

# The Role of Local Wisdom on the Tradition of the Prohibition of *Kebo Balik Kandang* Marriage as an Effort of Family Resilience in Bendo Village, Ponggok Sub-District, Blitar (Javanese Spiritually Perspective, Customary Law)

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### ABSTRACT

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*Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage is said to be a mythical procession in the community where the bride is prohibited from marrying a man who lives in the same region as her biological father. This means that even though the bride comes from a village outside the region, if there is a track record of the bride's village-born origin categorized as a *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage type design, mythically it has a significant influence on the pattern of her family's resilience. Family resilience means managing physical and non-physical resources and facing problems with the aim of achieving a quality family as a foundation in maintaining national resilience. Research in Bendo Village aims to examine the community's views on *kebo balik kandang* marriages and how they maintain household resilience. The results show that the perpetrators of *kebo balik kandang* marriages face many challenges in their marriage journey. However, there is one family who managed to live a good marriage through mutual submission, love, care, good communication, and pleasant interaction. According to Islamic studies, their marriage is in accordance with sharia and there are no prohibited blood ties.

**Keywords:** *Balik Kandang, Islamic Family Law, Family Resilience*

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## INTRODUCTION

Marriage is said to be a process of life goals for every human being who has entered the age of puberty, which is based on both physical and psychological readiness based on a responsible attitude in an effort to create a happy home life. Based on the fact that humans, whoever and wherever, have the prerequisite qualifications at the level of marriage, will be encouraged to get married as an effort to develop human life as a caliph in the world. This marriage phase is said to be the culmination point of humans in an effort to maintain their survival in the world (*Syahrudin, S., et al., 2021*).

Furthermore, God, Allah SWT, is clearly stated in the Qur'an, the creation of creatures, as well as humans in a paired form, male and female, or in animal design in terms of males and females. The distinction of humans from other creatures is the emergence of humans as caliphs, acting as representatives in the world in an effort to uphold His sharia. Referring to this statement, it is clear that the value of humans who are ethical, cultured, civilized in norms as the value of their dignity. Differences, as well as the existence of these differentiating values, then God Almighty gives blessings in order to be able to worship, where created and created not only to eat and drink, sleep soundly, work or enjoy the environment where he is, but complete the world to worship Allah SWT. Through marriage, this marriage, one of the sharia to get pleasure according to Islamic teachings (*Imban, A., 2022*).

Marriage/marriage as a process of seriousness of the couple, man and woman in establishing a bond. The correlation of seriousness that will be established in this marriage bond is a form of feeling value between two humans of different sexes, male and female, as a form of worship to Allah SWT. In practice, every region in Indonesia, in many tribes and cultures, provides a unique nuance of phenomena with all the customary wisdom of marriage culture. Whether the values that emerge as myths, prohibitions, or even customary decrees, clash with the Sharia according to Islam, or are even in harmony with the Sharia, becomes the turning point of the study. It is phenomenal that every region from Sabang to Merauke has unique customs that differ in the rules set for marriage.

Each region in the marriage of its community members will issue its customary rules. Whether or not members of the community agree with these rules, a fact, the phenomenon is able to have a strong influence on the lives of the perpetrators. Marriage as a pattern of development of cultural customs, as an effort to give birth to offspring who are full of pleasure, which can encourage the nature of harmony *sakinah mawaddah wa rohmah*. This means that a new family is created as a result of marriage based on the ecosystem of a family environment

full of peace and comfort, love and affection, mutual attention, based on Islamic law. The ethical customs of marriage will develop in line with the development of knowledge and the ability of community members to build a culture and beliefs that are firmly held. Beliefs as well as the firmness of customs will lead to a line called customary law. An unwritten rule, as a whole - a set of customary norms, hereditary, as a moral code, as a custom, as conventions that give legal consequences in society. The fact that this customary law is obeyed in the community without coercion, implemented willingly (*Febriansyah, F. I., & Sanusi, A., 2020*).

The normative law as the basis of customary law that carries these cultural characteristics is realized in the lives of people in Indonesia in different rules. These differences are possible as a complex pattern of life in the community that is encompassed by their religious basis. This means that the published rules have a strong influence on the elements of community members, especially in matters of marriage. The design of myths, as an implication of past history, as patterns of events that have occurred in previous times, is the basis for the issuance of myths, as well as the issuance of customary law. Marriage as the basis of the value of *khalifah*, to obtain offspring, obtain peace of life, while maintaining the value of offspring becomes polemic if there are provisions prohibiting customary law.

Customary law as part of thousands of local wisdoms provides values in social life that are able to issue sources of law (written and unwritten). Article 1(30) of Law/32/2009 states that this local cultural wisdom is declared as a noble value that has prevailed in the life of the Indonesian people that must be protected and at the same time must be managed for its preservation. Especially in Javanese society, obedience to customary law is a strong standard in life, especially marriage. Cultural traditions that are still upheld as legal behavior that will still be obeyed and carried out as a marriage ritualism. One such tradition is the term marriage in the “*Kebo Balik Kandang*” ecosystem.

*KEBO BALIK KANDANG* as the meaning of the tradition of prohibition in Javanese society, where the prohibitions of marriage occur, if the father or mother of the groom resides outside the area of origin of the father, then marries a woman from the area of origin of the father or mother of the male partner. This *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* prohibition remains a customary law observance in the study area of Bendo Subdistrict, Ponggok District, Blitar Regency, East Java. This means that in the case of a marriage in the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* model, where a couple of sumis candidates are born in the same village, then one of them moves or leaves their previous birthplace, then it is detected that the other candidate is from the couple’s birth village, then this *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* prohibition is issued. This means

that if the candidates are in this situation, the continuation of the marriage is a violation of tradition. Whether each couple knows it or not, the violation of tradition becomes a polemic. The polemic is characterized by the presence of obstacles before marriage, during marriage, or after marriage, one of which is death (*Widyasari, E., 2022*).

