



## The Tradition of Nyadokaken Pengantin in Osing Tribe Marriages in Indonesia: An 'Urf Perspective

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### Abstract

This study examines the Nyadokaken pengantin tradition in the marriage of the Osing tribe in Kemiren Village, Banyuwangi, emphasizing its origins, execution, and legal standing under Islamic law. This research utilizes a qualitative methodology, encompassing participant observation, in-depth interviews, and recording, while adopting a normative framework that integrates Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory as an analytical instrument. Research suggests that Nyadokaken began as a method for conflict settlement aimed at preserving familial unity. It possesses considerable societal significance, as families that renounce it encounter stigma and less social acknowledgment. From a fiqh standpoint, the tradition is classified as *'urf shahih*, as it conforms to *Al-'Adah Muhakkamah*, meeting the standards of recognized customary practice in Islamic jurisprudence. This study enhances Islamic family law by examining how *'urf shahih* might incorporate local traditions into modern Islamic legal frameworks. Utilizing a sociocultural approach reconciles normative Islamic law with actual practices, providing insights into the adaptive characteristics of Islamic legal principles in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Nyadokaken Marriage Tradition, Osing Tribe, Islamic family law, 'urf

### Abstrak

Studi ini meneliti tradisi Nyadokaken pengantin dalam pernikahan pada suku Osing di Desa Kemiren, Banyuwangi, dengan fokus pada asal-usul, pelaksanaan, dan status hukumnya dalam hukum Islam. Menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi, penelitian ini menerapkan pendekatan normatif serta menggunakan teori habitus Pierre Bourdieu sebagai alat analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Nyadokaken berasal dari praktik penyelesaian konflik untuk menjaga keharmonisan keluarga. Tradisi ini memiliki nilai sosial yang signifikan, karena keluarga yang tidak melaksanakannya menghadapi stigma dan pengurangan pengakuan sosial. Dari perspektif fikih, tradisi ini memenuhi kriteria *'urf shahih* karena sejalan dengan kaidah *Al-'Adah Muhakkamah*, sehingga dianggap sebagai kebiasaan yang diterima dalam yurisprudensi Islam. Penelitian memberikan kontribusi pada hukum keluarga Islam dengan



menunjukkan bagaimana *'urf shahih* dapat mengintegrasikan tradisi lokal ke dalam kerangka hukum Islam kontemporer. Dengan menggunakan perspektif sosiokultural, penelitian ini menjembatani kesenjangan antara hukum Islam normatif dan tradisi yang hidup di masyarakat, serta menawarkan gagasan tentang sifat adaptif prinsip-prinsip hukum Islam di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Tradisi Nikah Nyadokaken, Suku Osing, Hukum Keluarga Islam, *'urf*

## Introduction

Marriage in Islam holds profound meanings and objectives that go beyond the mere legality of a union between two individuals.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Syarh al-Yaqut an-Nafis*, linguistically, the term marriage refers to *al-wathi* (intimate relations) or *ad-damm* (togetherness). Legally in religious terms, marriage is defined as a valid contract that permits lawful relations between a man and a woman after a formal declaration using terms such as *nikah* or *tazwij* in a language understood by the local community.<sup>2,3</sup> Within the framework of Islamic law, marriage serves as a means to preserve chastity,<sup>4</sup> fulfill biological needs lawfully, and achieve inner tranquility (*sakinah*) filled with love and mercy (*mawaddah wa rahmah*).<sup>5</sup>

The positive law regulates marriage in Indonesia through Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage. Article 2 states that a marriage is considered valid if conducted according to the religious laws of the parties involved and recorded by the state. This provision ensures administrative order, the validity of the marriage, and avoids legal conflicts regarding the rights and obligations of the spouses.<sup>6</sup> The Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) further emphasizes the requirements of marriage, including the presence of a prospective husband and wife, a marriage guardian (*wali nikah*), two witnesses, and the *ijab qabul* ceremony.<sup>7</sup> These measures ensure that marriage aligns with the principles of Islamic law.

Marriage also encompasses a cultural dimension. In Islamic tradition, *Walimatul 'Ursy* or the wedding feast serves as an expression of gratitude and respect for the guests.<sup>8</sup> This tradition reflects the integration of Islamic teachings and local customs, transforming

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<sup>1</sup> Md Zahidul, "Interfaith Marriage in Islam and Present Situation," *Global Journal of Politics and Law Research* 2, no. 1 (2014): 36–47.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Halim and Achmad Lubabul Chadziq, "Kedudukan Perempuan Dalam Penentuan Mahar Menurut Madzhab Syafi'i Dan Madzhab Hanafi," *MASADIR: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 2, no. 2 (2022): 475–93.

