Luhak Tanah Datar*, the oldest *luhak* (around Batusangkar), *Luhak Agam*, the middle (around Bukittinggi), and *Luhak 50 Kota*, the youngest (around Payakumbuh). All are known as *Luhak Nan Tigo* or *Darek* (darat). See Mochtar Naim, *Merantau Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2013, 65.

<sup>5</sup>*Tabuik* atau *tabut* is the name given for Muharram month celebration. This tradition relates to its place of origin in the Muslim region of India. In its development, this tradition can be found in the territory of Indonesia as in Pariaman and Bengkulu. See R. Michael Feener, "Tabut: Muharram Observances in the History of Bengkulu," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1999, 92

<sup>6</sup>*Uang japuik* is money given by the family of the prospective bride to the prospective groom before the marriage. The higher the social status of the prospective groom, the bigger is the amount of *uang japuik* provided by the prospective bride. *Uang japuik* will return to the bride at the wedding party in different forms such as gold, clothes and other jewelry. Sometimes the amount is bigger than what have been given by the bride. While *uang hilang* is money given by the bride to the groom and the money is considered lost and will not return in any form. This usually happens if the marriage is due to cover shame or embarrassment. Interview with Irwandi Jamahir Datuak Bandaro Sati (Leader of the Clan Caniago), Kurai Taji Pariaman, Pariaman, Januari 12, 2017.

<sup>7</sup>The writers attended a party of the family of Lismawati, an officer at Ministry of Religious Affairs of Padang Pariaman Regency and got her consent for interviewing, documenting the party and the *badantam* activity which ended at 23.45pm on Saturday, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

amount of money that was given in the *badantam* activity that night was Rp.50.000 (fifty thousand rupiah) and the highest was Rp. 2.500.000,- (two million five hundred thousand rupiahs). The clothing items in the form of typical Minangkabau embroidery ranged from the price of Rp.150.000 to Rp.750.000, - per item. The smallest gold was in the form of a ring with a weight of 2 *mas* (about Rp 3.000.000) in West Sumatera and the biggest was in the form of a necklace with a weight of 12 *mas* (about Rp. 18.000.000,- (eighteen million rupiah). The *badantam* activity ended at 23.45pm and the amount of money collected that night was more than Rp. 65.000.000,- (sixty-five million rupiah) which was given directly to the mother and the father of the bride along with the ledger containing the names of people who had given money and participated in *badantam*. In addition to Nagari Batang Anai, writers also conducted a preliminary study of this *badantam* activity in Nagari Kurai Taji of Pariaman City. The *badantam* activity held here was more or less the same as that held in Nagari Katapiang of Batang Anai District of Padang Pariaman Regency.

According to explanation of *ninik mamak* (leader of the tribes) who were present during the *badantam*, the event had been carried out for generations in Pariaman and continued to present day. Therefore, people thought badly to the families who did not want to participate in the event. *Ninik mamak* in Nagari Katapiang mentioned that there were some families who did not want to participate in the event. Those families were excommunicated by the community by being excluded from social activities and the parties they held were not attended by many people. It means that the families got the punishment of *dibuang sepanjang adat* because they did not want to participate in the *badantam* tradition.<sup>8</sup> This social punishment is also received from generation to generation to their children and grand children. The recovery can only be done if they are willing and start participating in the *badantam* activity. As long as they do not want to follow the tradition, they will accept the social punishment.

#### **The concept of 'Urf as a Methodology of Islamic Law**

'Urf is one of the ways or methods formulated by *ushul fiqh* experts to establish the legal proposition of a society's customs. 'Urf is the custom of the majority of the people in judging a word or a deed. Based on that, then 'urf can be in the form of deeds or words, it can be general or special, and it may also be *sahih* or *fasid*. 'Urf in the form of deeds (*al'urf al'amaliy*) are the deeds that people do repeatedly and constantly such as buying and selling things without having to say an *ijab* and  *kabul*. This is common thing happening in any market. Another example is the determination of the minimum value of dowry that can be special such as a set of tools of *shalat* in Indonesia that may not exist in other areas. 'Urfs' in the form of words are recurring and ongoing remarks in the interaction of society and the remarks are in accordance with what they mean, such as pronouncing the word meat for other than fish and others.<sup>9</sup>