The good intention of avoiding or being cautious in kebo balik kandang marriages for family resilience, is to maintain the continuity of the marriage itself. In the medical world, it has been mentioned that marrying cousins can pose a risk due to the same genetic structure (*Lestari, R. D., 2022*). Such as birth defects, immune system disorders, stillbirth, and mental disorders. The Qur'an Surah An Nisa 23 whose general meaning is forbidden to marry your mother, your daughter, who is a woman, a woman's sister, then a woman's brother, a woman's mother's brother, a daughter who comes from a brother and so on, that indeed Allah SWT, is Forgiving and Merciful.

Mentioned in the Qur'an Surah there are 12 groups of women who are forbidden to marry, namely, are (1) Your mothers, meaning biological mothers, stepmothers, grandmothers from the mother's line and from the father's line; (2) Your daughters, namely a father cannot marry his own biological daughter, because his biological daughter is his own biological blood; (3) Sisters, are brothers and sisters of the father's / mother's descendants; (4) Sisters of the father or aunt, grandmother or aunt (5) Mother's sister; (6) your brother's daughter/woman. This means a niece; and (7) your brother's daughter/daughter, and (8) your mother who breastfed you, meaning another mother who breastfed us as children because she is a *mahram*. Then (1) Siblings by descent, meaning a woman who is not her flesh and blood, or a sibling but is a relative of the mother who breastfed her as a child; (2) Children of your wife, meaning stepchildren, the explanation is, if a man marries someone, one of the widows and has already been intimate, it is forbidden to marry her daughter, but if he has not had time to intimate but divorced, it is permissible to marry his daughter; and (3) Son-in-law, it is forbidden for a man to marry his daughter-in-law (*Zahara, D., 2023*).

In line with what is mentioned in the Qur'an, the Compilation of Islamic Law also mentions the prohibitions of marriage. The prohibition is found in Chapter VI Articles 39-44. If explained further, the prohibition is due to nasab, the woman who lowered it (mother), or whose descendants (children), children of father / mother (siblings), women in the position of aunt. It means the existence of interrelationships, the existence of a woman who has given birth to a wife/former wife, where the woman is the ex-wife of the father/father and or stepmother). Women/girls of the descendants of the ex-wife, (stepchildren), women of the ex-

wife's descendants (daughters-in-law) (Abror, H. K., & MH, K., 2020). This means that all of these prohibitions refer to the existence of alliances of consanguinity, breastfeeding women or descendants in a straight line upwards, with women who are brothers and sisters in a straight line downwards, with women or women who are brothers and sisters and / or nieces and nephews downwards, with women / women who are mothers-in-law and / or grandmothers-in-law and above, with children who are breastfed by his wife and / or their descendants.

It is forbidden for a man to marry a woman who is still married to another man, whatever that may be, and for a man to marry a woman who is in the *iddah* phase with another man. And of course in Islamic law, a man is prohibited from marrying a woman who is not Muslim. The resilience of a family is a challenge that is not only accounted for horizontally, but also vertically, namely God Almighty. The pleasure of a marriage in an effort to please the descendants as caliphs who are able to provide goodness in the world (Ja'far, H. K., 2021). Ja'far emphasized that these prohibitions are the law of sharia in marriage between men and women as a sharia to worship Allah SWT. Marriage will be legitimate if it is carried out in accordance with religious laws, beliefs, which are based on the marriage laws that have been established by the state.

This review of the prohibition of *Kebo Balik Kandang* was published in research in Bendo Subdistrict, Ponggok District, Blitar Regency. One of the customary laws that is still a role model for local wisdom traditions is still used as a measure of the continuity of someone who marries in the character position of *Kebo Balik Kandang*. A myth among many myths, in which a prohibition of marriage between a person and someone from the same village is published, which really does not exist in Islam. The customary law prohibiting the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* marriage model casts a psychological shadow over community members who still uphold the customary law. The formulation of unwritten law, which is outside of normative laws, but has become a hereditary culture, becomes a habit that is applied continuously. This means that this culture remains, is sustainable, and the community maintains it well.

Based on the results of observations and interviews with several people, either those who are actually laymen, or even those who understand the customary law, mentioned that those who perform the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* marriage ritual will get obstacles. They mentioned several examples of such marriages, such as the inadmissibility of a woman whose origin is from Sidorejo village, and the inadmissibility of marrying a man whose origin is from Bendo village, where historically, the woman who has lived outside Bendo village has a father

whose origin was born in Bendo village.

The practices of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* that have been cultivated in Bendo village are said to be the customary law of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* in the area of Bendo village, Blitar Regency, where a girl/woman from Bendo village is prohibited from marrying a man who actually also lives in another village, but in fact, both parents were born in Bendo village. The same is true for the men. A local wisdom tradition that is able to provide a breakthrough in the household life of Bendo village community members in the point of harmony. A tradition that has been maintained for generations, and has always been the benchmark for disharmony in maintaining the resilience of families that stand within the scope of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* marriage. The pattern of reasoning and thinking of community members will emerge as a *simalakama* (equally difficult conditions) if a family that is right to enter into a marriage such as *Kebo Balik Kandang* is violated, without having to follow the prerequisites for eliminating bad luck, or requirement to ward off bad luck

The bad luck and the technique of rejecting the bad luck in the *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage have become a discussion of pros and cons, as well as myths if someone violates the marriage ban. myths, accidents occur, life is difficult, the economy is dragging, frequent quarrels occur, do not immediately have a baby, even into a situation of catastrophic death in one of the family parties becomes a specter that is inherent in the hearts of people who strongly believe in it. Tradition, at the same time, publishes many examples, believe it or not, in Islam, marriage will certainly have disagreements, as human nature. The principles of marriage in an effort to form a happy family in the hereafter, a human character that is ethical, religious, and cultured are fundamental indicators that determine the resilience of a family. However, it is a fact that mythical products as a local culture cannot be separated from past history. A process that is actually worth considering as a research discourse on the sanctity of lineage, which is no longer taken into account. The indicators which Islamically become considerations of the marriage laws, in addition to the laws of the contract, the fulfillment of all the pillars.