<sup>3</sup> A F Mufli, "Konsep Al-Bai Di Zaman Nabi: Relevansi Terhadap Online Shop Dalam Tinjauan Islam," *Sahmiyya: Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Bisnis* 2, no. 2 (2023): 445–453.

<sup>4</sup> Murrey Vincent, "Promoting Chastity in Marriage through Marital Counseling In The Light Of Amoris Lætitia," *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research* 3, no. 10 (2019): 20–36.

<sup>5</sup> Elimartati, "Building a Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah Family (a Family With Tranquility , Love , and Mercy)," *International Conference on Humanity, Law and Sharia* 1, no. 2 (2018): 31–36.

<sup>6</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2009: 105–106).

<sup>7</sup> Lailatul Zuhriyah and Nailal Muna, "Economic Ability as a Kafā'ah Principle and the Recognition of Difabel Marriage Guardian in As-Silāh Fī Bayāni An-Nikāh by Khalil Al-Bangkalany," *Al-Ahwal* 16, no. 1 (2023): 89–111, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16105>.

<sup>8</sup> Alfinna Ikke Nur Azizah, "Pengadaan Walimatul 'Ursy Di Masa Pandemi Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Negara," *MAQASHID Jurnal Hukum Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): 52–65, <https://doi.org/10.35897/maqashid.v3i2.430>.

marriage from a private event into a communal celebration that strengthens social bonds. While Islamic law and state regulations provide formal frameworks for marriage, local traditions introduce fascinating variations. The traditions of the Osing community in Banyuwangi, East Java, demonstrate a blend of religious teachings and local customs. One notable practice is the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition, an indigenous ceremony that reinforces social connections between the families of the bride and groom through a series of symbolic rituals.<sup>9</sup> This ceremony incorporates religious elements alongside distinctive cultural features, such as traditional attire, prayers, and the use of local symbols like *Kosek Punjen*.

Muslims living within rich traditions face the challenge of ensuring their customary practices align with Islamic principles.<sup>10</sup> Certain elements of these ceremonies may spark debates regarding their validity or relevance within Islamic teachings. Practices like these often raise the question of whether they are strongly recommended (*sunnah muakad*) or merely accepted manifestations of collective custom (*'urf*).

From an Islamic legal perspective, local traditions must undergo a normative feasibility test to assess their compliance with the objectives of Islamic law (*maqasid shariah*), which include preserving religion, intellect, lineage, and dignity.<sup>11</sup> Traditions that impose undue burdens on newlyweds or conflict with Islamic values warrant criticism, even if deeply rooted in society. For instance, ceremonies or customs that excessively strain families financially contradict Islam's principle of moderation.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus offers insight into the endurance of such traditions.<sup>12</sup> Habitus encompasses the habits and values passed down through generations, shaping collective mindsets and behaviors. The habitus, similar to any "art of invention," enables the creation of an endless array of practices that, while diverse, remain relatively unpredictable.<sup>13</sup> In the Osing community, marriage customs like *Nyadokaken Pengantin* form an integral part of the social field, where cultural and symbolic capital—such as family honor—play a critical role. However, Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction highlights that traditions are not absolute,<sup>14</sup> they result from social interactions and can evolve over time.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Fikri, Haekal; Anwar, Khoirul, "Tradisi Perkawinan Perang Bangkat Suku Osing Banyuwangi Presfektif Fiqih (Urf) Madzhab Syafi'i (Studi Kasus Di Desa Lemahbang Dewo Kecamatan Rogojampi Kabupaten Banyuwangi)," *Jurnal Review Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran (JRPP)* 7, no. 4 (2024): 13850-13856.

<sup>10</sup> Bello Ali, "Fostering Harmonious Societal Constructs Through Islamic Principles," *Al-Risalah* 15, no. 1 (2024): 324-53, <https://doi.org/10.34005/alrisalah.v15i1.3518>.

<sup>11</sup> Syahdatul Maulida and Mohammad Mahbubi Ali, "Maqasid Shariah Index: A Literature Review," *Maqasid Al-Shariah Review* 2, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.58968/msr.v2i1.309>.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Asimaki, "Habitus: An Attempt at a Thorough Analysis of a Controversial Concept in Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice," *Social Sciences* 3, no. 4 (2014): 121, <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20140304.13>.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990): 80-85.

<sup>14</sup> Jochen Dreher, "The Social Construction of Power: Reflections Beyond Berger/Luckmann and Bourdieu," *Cultural Sociology* 10, no. 1 (2016): 53-68, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975515615623>.

<sup>15</sup> Vivien Burr, "What Is Social Constructionism?," *Social Constructionism* 11, no. 1 (2018): 1-30, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315715421-1>.