The division of 'urf above (words and deeds) can also be in the form of *sahih* and *fasid*. The 'urf *sahih* is a society custom which is not contrary to the Qur'an and Sunnah, contains goodness, and does not give harm such as the custom of serving food to people who have finished doing Eid prayer. On the contrary, 'urf *fasid* is a society custom that contradicts the Qur'an and Sunnah, contains harm and does not give goodness such as the custom of many people who do not cover their *aurat*. There is *ulama* of *ushul fiqh* who

<sup>8</sup>Interview with Mazwar Datuak Pito Sori (Leader of the Clan Piliang), Nagari Katapiang, Pariaman, Januari 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>9</sup>Wahbah al-Zuhailiy, *Ushul al-Fiqh al-Islamiy*, Volume II, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1986, 828-829.

categorizes these two kinds of *'urf* with the terms of *'urf ijabiy* and *'urf salabiy*.<sup>10</sup> According to him, *'urf sahih* is a custom of society that does not justify the things that are forbidden and does not forbid the things that are permitted such as the determination of the dowries that are done before the marriage contract and the dowries that are paid in installments. *'Urf fasid* is the customs of society that justify the things that are forbidden and forbid the things that are justified such as the custom of people consuming alcohol (*khamr*) openly, doing the activity of usury and others.

Some *ulama* of *ushul fiqh* say that *'urf* is one of the propositions of Shari'ah. This view is based on surah al-A'raf (7): 199. The above opinion is also based on the expression of Ibn Mas'ud who states that something that looks good by Muslims then it is good in the sight of God and something that is considered bad by Muslims then it is bad in the sight of God.<sup>11</sup> The verse above can be made by the *ulama* of *ushul* into a *dalil* because the pronunciation of *al-'urf* in the above verse according to the meaning is good things that are done repeatedly and continuously. In his words, Ibn Mas'ud explained that if an act was considered good by Muslims, then the act could be considered as a law that was obeyed. The *ulama* of Hanafi and Malikiy say that *'urf* is a *dalil* to establish the laws of syariah and those good customs ultimately become the law (*al-'adah al-muhakkamah*)<sup>12</sup> which is expressed in the explanation that the process of forming *'urf* occupies the place of conditions in the *akads* of its rule (*al-tsabit bi al-'urf ka al-tsabit bi an-nash*)<sup>13</sup>, means something that has been set because of the *'urf* then it is as defined according to the Qur'an and sunnah. Other *ulama* say that everything that is not specified in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, not explained in other *dalil*, nor in the expression of language is returned to *'urf*.<sup>14</sup> For example the *'urf* (community custom) determines the preserved size (*al-hirz*) of stolen property.

*'Urf* is a community custom that is done repeatedly and continuously. In the end, it becomes the law that prevails in the community. However, not all of these customs become laws that are obeyed because there must be certain conditions that must be fulfilled before.<sup>15</sup> First, the *'urf* does not contradict to the *nas* of Qur'an and Sunnah as some of the examples mentioned above. Second, the custom is general in nature. It means that the majorities of people know and understand about the custom together. If there are differences, the possibilities are small. Third, the custom has occurred in the past, is still going on today and continues to show signs of sustainability in the future.

The *ulama* of *ushul fiqh* distinguish between *'urf* and adat in discussing their positions as one of the *dalil* to determine the law of Shariah. Ali Hasabullah stated that custom is a continuous habit done by every person specifically for himself. When the custom is done by many people, then it is called *'urf*. Therefore *'urf* is the custom of some people and is more specific than custom.<sup>16</sup> Other *ulama* says that custom is an act that is done repeatedly without rational relations either in the form of personal acts like a person's habits when eating or sleeping or the actions of many people associated with the results of good and bad thoughts while *'urf* is the custom of the majority of society both in the form

<sup>10</sup>Ali Hasabullah, *Ushul al-Tasyri' al-Islamiy*, Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, 1971, 311.

<sup>11</sup>Al-Sarakhsiy, *Kitâb al-Mabsûth*, Volume XII, Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr, 1999, 138.