The phenomenon of the implications of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* marriage as part of the myth of local wisdom culture in any form is a culture that must be preserved as part of customary law culture. The community members of Bendo Village, Ponggok Subdistrict, Blitar Regency continue to uphold this customary law, and it remains an unwritten law to be considered and used as guidelines with all to ward off the bad luck it carries out. It is factual that Islam in practice does not prohibit marriage in ethnic-cultural, customary-cultural, and even racial-cultural differences. However, the traditions that exist in the ecosystem of the life

of the Indonesian ethnic community are not part of the problem to worry about as long as the indicators of cultural ethical practices remain in line with the rules of Islamic law. Marriage, whatever its form, aims to fulfill the instinctive demands of humanity as a fortress of *akhlakul karimah* in an effort to increase worship to God Almighty (Akbar, A., et al., 2024).

## RESEARCH METHOD

Field research, the study of “*Kebo Balik Kandang*”, refers more to qualitative research design. This means that a maximum effort is made to study the emergence of phenomena in the field, then describe them through the stages of in-depth analysis of the study findings (Juliansyah Noor, 2013). Research that functions as a key instrument becomes the main determinant to determine the processes and meanings found. The concepts, theories become the basis that will be best utilized as a guide in an effort to focus more on the point of finding facts in the field as a step to find and collect data according to research objectives (Hadi, S., & Chairyadi, E., 2022). Comprehensive in-depth observations became the survey point for the behavioral phenomena of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* marriage subjects in Bendo Village, finding descriptive data in the form of written/spoken language and real behaviors that can be observed. Research results in the form of values, rules with qualities that are able to answer research objectives (Bado, B., 2022).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *A. The Reality of Community Views on the Kebo Balik Kandang Marriage Ban Tradition in Bendo Village, Ponggok District, Blitar Regency.*

Humans as social creatures, whoever they are, as humans, will not be able to be alone. It is human nature that humans are created in pairs, just like heaven-earth, day-night, and man-woman. The importance of marriage makes each region have its own traditions that become part of the culture, where marriage is also a place to affirm one’s cultural identity. Marriage is a sacred event in life, and every tribe or region has its own traditions. These traditions are part of the culture, showing the values of the community. The tradition of marriage shows the basic purpose of humans in fulfilling their needs. In Islam, marriage aims to build a happy and prosperous family. This goal includes establishing a harmonious family, with family members exercising their rights and obligations in a balanced manner. A prosperous family means the creation of inner and outer peace, resulting in happiness and love among its members.

Each nation or community has its own distinct culture and customary law, reflecting

their unique identity. This culture distinguishes the Indonesian nation from other nations, with customary law characterizing the Indonesian nation. Despite being in a modern era with advanced technology and perfected Islamic law, Javanese people still hold tightly to their ancestral traditions. The indigenous Javanese believe that Javanese culture and customs are important to their lives, even though they recognize Islam. Customs inherited from Hindu-Buddhist teachings and animist-dynamic beliefs are still maintained and believed by them. One interesting tradition is the “*Kebo Balik Kandang*” marriage ban in Bendo Village, Ponggok Subdistrict, Blitar Regency. This tradition prohibits marriage if the father and mother of the groom reside outside the father's area of origin, while the bride comes from the village of origin of the groom's father. The local community believes that breaking this custom will bring disasters such as the death of the husband or wife, parents, or economic and health difficulties in the household. The study of the “*Kebo Balik Kandang*” marriage prohibition tradition in Bendo Village aims to reveal the truth behind the myths. This study involves the opinions and views of traditional leaders, village officials, and Islamic leaders to gain a deeper understanding of this tradition. Some of the community's views are obtained based on the source, where the source profile is one of the people who are considered as “Elders of Bendo Village”, in the dialog, as follows:

*“lek asal usule kiro-kiro ndak enek sing ngerti, pokok e ket jaman mbiyen mesti diwanti-wanti ojo sampek rabi mbalik kandang. Wong kene mek manut omongane wong tuek, ben uripe ayem lan gawe ngindari molo petoko”. “Yo nek nurut kandane wong tuo-to-biyen, nek ngadepi rabi model ngono kui, cukup salah siji wae sing ngramekno, utowo naliko arep diramekno, salah siji mantene dibuang, manten siji nemu, ngono lee. Maknane perkoro kui digae ngilaki balak, ben langgeng anggone urip bebrayan, rezekine ben lancar, ora mung gemberah ae”.*

*(“If the origin is unknown, the point is that in the past we were warned not to get married like “Kebo Balik Kandang”. People in this area always obey what the elders say, so that their lives are peaceful and to avoid disaster.” “Yes, according to the elders of the past, when facing a marriage like that, it is enough for one of them to hold a celebration, or if a reception is to be held, one of the brides must be thrown away, and the other bride must be reunited, like that. The purpose of this is to ward off bad luck, so that the marriage will last, the life will be peaceful, having good fortune and it is not just a joke.”)*