Unlike previous studies that primarily focus on Islamic legal perspectives,<sup>16,17</sup> this research introduces a multidisciplinary approach by incorporating Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory and Berger and Luckmann's social construction.<sup>18</sup> This approach enables a deeper exploration of Nyadokaken Penganten as not only a normative Islamic tradition but also a dynamic social practice shaped by historical and cultural forces. By bridging the gap between Islamic law and sociological anthropology, this study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of Islamic family law in Indonesia. Furthermore, the forces of modernization and social change have raised concerns about the erosion of meaningful traditions, particularly among younger generations.<sup>19</sup> Examining this tradition through social theories provides insight into the harmony between local customs and Islamic teachings, as well as their ability to adapt to contemporary challenges.<sup>20</sup> The research contribution is focused on the development of Islamic family law in Indonesia.

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach to examine the Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition among the Osing community in Kemiren Village, Banyuwangi.<sup>21</sup> As an empirical legal study, it explores how this tradition contributes to family honor and aligns with the principles of 'urf in Islamic jurisprudence. The study was conducted in Kedaleman and Krajan hamlets, chosen for their strong cultural preservation. Data sources included primary data from interviews with key informants such as Osing community members, cultural practitioners, and village officials; secondary data from academic literature on marriage traditions, 'urf, and Islamic law; and tertiary data from online sources supporting the analysis. Purposive and snowball sampling ensured the selection of knowledgeable informants.<sup>22</sup>

Data collection involved observation, interviews, and documentation.<sup>23</sup> The researcher directly observed the Nyadokaken Pengantin ritual, interviewed cultural figures, religious leaders, and officials, and analyzed written records and photographs. The

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<sup>16</sup> Haekal Fikri and Khoirul Anwar, "Tradisi Perkawinan Perang Bangkat Suku Osing Banyuwangi Prespektif Fiqih (Urf) Madzhab Syafi'i (Studi Kasus Di Desa Lemahbang Dewo Kecamatan Rogojampi Kabupaten Banyuwangi)," *Jurnal Review Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran (JRPP)* 7, no. 4 (2024): 13850-13856.

<sup>17</sup> Bernadeta Resti Nurhayati, Yohanes Budi Sarwo, and Christophorus Koesmartadi, "Local Wisdom and the Traditional Marriage Law of Osing Kemiren Village in the Era of Information Technology," *KnE Social Sciences*, 2024, 802-816.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *An Outline of Theory of Practice*, ed. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 52-53.

<sup>19</sup> Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton university press, 2020), 67-72.

<sup>20</sup> Ansari Yamamah, "The Existence of Al-Urf ( Social Tradition) in Islamic Law Theory," *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 21, no. 7 (2016): 43-48, <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2112074348>.

<sup>21</sup> Ahmed Ali Alhazmi and Angelica Kaufmann, "Phenomenological Qualitative Methods Applied to the Analysis of Cross-Cultural Experience in Novel Educational Social Contexts," *Frontiers in Psychology* 13 (2022): 785134.

<sup>22</sup> Ika Lenaini, "Teknik Pengambilan Sampel Purposive Dan Snowball Sampling," *Historis: Jurnal Kajian, Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Pendidikan Sejarah* 6, no. 1 (2021): 33-39.

<sup>23</sup> Syeda Ayeman Mazhar et al., "Methods of Data Collection: A Fundamental Tool of Research," *Journal of Integrated Community Health (ISSN 2319-9113)* 10, no. 1 (2021): 6-10.

qualitative data analysis model by Miles and Huberman guided the process through data reduction, condensation, display, and conclusion drawing.<sup>24</sup> Triangulation ensured validity by comparing multiple sources.<sup>25</sup>

The research followed three stages: preparation, fieldwork, and finalization.<sup>26</sup> The preparation stage involved research design and site selection. Fieldwork focused on data collection through structured methods, while the final stage synthesized findings into a thesis. This study provides a deeper understanding of how the Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition, as a form of *'urf* in shaping family honor within the legal and cultural framework of the Osing community.

## Overview of the Nyadokaken Marriage Tradition of the Osing Tribe

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition among the Osing community originated as a way to reconcile married couples experiencing disputes.<sup>27</sup> In the past, when conflicts arose, the wife often returned to her parents' home without the husband's permission, leaving the husband reluctant to bring her back. To resolve such issues, village elders were called upon to mediate, offer advice, and unite the couple through a symbolic handshake. This handshake, accompanied by prayers and blessings from the elders and parents, symbolized reconciliation and a hope that conflicts would not recur.<sup>28</sup>

The origins of this tradition are deeply tied to the role of elders in resolving domestic disputes.<sup>29</sup> According to Suhaimi, *Nyadokaken Pengantin* emerged as a means of soothing marital discord, particularly when a wife returned to her parents' home after a quarrel.<sup>30</sup> Elders would bring both parties together, join their hands, and recite prayers for the restoration of harmony in the household.

The Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition in Kemiren Village takes place in the late afternoon, just before sunset, aligning with the symbolic transition from youth to adulthood as the bride and groom formally unite. Mr. Suhaimi, the Head of Custom, along with Village Head Muhammad Arifin and local figure Rahayes, emphasized that sunset represents the end of youth and the beginning of a more responsible marital life.<sup>31</sup> Unlike traditions tied to specific dates, Nyadokaken Pengantin is scheduled based on family agreement, usually after the marriage contract, and includes rituals such as *paes* (traditional dress), a procession, *sembur utik-utik* (symbolic blessings), and prayers. The celebration often spans two days, with the first day dedicated to the wedding and public reception, while the second day

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<sup>24</sup> Michelle Salmona and Dan Kaczynski, "Qualitative Data Analysis Strategies," in *How to Conduct Qualitative Research in Finance* (Britain: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2024), 80–96.

<sup>25</sup> Sylvester Donkoh and John Mensah, "Application of Triangulation in Qualitative Research," *Journal of Applied Biotechnology and Bioengineering* 10, no. 1 (2023): 6–9.

<sup>26</sup> Tim Huffman, *Qualitative Inquiry for Social Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2023), 56–62.

<sup>27</sup> Nurhayati, Sarwo, and Koesmartadi, "Local Wisdom and the Traditional Marriage Law of Osing Kemiren Village in the Era of Information Technology," *KnE Social Sciences* (4th International Conference on Law Reform (4th INCLAR), (2024): 802–816.

<sup>28</sup> Rahayes, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

<sup>29</sup> Ratna Wijayanti Daniar Paramita, Muchamad Taufiq, and Noviansyah Rizal, "Cultural CSR in Perceptions of Cultural Preservation Osing," *SINERGI* 8, no. 10 (2018): 10–20.

<sup>30</sup> Suhaimi, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 7, 2024

<sup>31</sup> Muhammad Arifin, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, October 29, 2024

focuses on the couple's union and a gathering for immediate family. The event, held at either the bride's or groom's home, typically runs from 1:00 PM to 6:00 PM.

This ceremony holds significant importance in the Osing marriage tradition, particularly for young couples marrying for the first time. However, if one of the parties is a widower or widow, the tradition is still observed as a gesture of respect toward the spouse who has not experienced it before. Below is a table outlining the marital status of the couple and the obligation to perform the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ritual:

**Table 1.** Marital Status in the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* Ritual

Marital Status	Details
Bachelor with maiden	Performs the <i>Nyadokaken Pengantin</i> ritual
Bachelor with widow	Performs the <i>Nyadokaken Pengantin</i> ritual
Widower with maiden	Performs the <i>Nyadokaken Pengantin</i> ritual
Widower with widow	Does not perform the <i>Nyadokaken Pengantin</i> ritual

Source: Suhaimi, author interview, November 7, 2024.

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition is a cultural heritage of the Osing community, rich in symbolic values, and is continuously preserved. According to Suhaimi, the elder and head of the Kemiren Village customary council, this tradition is performed as a form of prayer, hope, and advice for the newlyweds, wishing for their marriage to be filled with peace and harmony. He explained, *This tradition has been passed down for generations as part of the Osing people's customs. Each stage is filled with prayers for the couple's blessings.*<sup>32</sup>

Haji Makmuri, a local religious leader, emphasized the importance of this tradition as part of preserving ancestral culture. He stated that *Nyadokaken Pengantin* brings the blessings and prayers of the ancestors.<sup>33</sup> A similar sentiment was expressed by the Head of Kemiren Village, Muhammad Arifin, who affirmed that this tradition carries sacred meaning, serving as a prayer for the happiness and protection of the newlyweds from unwanted circumstances.

Rahayes, a shadow puppeteer and cultural figure, shared that this tradition is inspired by the meeting of Prophet Adam and Siti Hawa at Jabal Rahmah, symbolizing gratitude for the union with a soulmate.<sup>34</sup> This philosophy is reflected in the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ceremony, where the couple is prayed for a blessed and harmonious married life.

#### *Osing Tribe's Perspective on Honor in the Nyadokaken Pengantin*

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition is the final stage in the Osing customary marriage, carrying significant meaning in praying for and blessing the couple's future life.<sup>35</sup> The ceremony begins with a procession, symbolizing that the couple will bear the responsibilities of a married life, followed by a symbolic handshake and prayer at sunset. This ritual teaches the couple to leave behind youthful qualities and step into the responsibilities of a solid and harmonious household.