<sup>12</sup>Ibnu Qayyim al-Jauziyyah, *I'lam al-Muwaqî'in*, Volume II, Kairo: Dar al-'Urubah, 1998, 89

<sup>13</sup>A group of Shafi'iyah has different views with this rule. They say that it can not be a requisite. See Al-Suyuthiy, *al-Asybah wa al-Nazhair*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1989, 86

<sup>14</sup>Al-Syatibiy, *al-I'tisham*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2007, 62

<sup>15</sup>Abd al-Karim Zaidan, *al-Wajiz fi Ushul al-Fiqh*, Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 2009, 203-204

<sup>16</sup>Ali Hasabullah, *Ushul...*, 311.

of words and deeds.<sup>17</sup> There are also *ulama* who say that '*wrf*' is part of a custom because custom is more common than '*wrf*'. An '*wrf*' should apply to most people in one particular area and not to a particular person or group, and an '*wrf*' arises from a thought and experience<sup>18</sup> such as most of Indonesian Muslims make a set of *shalat* tools as dowries in marriage.

#### The Concept of *Walimat al-Ursy* in a Marriage

Marriage is one aspect stipulated by God. The *ulama* propose the meaning of marriage in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Marriage in Arabic is *an-nikāh*. According to the pronunciation, *an-nikāh* means *addhamm wa at-tadākhul* which is immersed and entered. It is usually used with the meaning of *al-wath'was* an immersed and *al-aqdasa* contract. There are *ulama* who say that the pronunciation of *an-nikāh* is *majaz* (figurative) and some say it is *haqīqah* (essential), while others say it is *musytarak* (union) between two meanings. Nevertheless, the majority of *ulama* say that the meaning of the pronunciation of *an-nikāh* is *al-aqd* because it is what is meant in the verse of the Qur'an.<sup>19</sup> Marriage according to the term is expressed by some *ulamas*. For example, *ulama* of Syafi'iyah said that the marriage is *anakad* that contain the ability to have fun with women such as touching, kissing, and having sexual intercourse.<sup>20</sup> Abu Zahrah said that marriage was an *akad* that permitted *istimta'* (having fun/romance) between husband and wife in accordance with the form of Shariah. Some also say that a marriage is basically an *akad* that justifies sexual relations between a man and a woman.<sup>21</sup> There are also found some other definitions that have the same meaning even though they are expressed in different words. This is understandable because one of the main purposes of a marriage is to have fun and pleasure between a man and a woman in the form of a lawful sexual relationship.

A marriage is usually followed by a notice to the public through *walimah al-ursy* (wedding party). In the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, it was found that *walimat al-ursy* was held even with a simple party with the recitation of the hadith *aulim walau bi syātin*.<sup>22</sup> The marriage ceremony in a Muslim community cannot be separated from the accompanying tradition. In principle, if a marriage has fulfilled the requirements and pillars determined by the religious doctrine then the marriage is legal. However, the marriage does not automatically meet the values of tradition that developed in the community. Sometimes in certain areas, the fulfillment of traditions is more important than the terms and pillars determined by the religion. For example, the people of Untia village of Biringkanaya sub district consider that *uang panaik* is a sum of money that must be given by the prospective husband to the family of the future wife. *Uang panaik* is used as the cost in the wedding party. The purpose of awarding the money is to honor or respect the woman he wishes to marry by providing a feast for the marriage. The position of *uang panaik* in the marriage of the people of Untia village is as one of the pre-requirements, because without *uang panaik*, there is no marriage. The amount of *uang panaik* is very much determined by the position or social status in society, such as educational level, family economy, physical perfection, virgin and widow, position, occupation and heredity. If the

<sup>17</sup>Wahbah al-Zuhailiy, *Ushūl...*, Volume II, 828-829.

<sup>18</sup>Abdul Aziz Dahlan (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Hukum Islam*, Volume VI, Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 1997, 1877

<sup>19</sup>Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Kahlaniy al-Shan'aniy, *Subul al-Salām*, Volume III, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1992, 109.