*Ancen bocah saiki, nek wes seneng, yo nekat, rangerti nek ora oleh rabi mbalik kandang. Ning ramene jaman, nek tatkdeleng, yo ono song uripe soro, ning yo ono sing apik-apik ae, malah sugih hehehe. Yo kabeh mergo sing gae urip, kelo bab adat yo dilakoni, takiro kabeh slamet". "Mungguhku omah-omah ki yo akeh pacoban, ning saweruhku wargo sing nglakoni rabi ngono kui yo enek-enek ae pacobane, radipercoyo ki yo kedaden, dipercoyo ki wong akbeh urusane sing gae urip le. Biasae yo, arep budal ono-ono ae ganjelane, sing tibo, sing mogok, sing rewang ono sing ciloko, utowo sing abot yo salah siji ono sing mati". "Nek nurutku yo raoleh le, wong kabeh nemu laras, pepelinge sesepuh biyen, dadi aluwung rausah dilakoni, tinimbang urip akeh rapenake, mergo akeh conto sing rabi ngono kui uripe ora penak". "Bisaane wongtuone sing ninggal. Akeh-akeh ibune. Soale, omahe calon sing lanang ngelangkahi kelahirane ibune calone sing wedok. Dadi masyarakat percoyo nek molone ngumu kui."*

*("Indeed, today's children, if they like it, will be reckless, not knowing that it is not allowed like "Kebo Balik Kandang". In the old days, if you didn't see it, there were those whose lives were miserable, but there were also those who were fine, some even got richer hehehe. Yes, it's all because of the Creator, secondly because it's a habit to do, I think everyone will survive." "In my opinion, there are many trials in a household, but as far as I know, people who marry like "Kebo Balik Kandang" always have trials, whether they are not trusted, it also happens, even if they are trusted, their business is with the Almighty Creator. Usually if you want to escort it, there are always obstacles, whether it falls, whether it breaks down, whether those who help are injured, or the worst, one of them dies." "In my opinion, it is not allowed, if you want to be fine, like the warning of the elders in the past, it is better not to do it, rather than having a lot of challenges in life, because there have been many examples of marriages like that with many challenges." "It is usually the parents who die. Mostly the mother. The house of the male candidate is the birthplace of the mother of the female candidate. So people believe the map is like that.")*

According to the elders of Bendo Village, the origin of customary law and or one of the local wisdoms of *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage is not known for certain. In the past, the action and warning not to marry balik kandang was given for the sake of a peaceful life and to avoid disasters. Parents suggest that if faced with a balik kandang marriage, the reception should be held in one side of the family only. Another alternative is to adopt a child who is then married off. Bendo village elders emphasize that balik kandang marriages should be avoided because many examples show that the lives of families who undergo "*balik kandang*" marriages are not good. To avoid bad luck, one of the families (either the female or male side) must enliven

the marriage. The solution given by village elders is to organize a wedding between the prospective bride and groom (one of them). This is a way to get around the prohibition and avoid the potential misfortune that is believed to befall “*balik kandang*” marriages.

This village head resource person stated that the perpetrators of these *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriages often face trials in their married life. That is, whether in the bride and groom’s family, before the marriage process, or during the marriage process, and in the post-marriage period, there are many challenges in married life. Deaths, accidents, or the dragging of economic life to the point of not immediately getting offspring mark *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage. Such an existence is believed by the community to be the implication of violating customary law. This belief, which is actually not necessarily the result of a prohibited customary marriage, and is displayed in front of the community, eventually becomes a benchmark for the customary custom of prohibition.

According to the village head, *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage tradition is actually part of ancestral customs. If we keep this tradition, it is a step towards respecting the ethics of our ancestors. The village head explained that everything that happens, where these cultural points are the basis for the issuance of local wisdom, as customary law, believes that the ancestors actually provide the best limits to their descendants so as not to return to sowing and reaping, which in Islam, still refers to *nasab*. The ancestors tried to avoid marriages that could be possible where there was still a blood family relationship, either upwards, downwards and or even sideways. In this regard, Islam has provided clear guidance.

The village head said that the custom is connected to Islam:

*”Neng agomo larangan ngunu kui gak enek. Soale, aturan agomo Islam kui sifate umum, ora gur ngatur neng siji daerah tok, tapi kabeh, kabeh dunyo. Dadi, gak enek aturane neng Islam. Kui gur kepercayaan masyarakat tok. Neng masyarakat pun yo gak enek hukumane. Mungguhku sing penting ora nglanggar swariat Islam wes bener”*

*(“According to religion, there is no such prohibition. Because religious rules are general, not only regulating one region, but all, one world. So, there is no such rule in Islam. It is just the belief of the local community. There is no punishment in the community. In my opinion, the important thing is not to violate Islamic law.”)*

The meaning conveyed by the Head of Bendo Village is that if each of these customs is associated with Islam, then Islam is general, there is no prohibiting nature, because all of them are customary laws of belief. The main thing is not to violate the laws stipulated in Islamic

law.

Some reviews of the opinions and views of the people of Bendo Village, Ponggok Subdistrict, Blitar Regency, where the paradigm of the phenomena of marriage customs, represented by community members who are positioned as village elders. Then, what is the perception of the phenomenon of the customary prohibition of “*kebo balik kandang*” from an Islamic point of view? That is, the Islamic view represented by elders who understand Islam, or kyai who manage Islamic boarding schools, or at least have studied at pesantren.