<sup>32</sup> Suhaimi, author interview, Banyuwangi, November 7, 2024

<sup>33</sup> Makmuri, author interview, Banyuwangi, November 8, 2024

<sup>34</sup> Rahayes, author interview, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

<sup>35</sup> Rahayes, author interview, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

There are three important meanings in the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ceremony: (1) the hopes reflected in the procession and the carrying of items, symbolizing the couple's strength in shouldering marital responsibilities; (2) the advice and wisdom from the elders, reminding the couple of the importance of forgiveness and managing emotions before conflicts arise; (3) the prayers offered by the family and guests, hoping the couple's life will be blessed with prosperity, health, and good descendants.<sup>36</sup>

Anthropologically, *Nyadokaken Pengantin* is not only a sacred ritual but also an effective tool for strengthening group identity and reproducing cultural values.<sup>37</sup> The Osing community continues to preserve this tradition because they recognize the noble values embedded in it. Additionally, this tradition strengthens social bonds, offers profound meaning, and has become an inseparable part of the Osing people's way of life.<sup>38</sup>

The deep significance of *Nyadokaken Pengantin* lies not only in its spiritual aspect but also in its social value. This tradition reinforces the cultural identity of the Osing community as a group that upholds togetherness, peace, and prayers for future generations. To this day, *Nyadokaken Pengantin* remains a vital part of life in Kemiren, a testament to a cultural heritage that continues to thrive amidst modernity.

The community of Kemiren Village, which is part of the Osing Tribe, has a wedding tradition rich in cultural values.<sup>39</sup> One of the most important rituals in the Osing wedding is the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition, which aims to shape the honor of the family. According to Suhaimi, this tradition is not only related to the sacredness of marriage but also serves as a mark of respect for the family of the bride and groom, who are upholding their customs and religion.<sup>40</sup> The *Nyadokaken* ritual involves the elders, who offer guidance and prayers so that the marriage they embark on may run harmoniously.

Mr. Rahayes, a community elder, explains that *Nyadokaken Pengantin* also serves as a symbol of the legitimacy of the marriage. After this ceremony, the couple is considered to have entered married life with the right steps, in accordance with both religious and cultural guidance. This tradition teaches that in marriage, both partners must be ready to bear the responsibility of life together. He further states that this ceremony demonstrates how the Osing people value family honor and adhere to the cultural rules passed down by their ancestors.

Mbah Ning, a member of the Osing community who has participated in this tradition, added that the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ceremony must be performed by those who are descendants of pure Osing blood. This highlights the importance of preserving traditions within the Osing community. Furthermore, the wise advice from the elders given during this

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<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Arifin, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, October 29, 2024

<sup>37</sup> Mahmud Tang, "Tolong-Menolong Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pesta Pernikahan Pada Masyarakat Bugis Di Desa Madello Kabupaten Barru Sulawesi Selatan," *Al-Qalam* 15, no. 2 (2018): 297, <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v15i2.548>.

<sup>38</sup> Paramita, Taufiq, and Rizal, "Cultural CSR in Perceptions of Cultural Preservation Osing," *SINERGI* 8, no. 11 (2018): 10-20.

<sup>39</sup> Shofyan Hadi and Muhammad Miqdad, "Participative Budgeting Reality in The Society of Osing Ethnic Kemiren Village Banyuwangi District (An Ethnometodology Study)," *Research Journal of Finance and Accounting* 11, no. 2 (2020): 135-148, <https://doi.org/10.7176/rjfa/11-2-14>.

<sup>40</sup> Suhaimi, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 7, 2024

tradition is believed to serve as a guide for the newlyweds. The existence of this tradition also reminds the couple to live their married life with purity and responsibility.

Arifin, the Head of Kemiren Village, explained that this tradition also aims to gain recognition from the community. Through this ceremony, the families of the newlyweds will be respected for having followed a tradition that is legitimate according to both custom and religion. In this regard, the Osing community believes that properly following tradition will bring safety and blessings to the couple's married life.