<sup>20</sup>Ibnu Qudamah, *al-Mughniy*, Volume VI, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2011, 445

<sup>21</sup>Abu Zahrah, *al-Ahwāl al-Syahshiyah*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2009, 18

<sup>22</sup>Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Kahlaniy al-Shan'aniy, *Subul...*, 116-117

woman to be married is rich, then the amount of money given to the bride by the groom is also in abig amount. The awarding of *uang panaik* in the marriage of Bugis Makassar people in this region is not regulated in Islamic law. Islamic law only requires the prospective groom to give the prospective bride a dowry and it is also suggested to the woman not to ask for an excessive dowry.<sup>23</sup> The facts about the acculturation of adat and Islamic law in Indonesia are in accordance with what Ali has stated that the local Muslims differed in their interpretation and application of Islam. Practical Islam', rather than 'normative Islam', and on the framework of both accommodation and conflict between shari'a and custom (*adat*) as a whole system, rather than as separate entities, it provides a greater variety of Islamic beliefs and experiences.<sup>24</sup>

### Results and Discussions

#### Pariaman: *Iku Darek Kapalo Rantau*

In the past, Pariaman was an area that had been quite well known by foreign traders since 1500 AD. In Minangkabau custom, Pariaman is known for the term of *ikua darek kapalo rantau*. It means that, from the perspective of *rantau*, Pariaman is the reference of other Minangkabau *rantau* and from the point of view of *darek (luhak)*, Pariaman is the early region of the spread of Islam in Minangkabau. Geographically, the area of Pariaman is located at 00 11° - 00 49° of South Latitude and 98 36° - 100 28° of East Longitude with a height of 0-1000 meters from above sea level.<sup>25</sup> The oldest record of Pariaman was written by Tomec Pires (1446-1524), a Portuguese sailor working for the Portuguese Monarchy in Asia. He noted that there had been trading traffic between India-Pariaman and Tiku-Barus.<sup>26</sup> As an area located on the edge of the coast, Pariaman became a destination for foreign trade and a seizure of foreign countries that did cruise ships several centuries ago. The other side of Pariaman's history is its role in the spread of Islam in Minangkabau. As the center of the spread of Islam, Pariaman had famous *ulama* (Islamic experts) such as Sheikh Burhanuddin whose one of his teachers was Khatib Sangko buried in Angso Duo Island in a tomb known as the Long Tomb.<sup>27</sup> He was the founder of the first Islamic college in the west coast of Sumatra. By his followers, the teachings of Islam were spread rapidly throughout Minangkabau and neighboring regions. Even long before the independence of Indonesia was proclaimed, the implementation of Islamic nuanced education had grown in this region. In the end, Pariaman was known as a place to deepen the science of religion for most youth in the region of Sumatra.<sup>28</sup>

#### Marriage Tradition in Pariaman

Pariaman is one of the regencies in West Sumatera Province. The society of Pariaman has a marriage tradition which is different from existing marriage traditions in other

<sup>23</sup>Moh. Iqbal, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Tentang Uang Panaik (Uang Belanja) Dalam Perkawinan Adat Suku Bugis Makassar Kelurahan Untia Kecamatan Biringkanaya Kota Makassar," *Thesis*, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Ali, "Muslim diversity: Islam and local tradition in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2011.

<sup>25</sup>*Pariaman Dalam Angka 2016*.

<sup>26</sup>Sutan M. Taufiq (red.), *Direktori Minangkabau*, Batusangkar: Badan Pekerja Pucuk Adat Alam Minangkabau (BP-PAAM) Istanano Silinduang Bulan Pagaryuang-Batusangkar dan Lembaga Kerapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau (LKAAM) Provinsi Sumatera Barat, 2012, 1061.

<sup>27</sup>Yudhi Andhoni, "Kesalahan Nan Terlampau: Desakralisasi Ritus Hoyak Hosen di Pariaman Sumatera Barat," *Jurnal Al-Qurba*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2010, 116.

<sup>28</sup> Sutan M. Taufiq (red.), *Direktori...*, 1062

Minangkabau regions. The substance and the uniqueness of traditions in Minangkabau generally and Pariaman in particular have been revealed in many studies. Hadler pointed out in his research on the history of the change of the meaning of kinship, gender, family relationships, and *rumah gadang* among the people of Minangkabau as the world's largest Muslim matrilineal community. He emphasized the study on the meaning of kinship level and the unification effort between Islam and women's power in arranging tribe in *rumah gadang*. He found out that the kinship and gender relations in *rumah gadang* had been attacked and deformed during the Dutch colonial period.<sup>29</sup>