Some of these opinions are as follows:

This resource person is a figure named Kyai M. Affandi Syarif, in a short interview related to the cultural customs of *kebo balik kandang* marriage said as follows:

*“Nek asal balik kandang, miturutku, kudune awake dewe gelem ndeleng sejarah biyen, yakui kpiye biyen, deso Bendo iki didadekne. Meesti ono kedadean-kedadean ing jaman biyen sing dadekno molo naliko sejarah ngadek e deso Bendo iki, bab sejarah madeke deso iki kudu disinaoni. Nyatane ono keluarga sing rabi, terus pasangane salah sijine wong tuane soko asal, oleh wong deso Bendo, terus rabi, ning uripe malah ora kepenak, malah akeh memolo. Pacobane reno-reno”. “Adat sing sek tingkat ikhtiar, jek golek-golek, durung sampek darurat kui pada dasarnya lek arep manut adat jowo sing ora bertentangan karo Islam, yo lanjut ae. Tapi lek wes bahaya, misale enek wong loro podo senenge lha kok ndilalah temune balik kandang trus wong tuone ora setuju mergo adat kui maeng, kui sing dimenangne hukum Islam e. Mergo wes dhorurot, lek ora diakadne engko malah dadi zino”.*

*(“If we go back to the original place, I think we should look at the history of the past, as it used to be, like how this Bendo village was. There have always been disastrous events in this village in the past, so the history of how this village was formed should really be studied. In fact, there was a family that married, then one of the parents married a Bendo person (the village where the parents came from) and then married, but their life was not peaceful, there were many disasters. There are all kinds of trials.” “The old custom is just the level of endeavor, not the emergency level, so basically if you want to follow Javanese customs that do not contradict Islam, you can continue. But if it is dangerous, for example if two people like each other and one of them happens to return to their parents' place of origin, then the parents do not agree because of the custom, then the Islamic law must be followed. Because it is an emergency, if it is not immediately married, it will become adultery.”)*

The results of the interview describe that customary cultural matters at the level of someone who is still at the point of making efforts and or the process of getting a partner, where they are not yet at the point of emergency, then it is appropriate, customary behavior

such as these prohibitions can be abandoned. That is, those that contradict Islamic law are abandoned, while those that are in line with Islamic teachings are preserved and practiced. However, if it is at the level of an emergency, dangerous, which will lead to adultery and so on that endangers sustainable livelihoods, where the couples really like each other, their situation is in the field of *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* position or some say “*Balik-Winih*”, then there is opposition between the parents, disapproval for example, then Islamic law must be the basis of marriage. This means that if the marriage is not carried out, it will lead to continued adultery.

According to Kyai M. Affandi Syarif, furthermore, the issuance of a procession of similar traditional prohibitions such as *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* is allowed to be believed, however, if a couple is found that issues a *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* pattern situation, they should look for another couple, which is not included in the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* signs. This means that he suggests avoiding the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* pattern by finding a better partner, even though Islam does not prohibit the *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* type of marriage. In Islamic studies, *KEBO BALIK KANDANG* is seen as part of customary tradition, marriage based on customary law, as a cultural pattern that is believed in a community life, especially the level of marriage. Islam considers that based on the conditions, there is no element of prohibition, as long as it does not contradict the pillars and conditions of marriage. This means that marriage from an Islamic point of view is said to be a series of unifying sacred bonds between two human beings, a man and a woman, as a step towards a *sakinah*, harmonious marriage as an act of worship to God.

This means that in the auspices of Islam, this marriage is considered a sacred covenant in an effort to be halal, happy, to get pious offspring. A marriage that is determined, agreed upon, mutually desiring, loving each other as a process of worship for the perfection of religion. This is in line with the hadith of the Prophet SAW which states that “*If someone marries, then he has perfected half of his religion, therefore, fear Allah in the other half*”. Tie a promise, two human beings of the other sex, male and female, aiming to build a household in a harmonious, *sakinah* household resilience, is a form of perfection of half of religious life. So, the marriage contract is said to be the real procession, the legal perfection of marriage.

Akad, this marriage contract is said to be a series of *ijab Kabul* (consummation of marriage) pronounced, pronounced by a guardian and *qabul* pronounced by the groom / man or his representative witnessed by at least 2 witnesses of marriage. This means that the contract as *ijab qabul* (consummation of marriage) is the core of the bond of agreement carried out by

a man and a woman who aim to live together through a contract referring to Islamic law, building a household. A married couple, established through a marriage contract, as a starting point for worshipping Allah SWT.

Selanjutnya Kyai menyatakan sebagai berikut:

*“Aku ora nganjurne iki dilanjut, mergo manut karo hukum Islam kui wis cukup. Nek enek adat sing gak bertentangan karo Islam, ora popo dilanjut. Monggo lek kui aku ngajeni pilihane dewe-dewe, tapi milih ndak melu-melu ngelakoni”. “Syariat kui gak kenal karo adat Jowo. Kejobo adat sing enek maslahah lan dadi peraturan bersama. Dadi, kui gur sesuai pora karo nilai-nilai maslahah. Lewat „urf, syariat ngehalalke adat atas dasar sing tak sebutne kui mau. Tapi, ngunu kui yo enek syaratsyarate. Ora sekabehe adat sing iso didadekne hukum’.*

*(“I do not recommend that this be continued, because in accordance with Islamic law, this is sufficient. If there are customs that do not contradict Islam, it is okay to continue. Please, if I respect each other's choices, but prefer not to do it.” “Sharia does not recognize Javanese customs. Except for customs that have problems and become collective regulations. So, it is only in accordance with maslahah values. Through Urf, Sharia legalizes adat on the basis of what I mentioned earlier. But, there are also conditions. Not all customs can be made into law.”)*

Referring to Kyai M. Affandi Syarif’s statement, it can be assumed that as a member of Javanese society, who is found in the position of *Kebo Balik Kandang*, he should avoid it. However, if the avoidance cannot be done, meaning that it is indeed in a critical condition that is capable of issuing disgraceful behavior, which means violating religious norms, it should still be done, because it is not dangerous if the customary prohibition is violated. He emphasized that for people who strongly believe in what they believe, if there is a process of violation, then Allah SWT will instead provide tests as a system of faith. The reality is that a strong belief will be able to exceed the limits of the knowledge it has, so there will be a futility in learning something without believing in it. Sharia does not recognize custom, so if what is applied by custom is not in accordance with Islamic law, it is still a violation, it must be abandoned, because it is prohibited by Allah SWT.