One of the symbols in the Nyadokaken tradition is the *pikulan* (a shoulder yoke), which represents the couple's readiness to bear the burdens of life, such as providing for their children and spouse. The *pikulan* also includes household items like the *bantal keloso* (a pillow) and kitchenware, which symbolize the couple's preparedness to face daily life together. The *bantal keloso* carries the meaning that in building a household, the couple must be ready to face challenges and collaborate for the well-being of the family.<sup>41</sup>

Nyadokaken Tradition: The Practice of Marriage in the Osing Tribe

The ritual procession in the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition in Kemiren Village involves a series of events that are rich in symbolism and meaning. Each stage of the ritual, from the bride's makeup to the collective prayer, is accompanied by life values that have been passed down through generations.<sup>42</sup> Below is a table outlining the sequence of ritual stages in the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ritual (in tabulated form):

Tabel 2. Sequence of the Nyadokaken Pengantin Ritual

Time	Activity	Meaning
1:00 PM – 3:29 PM (WIB)	<b>Pepaesan (Bride’s Make-up):</b> Carried out at the wedding venue, according to the agreement between both families of the bride and groom.	1. Just as a king and queen are expected to have handsome and beautiful faces, their beauty symbolizes something pleasant to behold. 2. The hope is that the beauty of their faces serves as a sign of good character and noble morals.
3:30 PM – 5:29 PM (WIB)	<b>Procession:</b> Held from the far end of the village, opposite from the location of the wedding ceremony.	1. A sign of gratitude is given as the bride and groom are paraded around the village so that everyone can offer prayers and blessings. 2. The procession symbolizes that in marriage, the couple will bear (carry) the responsibilities that lie ahead. Inside the procession, there are household items, especially kitchen utensils. 3. The pillow and mat symbolize that when facing the hardships of life and work, it is advised to rest. They also represent the beginning of a

<sup>41</sup> Makmuri, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 8, 2024  
<sup>42</sup> Rahayes, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

Time	Activity	Meaning
		new generation, as the relationship between husband and wife leads to the birth of children, and the pillow and mat are where this journey starts.
5:30 PM – 6:30 PM (WIB)	<i>Disadokaken</i> (Handshake and Prayer): Performed at the designated area, where the hands of the bride and groom are joined by the head of customs or a religious figure, followed by a prayer for both of them.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The handshake between the bride and groom symbolizes that this union is made with the blessing of Allah, the Almighty, and marks the agreement to embark on a life of marriage together.</li> <li>2. The collective prayer is specially offered for the couple, with the hope that they will live in harmony throughout their married life.</li> </ol>

Source: Rahayes, *author interview*, November 4, 2024

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ceremony in Kemiren Village is an integral part of the Osing community's wedding tradition, passed down through generations over a span of 5-7 hours.<sup>43</sup> This tradition begins in the afternoon around 1:00 PM WIB with the bridal makeup or *paes*, followed by the procession at around 3:30 PM WIB, and culminates with the *Nyadokaken* ceremony, held just before *maghrib* (5:30 – 6:30 PM WIB). Finally, the bride and groom sit at the *kuade* to receive blessings and prayers from the elders. According to the Head of Kemiren Village, Mr. Muhammad Arifin, this tradition always starts after the *Dhuhur* prayer with the bridal makeup, followed by the procession, and then the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* ceremony.<sup>44</sup>

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition involves not only a series of rituals but also carries deep symbolic meaning. The bridal makeup represents the role of the husband as the leader and protector, while the wife is portrayed as a companion who shares in making decisions together. The procession involves household items, symbolizing the beginning of married life and preparations for a household. The peak of the tradition occurs when the bride and groom are greeted with a handshake and prayers from the elders, with the adat leader joining their hands as a symbol of unity and harmony in marriage. The advice given during this ceremony carries messages about unity, blessings, and the hope for future generations. Overall, *Nyadokaken Pengantin* serves as a means of passing down noble values, and is seen as bringing blessings and protecting the marriage from misfortune.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Rahayes, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

<sup>44</sup> Makmuri, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 8, 2024

<sup>45</sup> Hadi and Miqdad, "Participative Budgeting Reality in The Society of Osing Ethnic Kemiren Village Banyuwangi District (An Ethnometodology Study)," *Research Journal of Finance and Accounting* 11, no. 2 (2020): 135-148

## **The Nyadokaken Tradition in Marriages of the Osing Tribe Community in Pierre Bourdieu's Social Theory**

Pierre Bourdieu's social theory is a critical framework that examines the relationship between individual agency and social structures.<sup>46</sup> He developed the concept of habitus, which refers to the ingrained habits, dispositions, and ways of thinking shaped by one's social background and experiences.<sup>47</sup> Habitus is not static; rather, it evolves as individuals navigate different social contexts.<sup>48</sup> Alongside this, Bourdieu introduced the concept of field, which represents structured social spaces where power dynamics operate, such as education, politics, or religion.<sup>49</sup> Within these fields, individuals and groups compete for various forms of capital—economic, cultural, social, and symbolic—which influence their position and ability to exert influence. Bourdieu's work challenges the rigid separation between structure and agency by emphasizing their dialectical relationship, where individuals shape society while simultaneously being shaped by it.