Blackwood discusses the politically constructed culture and social identity in Minangkabau West Sumatra. He stated that Minangkabau was the largest matrilineal tribe in the world. The political identity of Minangkabau people is determined by the matrilineal kinship and it has deep meaning among Minangkabau community through various practices, social activities, movements, deliberations, customs, religions and renewals into the structure of their life and beliefs.<sup>30</sup> Rais spoke of the Minangkabau traditional people's response to the movement of reformers in the early of twentieth century. He stated that the movement of reformers in Minangkabau was seen as endangering the existence of existing and emerging *mazhabfiqh* in Minangkabau. This youth movement could be a threat to undermine the ideas of the old people in maintaining the balance and the harmony of customs and Islam as two basic foundations of Minangkabau community.<sup>31</sup> Parker expressed his research results about the struggle of sexuality and feminism among school students in Minangkabau West Sumatra. Schools in West Sumatra teach students about power, normative understanding of Minangkabau women, and imperative carefulness in posture. Schools in West Sumatra are quite good at delivering religious messages and gender identity messages, and imposing social sanctions for offenders. Therefore, Minangkabau girls have high appreciation both from the viewpoint of religion and custom about their body and sexuality amid the influence of globalization.<sup>32</sup>

The more specific researches on customs and traditions in Pariaman have also been done by former researchers. Maihasni in her study proposes about the *bajapuik* tradition in the marriage of Pariaman society. She explains about the basic values in the *bajapuik* traditions such as helping each other, and the form of exchanging in the tradition that the money given will be replaced by various jewelry that will belong to the bride which value is sometimes higher. Some also mention about the actors involved in the traditions such as *nitik mamak* and *sumando* as well as the reasons why society still holds that tradition up to now.<sup>33</sup> Yunita in her study explains about *uang japuik* in Pariaman people who live in Bandar Lampung. The result of her study shows that of the total respondents, 8% had a negative perception about *uang japuik* and 92% other had a positive perception.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, Murcitra proposes his study on *badantam* and *badoncek* traditions in the

<sup>29</sup>Jeffrey Alan Hadler, *Places Like Home, "Matriliney and the History of Family in Minangkabau," Dissertation, USA: Cornell University, 2000.*

<sup>30</sup>Evelyn Blackwood, "The Politics of Daily Life: Gender Kinship and Identity in a Minangkabau Village West Sumatera," *Dissertation, USA: Stanford University, 1993.*

<sup>31</sup>Zaim Rais, "The Minangkabau Traditional Response to the Modernist Movement," *Thesis, Canada: McGill University, 1994.*

<sup>32</sup>Lyn Parker, "Religion, Class and Schooled Sexuality among Minangkabau Teenagers Girls," *Journal Koninklijke Brill, Netherland, 2009, Vol. 165, Issue 1, 62*

<sup>33</sup>Maihasni, "Eksistensi Tradisi Bajapuik dalam Perkawinan Masyarakat Pariaman Minangkabau Sumatera Barat," *Disertasi, Sekolah Pascasarjana IPB, 2010.*

<sup>34</sup>Rivianty Yunita, dkk., "Uang Japuik dalam Adat Perkawinan Padang Pariaman di Bandar Lampung," *Laporan Penelitian, Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Lampung Bandar Lampung, 2012, 3.*

development of underdeveloped areas. He argues that participation in the development of underdeveloped areas conducted by the community of immigrants of Korong Rukam Pauh Manih is done through the tradition of *badantam* and *badoncek*. These traditions aim at raising funds in regional development. The immigrant community (*perantau*) will be involved and participate starting from the process of decision-making, implementing, utilizing the results and evaluating. The tradition of *badantam* dan *badoncek* is very effective for immigrant society to be able to participate directly to the hometown. The process of participation through *badantam* and *badoncek* traditions will be guided by a committee that will provoke the people who come so that they will give the money needed.<sup>35</sup> This method is quite effective for Pariaman people to collect as much money/other things as possible in no time. Each nominal donated can influence others to contribute with the same amount of money or even more.