Another opinion related to the study of *Kebo Balik Kandang*, we can review based on the source Kyai M. Affandi Syarif, the caregiver of Ponpes Al Marfu’, stated as follows:

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*“Asal usul hukum adat kui sak eruhku wes enek sakdurunge Islam enek, banjur karo masyarakat dadi kebiasaan terus dipercoyo sampek saiki”. Miturutku, pokpok niatan adat kui ora nerak wewaleraning agomo Islam, cengkir, omah-omah yo kepenak, rezeki akeh. Ning, nek nerak wewaler Islam, luwe becik orausah dilakoni. Agomo Islam wes menahi pager bab nikahan, ning bab adat, ya kudu digatekno, didadekno pager, ben anggone omah-omah semulur. Ning sing utomo, ojo nerak pagere agomo”.*

*(“The origin of the customary law, as far as I know, existed before Islam came into existence, then the community made it a custom and believed in it until now.” In my opinion, the main point is that the custom does not deviate from the teachings of Islam, the household is peaceful, and there is plenty of sustenance. But, if it violates Islamic rules, it is better not to do it. Islam has given rules about marriage, about customs, they must be considered, made into rules, so that the household will last. But the main thing is not to violate religious rules.”)*

According to him, the birth of the tradition of the prohibition of marrying *Kebo Balik Kandang*, as part of customary laws, was born before Islam entered, which means that history has designed the process of past life, as a guide for living between regions, so that over time it has become a custom of social behavior, especially customary marriage law. According to the interviewee, this kind of custom, *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage model, which is still practiced in social life, especially in the edition of marriage, does not need to be continued, let alone made into an element of belief. This means that he emphasized that in Islam there is evidence as a determinant of the conditions of a marriage. However, as long as it does not conflict with Islam, whatever customary law is maintained, meaning that Islam has provided boundaries that must be understood as well as lived in marriage law. If there is a dispute, the main thing is to be guided by Islam.

He continued:

*“Nek nggone Islam kui wes ono hukum-hukume dewe khusus bab nikah, dadi lek hukum adat kui mau malah nggawe myrimpeti tok, aku ndak nganjurne kui diterusne”*  
*(“Islam already has its own laws regarding marriage, so if the customary law makes a mess of things, I don't recommend it to be continued.”)*

Then he said:

*†Lek nikah kok wis enek limo poin kui maeng, yo wes, bar. Hukum adat kui mek teko wong jowo. Tapi menowo diyakini tenan, yo jenenge yakin, balik neng awake dewe. Tapi nek ora diyakini yo ora ngopongopo. Koyo contone balik kandang kui keyakinane wong jowo, tapi di mandhik-mandhikne. Kui kan malah ngrepoti awake dewe. Dadi larangan koyo ngunu ora perlu digae. Al yakinu yuzal bi al syak ngunu kui, nek wes yakin, was-was koyo ngunu kudu diilangi”.*

*(“If the marriage already has these five points, that's it, it's done. Customary*

*law originated only from the Javanese. But if you really believe in it, it's called belief, it goes back to each of us. But if you don't believe it, it's okay. For example, returning to the place of origin of the parents is the belief of the Javanese, but it is made as powerful. That will actually be troublesome for ourselves. So we don't need to make prohibitions like that. Al yakinu yuzal bi al syak is like that, if you are sure, such feelings of anxiety must be eliminated.”)*

Customary law, based on Javanese research, recognizes that personal beliefs play an important role in following or rejecting prohibitions such as *Kebo Balik Kandang*. Although the ban is considered a traditional belief, some people suggest that if one is convinced, doubts should be removed. Meanwhile, analysis of the perpetrators of such traditions suggests that prohibitions such as *Kebo Balik Kandang* are not always relevant or necessary to follow, especially if breaking them may result in negative consequences such as adultery. Javanese marriage has deep meaning, including taboos such as the *Kebo Balik Kandang* prohibition, which is believed to bring misfortune and unhappiness if violated. Despite this, family A shows efforts to maintain harmony through mutual understanding, commitment and patience. They believe that believing in these customs brings blessings, despite the challenges they face.

The results of interviews with family A, represented by the wife, show that they maintain family resilience with the principle of giving in to each other in solving problems. They believe that leaving all problems to God is the basis of family harmony, even though they realize that they live in a marriage that violates *Kebo Balik Kandang* custom. By understanding each other, they are able to reduce conflict in the family, and their lives look harmonious.

Furthermore, family source B, who technically asked not to be identified, stated:

*“Saya menikah sama mas BC bulan februari tahun 2021 ini, sebelumnya saya sudah menjalin hubungan kekasih sama mas BC sudah 2 tahun. Saat saya masih menjalin hubungan kekasih saya sudah diberitau orang tua saya misalkan saya menikah dengan mas BC itu tidak boleh karena ada larangan Jawa yang saya langgar yaitu adat kebo balik kandang, karena aslinya bapak saya Bendo dan mas BC itu rumahnya juga Bendo. Orang tua saya aslinya sudah menentang dari awal karena orang tua saya masih percaya dengan larangan adat itu karena banyak yang kejadian apabila melanggar itu tadi pasti terkena musibah. Akhirnya saya tetap mempertahankan hubungan saya dengan mas BC, akhirnya orang tua saya luluh memberikan restu saya di boleh menikah dengan mas BC. Namanya orang tua ya khawatir kalau saya itu melakukan hal yang tidak-tidak akhirnya saya direstui sama orang tua saya. Berhubung orang tua saya percaya dengan larangan adat kebo balik kandang itu tadi, dan akhirnya kejadian beneran. Saya menikah bulan februari kebetulan ada masalah sama suami saya di bulan agustus suami saya sudah ekonominya tidak lancar ternyata main judi, akhirnya saya bertengkar terus dengan suami saya perkara itu. Akhirnya saya juga cerita di orang tua saya kalo suami saya itu judi akhirnya orang tua saya bilang ke saya bahwa itu akibatnya melanggar adat jawa kebo balik kandang”.*