Central to Bourdieu's theory is the idea of symbolic power, which refers to the ability to impose meanings and legitimize certain social hierarchies without coercion.<sup>50</sup> This power operates through cultural institutions, language, and everyday practices, often reinforcing existing social inequalities.<sup>51</sup> Bourdieu also highlights how dominant social groups maintain their status through the accumulation and transmission of cultural capital—knowledge, education, and cultural competence—across generations.<sup>52</sup> His concept of structuralist constructivism bridges objectivism, which sees social structures as independent of individual will, and subjectivism, which prioritizes personal agency.<sup>53</sup> By analyzing social practices as products of the interplay between habitus, field, and capital, Bourdieu provides a nuanced understanding of how social order is maintained and how change can occur. His ideas remain influential in sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies, offering valuable insights into power, identity, and social mobility.

### *Habitus*

Habitus refers to a system of predispositions formed from an individual's experiences in social life, influencing the way they think, feel, and act.<sup>54</sup> In the context of *Nyadokaken Pengantin*, this tradition is a result of habits developed within the Osing community,

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<sup>46</sup> Bourdieu, *An Outline of Theory of Practice*.

<sup>47</sup> Asimaki, "Habitus: An Attempt at a Thorough Analysis of a Controversial Concept in Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice," *Social Sciences* 3, no. 4 (2014): 121-131.

<sup>48</sup> Marco Schirone, "Field, Capital, and Habitus: The Impact of Pierre Bourdieu on Bibliometrics," *Quantitative Science Studies* 4, no. 1 (2023): 186-208.

<sup>49</sup> Dreher, "The Social Construction of Power: Reflections Beyond Berger/Luckmann and Bourdieu."

<sup>50</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *An Outline of Theory of Practice*, ed. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72-78.

<sup>51</sup> Rosa-Maria Radogna, "The Concept of Habitus in Migration Studies. A Systematic Literature Review," *Sociologie Românească* 20, no. 1 (2022): 108-125.

<sup>52</sup> Grace Ramsey, "Pierre Bourdieu & Habitus (Sociology): Definition & Examples," *Simply Sociology. Päivitetty Verkko sivusto. Päivitetty* 20 (2023): 2023.

<sup>53</sup> Burr, "What Is Social Constructionism?" *The Grounded Theory Review* 11, no. 1 (2012): 39-46.

<sup>54</sup> Bourdieu, *An Outline of Theory of Practice*.

particularly in Desa Kemiren, and passed down through generations.<sup>55</sup> These habits form internalized patterns of action within the community, such as the practice of shaking hands to maintain harmony in the household, which also becomes a symbol of peace in this tradition. Bourdieu explains that habitus is not something that emerges spontaneously, but rather it is formed through long-standing social experiences within a community.<sup>56</sup>

#### *Social Field*

The social field refers to the arena in which individuals or groups compete to acquire various forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic).<sup>57</sup> The field is the space where these habits or habitus are applied and maintained. In the case of *Nyadokaken Pengantin*, this field encompasses the entire community of Desa Kemiren, involving the Osing people as well as other ethnic groups living around them. In this context, *Nyadokaken Pengantin* functions as an arena where the Osing ethnic group preserves its culture amidst the diversity of other ethnic groups in Banyuwangi. It also serves as a means to showcase the existence and cultural identity of the Osing, competing with other cultures.<sup>58</sup>

#### *Modal*

Modal refers to the various resources possessed by individuals or groups that enable them to gain power or status in society.<sup>59</sup> Bourdieu identifies four types of capital that are relevant in social life:

1. Economic Modal: This refers to material resources such as money, wealth, and property. In the context of the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition, economic modal is reflected in the use of valuable cultural items, such as the traditional Osing house, ceremonial tools, and the distinctive Osing wedding attire. These material resources contribute to the social status of the families involved, and the grandeur of the ceremony is seen as an indicator of wealth and social standing.
2. Cultural Modal: This encompasses knowledge, skills, education, and symbolic culture. In the case of *Nyadokaken Pengantin*, cultural modal is embodied in the use of the Osing language, traditional songs (*tembang*), and various cultural symbols. The role of cultural experts, such as adat leaders, is crucial in ensuring that these cultural elements are passed down and preserved. Their expertise helps maintain the authenticity of the ritual, and their involvement is a way to reinforce the cultural capital of the community.
3. Social Modal: Social modal refers to the networks and relationships that individuals or groups possess. In this context, social modal is evident in the

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<sup>55</sup> Zuhriyah and Muna, "Economic Ability as a Kafā'ah Principle and the Recognition of Difabel Marriage Guardian in As-Silāḥ Fī Bayāni An-Nikāḥ by Khalil Al-Bangkalany." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no 1 (2023), 89-111.