#### **The Meaning of *Badantam* in Pariaman Society**

*Badantam* or by another name *barantam/badoncek*<sup>36</sup> is performed at night after the wedding party held during the day. Usually in other Muslim regions in Indonesia, the collection of money for the wedding is done before the party is held. In Bugis tradition, a prospective groom (not a family of the prospective bride) has to provide a gift to his prospective bride with an amount agreed upon by both parties. The gift among others *doi' balanca* which is an amount of money for the cost of the wedding party.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, the tradition of *pasrahan tukon* is implemented in Pekalongan City. The family of the groom "buys" the prospective bride by giving *pasrahan tukon*. The *pasrahan tukon* is given in the form of cattle and aid money for the wedding party as well as basic ingredients and cooking spices.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the Pariaman community, *uang japuik* money is handed by the prospective wife to the prospective husband before the wedding party, while the cost of the wedding party is handled by the family of the bride which is usually collected through *badantam* activity.

The *badantam* activity is performed at night after the wedding party held during the day. The activity is started after *Isya* prayer around 21.00pm and ended around midnight. Usually, the family of the bride forms the team responsible for the *badantam* activity. The team consists of one person who leads the event, one person who collects and keeps the money/materials given by the participants, one person who is in charge of recording the name and the amount/form/value given by the participants and at least two people who count the end result of the *badantam* activity. The *badantam* activity is done in the bride's house. In the middle of the room is placed a big container to put money or other gifts collected in. Leader of the tribe, *mamak* of the house, *kapalo mudo*, *ulama* (*labai* and *tuangku*), *cadiak pandai* (people in government institutions) and youth representatives sitting around the room and followed by invited guests. After the invited guests are quite crowded,

<sup>35</sup>Bambang Gonggo Murcitra, "Partisipasi Masyarakat Perantau dalam Tradisi Badantam dan Badoncek dalam Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal," Tesis, Fakultas Sosial dan Ilmu Politik UNIB, 2013.

<sup>36</sup>In general, from a number of tribal chiefs and *bundo kanduang* interviewed in Pariaman explained that there is a difference between the term *badantam* and *badoncek*. The word *badoncek* used Pariaman community to provoke people in the mosque / mushalla so that they donate money or other valuable objects to build the main public facilities such as mosques, mushalla, Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an and others, while the term *badantam* usually only used to collect money /other valuables in the bride's house at night after a wedding party in the afternoon.

<sup>37</sup>Ahmad Pattiroy dan Idrus Salam, "Tradisi Doi' Menre' dalam Pernikahan Adat Bugis di Jambi." *Al-Ahwal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2008, 90.

<sup>38</sup>Moch. Lukluil Maknun, "Adat Perkawinan di Kota Pekalongan," *Jurnal Penelitian*, Vol. 10, No. 2, November 2013, 300-301.

the event of *badantam* begins with a meal together. After that, the leader of *badantam* starts the event by calling the names of family members of the closest kinship line to give his/her contribution. The list of the names is obtained from the list of families whose *badantam activities* have been attended by the bride's family. The *badantam* activity becomes a challenge for the invited family because the amount/value given should not be less than that given by the inviting family. If the amount of the gift is less than the amount obtained before, then it can damage the relation of kinship. In this case, the *ninik mamak* (leader of the clan) of the tribe have an important role in reminding the members of their tribe to give the same amount or more than what they have received.<sup>39</sup> From the results of observations on some *badantam* activities, it was found out that the money/objects collected was in the large amount, and some was even more than a hundred million rupiah in a period of approximately 3 (three) hours.

#### **The Objective of *Badantam* among Pariaman Community**

Based on the explanation of the bride's family and the elements of custom, it was found out that there were some purposes of *badantam* activity at night after the party. The first is to collect the cost of the wedding party as much as possible. At the end of *badantam* activity, the organizer calculates the amount collected and asks the total cost of the party. If the result of *badantam* is more than the cost of the party then the bride's family is called having gained profits from the party such as profits earned in buying and selling.<sup>40</sup> The second is to pay off the debt of the wedding party.<sup>41</sup> Sometimes, the family of the bride is not always ready for the cost of the party which is not cheap. They do not hesitate to borrow money from people/other parties with an intention that it will be paid off after the *badantam* activity. They believe that the money they have spent in the *badantam* activity of other families' wedding party will come back in the same amount or even more. Third, to collect data and to make sure that the family member whose *badantam* activity they have attended are present.<sup>42</sup> This is easy to do because every family who has held *badantam* activity has a ledger which contains the data of participants and contributors who were present in the event. In the book is also written the types of objects including gold jewelry and the amount of money given. The fourth is to keep and maintain the family's pride in the community. The festivity and the splendour of a marriage feast in Pariaman community depend on the strength of kinship (*saparauik*)<sup>43</sup> among them. Although physically the family's economic condition is comparatively modest but the marriage of their children or members of their families are more or less equal to those who are richer. This happens because of the closeness of family relationships that support the party financially through *badantam* activities. The purpose is to ensure the maintenance of the family's pride in the community.