*(“I got married to mas BC in February 2021, before that I had been in a romantic*

*relationship with mas BC for 2 years. When I was still in a romantic relationship, my parents told me that I could not marry mas BC because there was a Javanese prohibition that I violated, namely the kebo balik kandang custom, because my father's origin is Bendo and mas BC's house is also Bendo. My parents were originally against it from the start because my parents still believed in the customary prohibition because there were many incidents where if you violated it, you would be hit by a disaster. In the end, I maintained my relationship with mas BC, and my parents finally gave their blessing to allow me to marry mas BC. My parents were worried that I would do something wrong, so my parents finally gave me their blessing. My parents believed in the traditional prohibition of kebo balik kandang it was, and finally it happened. I got married in February and there happened to be a problem with my husband in August, my husband was not doing well economically and was playing gambling, so I kept fighting with my husband about it. Finally I also told my parents that my husband was gambling, finally my parents told me that this was the result of breaking the Javanese custom of kebo balik kandang.”)*

In maintaining family harmony, there are two narratives that illustrate the efforts and results. The first narrative shows a wife who is patient despite frequent arguments, but with active communication and parental support, they are able to survive. Meanwhile, the second narrative shows a divorce incident due to non-compliance with *Kebo Balik Kandang* custom. Efforts to maintain family harmony are illustrated by a family that succeeds through good communication and the husband's responsibility, but on the other hand, the broken custom results in failure in maintaining family relationships. The following data on the *Kebo Balik Kandang* tradition marriage in Bendo Village, Ponggok Subdistrict, Blitar Regency is a couple from a family named Wempi Arifianto as follows:

*“Ok mas, sebenarnya terkait adat itu tidak kami pikirkan mas selama ini. Kedua selama ini saya dan suami juga tidak mengerti jika kami ini termasuk nikah dalam makna kena adat larangan kaya begitu. Kami dak tau kalau di Desa tempat tinggal kami ini ada adat begituan. Makanya, ketika saya menikah di tahun 2014 lalu, hal-hal terkait adat larangan ini ya tidak menjadi perhatian. Ketika lamaran ya lamaran saja, tanggal tempat jam dan seterusnya kedua orang tua kamilah yang menentukan mana yang tepat buat kami menikah. Kalau berbau adat Jawa, ada sih, kami tetap mempergunakan hal-hal kaya begitu, tapi kalau keadaan sejarah adat larangan.. ya dak terlampau dibahas. Mungkin kami ya memang bukan menolak hal adat, tapi memang kami juga tidak tahu jika ada prosesi kayak begitu. Lagian waktu itu sih, kami juga sama-sama tinggal dalam satu desa, itu saja. kemudian kedua orang tua kami juga dak pernah mbahas larangan adat, jadi pada waktu mantu atau ngunduh mantu, ya didua keluarga diramaikan saja. alhamdulillah selama acara sampai saat ini juga biasa-biasa saja sih mas. Acara juga lancar, hujan ya berhenti, pas acara juga terang benderang, dak ada kejadian-kejadian yang mungkin kata orang karena ini itu sih. Sepengetahuan aku, hal-hal kaya itu dak ada kejadian aneh atau yang ganjil-ganjil sih”.*

*(“Ok mas, actually we have not thought about the custom all this time. Secondly, my husband and I did not understand that we were married in the sense that we were subject to such prohibited customs, we did not know that there were such customs in*

*the village where we lived. Therefore, when I got married in 2014, things related to this adat larangam were not a concern. When the proposal was just a proposal, the date, place, time and so on, it was our parents who decided which one was right for us to get married. If it smells of Javanese customs, yes, we still use things like that, but if it's the historical situation of the prohibition... it's not really discussed. Maybe we are not rejecting customary things, but we also don't know if there is a procession *kayak begitt*, anyway, we also both live in the same village, that's all. then our two parents also never discussed customary prohibitions, so at the time of  *mantu or ngunduh mantu*, yes in both families, just enlivened. thank God during the event until now it is also unremarkable, mas. The event also went smoothly, the *mijan* stopped, the event was also brightly lit, and there were no incidents that people might say were due to this or that. To my knowledge, things like that don't happen: there are no strange events.”)*

The “*Balik Kandang*” case describes a marriage between two families from the villages of Bendo and Bendo, which violated the customary prohibition of *Kebo Balik Kandang* because the bride's mother was born in the same area. Despite being unaware of the violation, both families celebrated the marriage joyfully and without any obstacles. While building their household, they faced the usual minor disputes, but were filled with mutual understanding, love and appreciation, and were supported by the husband's job as a construction consultant which provided financial stability. Full attention to the family and good communication made this family harmonious and able to survive in the face of various challenges.

Both parents support harmony through frequent visits, providing input, not interfering or interference causing both, husband and or wife can live the family relationship well. The attention of both parents makes the family relationship more harmonious.

#### ***B. Analysis of the Perpetrator of the Kebo Balik Kandang Marriage Prohibition Tradition in Bendo Village, Blitar Regency in an Effort for Family Resilience***

Referring to the information that also serves as data for the study, a qualitative performance of *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage practice in Bendo Village, Blitar Regency can be drawn as follows:

- (1) Community members who are conditioned to the marriage position of *Kebo Balik Kandang* tradition still carry out the marriage ritual properly. This means that the marriage is still carried out by establishing the validity of the tradition as an effort to avoid the impact behavior if the prohibition is violated. The perpetrator, the subject of the study, in analyzing the results of observations through an in-depth interview process considers that this tradition is only part of the myth, the subject still adheres to Islamic teachings, that marriage remains on the conditions of marriage. Whatever form of obstacles in marriage, the subject has given an affirmation that all are part of the beauty

of marriage, disputes are part of the blessings that must be grateful for. This means that the subject still realizes that myths are still respected as a belief system that has been published for generations, still preserving, but marriage as an act of worship to Allah SWT remains the basic element of their marriage.

- (2) Rumors were found, with the findings of several families in *Kebo Balik Kandang* myth phase, the married couple found many disasters such as frequent family members who were sickly, the family economy did not improve, frequent quarrels. The way of household that is expected in the *sakinah* phase, becomes depleted of trust in an effort to maintain the resilience of the family. Frequent quarrels, then the depletion of the husband's responsibility causes polemics in the family. So, this existence becomes the culmination point of the surrounding community in emphasizing the existence of the myth of marriage in the condition of *Kebo Balik Kandang*.

Marriage, whatever its form, is in accordance with the legal requirements of marriage, in line with the legislation of Law/N0. 1/1974, P (8) states that prohibited marriages are as follows:

- (a) *In blood in the direction of the lineage straight up / down.*
- (b) *In blood in line with lateral lines of descent, i.e. between siblings, between persons and their parents' siblings or between persons and their grandparents' siblings.*
- (c) *Still connected to in-laws, sons-in-law, or stepchildren as well as mothers or stepfathers.*
- (d) *There is still a relationship of consanguinity.*
- (e) *There is still a sibling relationship with the wife and or is said to be the wife's aunt/niece.*
- (f) *Any other relationship where it is forbidden by religion, or the rules of the land, to marry.*

Marriage, whatever the pattern with all kinds of customary law myths that accompany it, is still not allowed if the prohibitions on the existing provisions as stipulations are violated. This is stipulated in draft f, Article 8, which states that if in religious law it is permissible to marry due to the fulfillment of the pillars, principles, and or conditions stipulated/applicable, but the strict requirements of customary law in the study area are prohibited, based on the agreement of the “*Alim Ulama of Blitar Regency*” there is an agreement that the marriage is still carried out by leaving the existing customary law in the Bendo area. The meaning is that the tradition found in Bendo Village, Ponggok Subdistrict, Blitar Regency is not part of the problems that are worried about considering all the technical implementation of *Kebo Balik Kandang* mythical culture is not contrary to the laws, creeds, and pillars of Islamic Law. It is based on the fact that the tradition that is published as *Kebo Balik Kandang* mythical marriage process that is carried out, as well as occurring in Bendo Village, does not conflict with the

basis of Islamic law, so that for the community the existence of *Kebo Balik Kandang* system is still preserved by its customs.

## CONCLUSION

Reviewing the analysis of the phenomenon of local wisdom traditions that occur in Bendo Village, Ponggok District, Blitar Regency, the following conclusions can be drawn on the findings of local wisdom behavior:

- (1) The fact that the mythical tradition of *Kebo Balik Kandang* local wisdom that occurs and exists in Bendo Village has been around for generations, emphasized as belief values, as part of the reality of traditional values. The community considers it as a ritual of belief that for community members involved in *Kebo Balik Kandang* phase of marriage will get obstacles, violation of *Kebo Balik Kandang* customary taboos will be the beginning of disaster for members of the village community. The second reality in the community is that the local wisdom of *Kebo Balik Kandang* tradition emerged, published, became a conversation as well as a belief that is maintained and preserved is not known when it began and its origin. The community considers that whatever the form, these prohibitions still maintain the elements of goodness for anyone who still complies with them.
- (2) The reality of the perceptions of *Alim Ulama* of Blitar Regency states the attitude that matters related to myths, one of which is *Kebo Balik Kandang*, which is still believed by the people of Bendo Village, is only part of various belief rituals, where in Islam such a marriage model is not prohibited. Islam teaches that forbidden marriages are published for 3 reasons, namely (1) (1) marriage is prohibited due to the existence of *nasab* elements, (2) marriage is prohibited due to the existence of marriage relationships, and (3) marriage is prohibited due to the existence of breastfeeding relationships. This means that the scholars state that there is no prohibition of *Kebo Balik Kandang* marriage, if there is a violation of the material nature of the myth, it is not a taboo and prohibition in Islamic law. Islam teaches that any disputes and or challenges in the household are all interpreted as trials and challenges towards a happy family *sakinah ma waddah wa rohmah*.

## SUGGESTION

We recommend that in maintaining family resilience, it is necessary to build an attitude of awareness that is willing to worship in an effort to build a harmonious, loving family, as a form of creating a *sakinah* ecosystem as the basis for household resilience. Keep maintaining attitudes based on the spirit of worship as *khalifatullah* who maintain the same visionary in building a household in a strong foundation. Whatever the form, trust, honesty, openness and

mutual confidentiality will form an ideal household ecosystem.

The two things needed in *Maintaining Family Welfare* as the foundation of family resilience are effective communication, dividing quality family time, maintaining physical health, avoiding excessive stress, maintaining social relationships, sharing household tasks, and providing education and self-development with the family.

Third, whatever the form, the cultural customs that exist in the territory of Indonesia are part of the uniqueness as well as part of the uniqueness of the Indonesian nation, so they should still be respected as part of the cultural heritage, but still rely on Islamic law as a fundamental for life.

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