<sup>39</sup>Interview with Syamsudin Datuak Rajo Diaro (Leader of the Clan Guci), Pariaman, July 23, 2017.

<sup>40</sup>Interview with Sumna (Mother of the Bride), Pariaman, July 23, 2017.

<sup>41</sup>Interview with Nurdina and Ahmad Jalil (Mother and Father of the Bride), Pariaman, August 19, 2017.

<sup>42</sup>Interview with Fatimah (*Bundo Kandung* as a Nobel Woman of the Clan), Pariaman, July 22, 2017.

<sup>43</sup>*Panik* (perut) in Minangkabau is a legal alliance. In the Indonesian language can be likened to the family. Only the family here should be interpreted as a big family that is counted from the maternal lineage, while the husbands of the *panik* members are not included in it. A *panik* consists of mother, mother's brother, mother's sisters, sons of the grandmother's sisters, daughters of the female grandmother, sons of mothers, daughters of mothers, sons of mother's sisters, daughters of mother's sisters, female grandmothers, brothers of the female grandmother, sister of the female grandmother and so on up to five generations (*kalimo kali turun*). See Chairul Anwar, *Hukum...*, 9-10.

### The Role of Custom Element in *Badantam* Activities

*Badantam* is an event to gather money for the cost of a wedding party in the name of *adat*. Therefore, this activity can not be conducted before the *adat* elements and others are not yet complete in the room where *badantam* held. The first element is *kapalo suku* who is the *ninik mamak* of chief of the tribe of the family who is having the party. The second is the *mamak rumah* who is one of the *ninik mamak* of respected chief of the tribe (despite his young age) in the *kaum* (tribes) that is having the party. The third is *kapalo mudo* who is one of the *mamak rumah* who leads tribes (*kaum-kaum*) in the *nagari* where the wedding held. The fourth is *ulama* who are the *labai* and *tuangku*. The two positions are usually in charge of managing mosques and mushalla as well as being a place where people can ask questions which relate to religious affairs. The fifth is *cadiak pandai* who works in government agencies and sixth is youth representative in the *nagari*. The six elements of custom and *nagari* must be present before the *badantam* activity started. The team will not start the event before they make sure that all elements are present in the room. Therefore, it can be seen that these six elements play significant role in the implementation of *badantam* activities. First, these six elements of custom and *nagari* become the symbol of the legitimacy of money funding in *badantam* activity because there will be no *badantam* activity without their present whose names and positions are shouted one by one before the activity begins. Second, the six elements act as an institution that resolves conflicts that might occur in the family during the process of the wedding because in the family of *saparuik* which has many members conflicts are likely to occur among them. Therefore, the six elements act as *kusuik yang manyalasaan* (problem solver).<sup>44</sup> Third, they are the one who have the final words (decision maker) in the whole activity of *badantam*. Fourth, especially for the *ulamas*, they are the one who have responsibility to read the prayer (*do'a*). Usually, a *badantam* activity is accompanied by other smaller events such as *'aqiqah*, *khitan* and *khatam al-Qur'an*. *Ulamas* have a role to legitimize and lead the execution of interlude activities in the *badantam* as well as close the event by leading the prayer together.

### Sanctions for Reluctance to Participate in *Badantam* Tradition

At least there are two types of *badantam* in Pariaman. The social sanction (custom) for those who are reluctant to participate is in accordance with the type. The first type is the *badantam* activity which is attended by the family of *saparuik*, other close families and surrounding communities. The second type is the *badantam* of immigrant family who come back to the hometown just to carry out the wedding party. On the first type, the *badantam* activity usually runs lively and very festive until midnight. During observation in July-August 2017, it was found out that there were some *badantam* activities in Pariaman that ran until 01.00am in the early morning and managed to collect money, gold and other objects worth more than 100 (hundred) million rupiah which were handed over to the parents of the bride. If there is any member of the *saparuik* family is reluctant or does not attend these *badantam* activities, then they usually receive social punishment from *ninik mamak* and his/her family. Especially if the partying family have/had attended *badantam* activities at the home of the reluctant person. The social sanction can be in the form of being neglected by society to his/her customary rights.<sup>45</sup> It means that the/she is not included in customary activities, and they are isolated in social relations.

<sup>44</sup>Interview with Bukari Datuak Malelo Pandak (Leader of the clan Jambak), Pariaman, July 24, 2017.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with Tarasman Datuak Majolelo (Leader of the clan Sikumbang), Pariaman, July 22, 2017.

The second type is *perantau* (immigrants) who rarely/never attend *badantam* activities in their family environment but they decide to hold the wedding party in their hometown. If they hold a *badantam* activity in the evening, it will not be as merry and festive as the usual *badantam* because they “violate” the basic principal of *badantam* which is the custom to give and to receive. They do not/seldom give so that they do not/barely receive. This condition becomes a social punishment for them. People attend this type of *badantam* activity just to fulfill the invitations and they do not attend the full activities of *badantam* because they believe that what they give may not come back.<sup>46</sup> After conducting the *badantam* activity, the urbans will return home and leave the hometown. This situation is clearly visible compared to regular *badantam* activities presence.

#### **The Elements of 'Urf in *Badantam* Tradition**

Basically, the term of *badantam* is not found in Islamic law. Therefore, something that there is no argument/legal basis in Islamic law, then the dominance of the values of goodness becomes one consideration in the establishment of the law. The tradition of *badantam* has existed for a long time and *ninik mamak* of tribal chief said that they did not know when the tradition had started because they only found and passed on what had been exist and what they had received for generations. In the concept of '*urf*', hereditary and ongoing habits can be one of the reasons for establishing the law that states that the act is allowed to continue. In addition, the general public obey it even if there are some (very small number) who do not obey the tradition for some reason. For example, conflicts that occur between members of the *saparuk* family, immigrants, and the reluctanceto participate because it is considered burdensome.

In general, the implementation of this *badantam* activity is not contrary to the principles of Islamic Shari'ah even though this is not clearly regulated in the Qur'an and Sunnah. The implementation of *badantam* activities has good values such as establishing and strengthening the relationship between members of tribe relatives (mother, brother, nephew). Establishing the kinship (*silaturrahim*) is an obligation in Islam and the people who break the relation of kinship (*silaturrahim*) are seen blemish and can influence their transcendent values to God. In addition, this *badantam* activity affirms the values of mutual cooperation in Minangkabau society. Even though this activity is seen burdensome for some people and raises the attitude of *riya* (people who wants to be praised) but the value of goodness shown is bigger and give many benefits for society.

#### **Conclusion**

Basically, every tradition that people do has positive and negative values for them like the *badantam* tradition in Pariaman. There were a few people who complained about this *badantam* tradition. They complained that the tradition created considerable pressure in society. This pressure could come from the family who organized the party organizers and could also come from the person invited to the party. The pressure on the family who organized the party came from the debt for the party cost that needed to be paid after the *badantam*, while the activity had not guarantee to make a lot of money to cover for the debt. The pressure on the person invited lied in the burden of the amount of money/items that must be given on the *badantam* activity, since the amount of money they give should not be less than what they once received.

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with Syamsir Datuak Rajo Amik (Leader of the clan Panyalai), Pariaman, July 24, 2017.

On the other hand, this tradition is full of positive values such as helping each other of the members of a big family (*sapanuik*) in handling the cost needed for the party. People do not hesitate to organize weddings as festive as possible that need great financial support because they believe they can cover it with the money from *badantam*. The form of cooperation in the community of Pariaman can be seen in this tradition because this type of money for party cost collecting creates a great motivation among the family members. They are provoked and feel embarrassed if they donate in the small amount.. Therefore, they try to donate money as much as possible in order to show their sincerity to help their family member. The *badantam* activity can strengthen the relationship of kinship (*silaturrahim*) among members of the *sapanuik* family even though they are domiciled in the different city. They participate in donating money in *badantam* activity even though they are far from their hometown. The main thing that the *badantam* tradition is the preservation of Minangkabau custom values which are often discussed by researchers as a custom which has faded in the middle of society.

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