<sup>56</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*.

<sup>57</sup> Dreher, "The Social Construction of Power: Reflections Beyond Berger/Luckmann and Bourdieu."

<sup>58</sup> Lestari, Dwi Indah; Kurnia, Heri; Khasanah, Isrofiah Laela, "Menyelusuri Kearifan Budaya Suku Osing Warisan Tradisi Dan Keunikan Identitas Lokal," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Budaya Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2023): 65-71.

<sup>59</sup> Basil Bernstein, "Codes, Modalities, and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model Author(s): Basil Bernstein Source: Language in Society Codes, Modalities, and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model\*," *Lang. Soc* 10, no. 3 (1981): 327-63.

requirement for newcomers or outsiders to participate in the Osing tradition in order to be accepted within the community. Following the Nyadokaken Pengantin ritual allows individuals to strengthen their ties with the Osing community and gain recognition as part of the social fabric, thus enhancing their position within the group.

4. Symbolic Modal: Symbolic of modal is associated with the status or prestige gained through social recognition. In Nyadokaken Pengantin, symbolic modal is seen in the uniqueness of the event, which not only celebrates the union of the couple but also involves the giving of wise counsel from the adat leaders. These leaders' guidance on marriage life is valued highly and adds to the prestige of the ceremony. Furthermore, the ritual's timing during the *maghrib* (sunset) period imbues the tradition with an added sense of sanctity and importance compared to other cultural practices, further elevating its symbolic capital.<sup>60</sup>

### **Nyadokaken Pengantin in Marriage: Osing Tribe Tradition from 'Urf Perspective**

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* is an important tradition in Osing marriages that functions to establish family honor.<sup>61</sup> This tradition is an inseparable part of the wedding ceremony, which must be carried out by every couple to be considered complete and legitimate according to custom. *Nyadokaken Pengantin* serves as a symbol of the recognition of honor obtained through the performance of a time-honored tradition. For the Osing community, failing to perform this tradition can lead to negative stigma, suggesting that the marriage took place for dishonorable reasons, such as premarital pregnancy. This tradition plays a crucial role in safeguarding the dignity and status of the family within the society.

Muhammad Arifin, the Head of Kemiren Village, emphasized that the *Nyadokaken tradition* is essential to avoid negative assumptions from the community.<sup>62</sup> If a family does not carry out the *Nyadokaken*, questions arise about the reasons behind the marriage, which could lead to negative perceptions. In the view of the Osing community, this ceremony serves as a public validation that the couple's marriage is based on mutual consent and family blessings. Symbolically, it shows that the newlyweds deserve respect because they have followed the correct process according to both tradition and religion.

Rahayes, another cultural figure, added that the *Nyadokaken* ceremony also carries deep philosophical meaning. This process is not just a ritual but also a prayer and a hope from the elders for the couple's future.<sup>63</sup> By carrying out this tradition, the newlyweds earn the respect of the community, as they are seen as preserving the ancestral heritage. This honor is not just a social status but also relates to moral and spiritual integrity, shaped by their participation in upholding a tradition that has existed for generations.

Through interviews with several cultural leaders and members of the community, it can be concluded that the formation of honor in the *Nyadokaken* tradition is the result of

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<sup>60</sup> Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*.

<sup>61</sup> Fikri and Anwar, "Tradisi Perkawinan Perang Bangkat Suku Osing Banyuwangi Prespektif Fiqih (Urf) Madzhab Syafi'i (Studi Kasus Di Desa Lemahbang Dewo Kecamatan Rogojampi Kabupaten Banyuwangi)." *Jurnal Review Pendidikan dan Pengajaran (JRPP)* 7, no. 4 (2024): 13850-13856.

<sup>62</sup> Muhammad Arifin, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, October 29, 2024

<sup>63</sup> Rahayes, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 4, 2024

habits practiced repeatedly and passed down through generations. Honor is highly valued within the Osing community, and couples who perform *Nyadokaken* are considered to have fulfilled their responsibility in maintaining tradition and custom.<sup>64</sup> Without this tradition, a marriage would feel incomplete and less legitimate, even if it is accepted in religious terms.

The researcher compares *Nyadokaken Pengantin* with the *Dui Papenre'* tradition of the Bugis community.<sup>65,66,67</sup> Both traditions share the goal of forming family honor, though in different ways. *Nyadokaken Pengantin* focuses more on the ritual of marriage validation through handshakes and collective prayers, socially and traditionally legitimizing the marital relationship. In contrast, *Dui Papenre'* focuses on the dowry determined by the bride's family, reflecting the social status and education of the family. Both traditions teach that family honor is shaped and preserved through the meaningful performance of customs in accordance with the norms of their respective societies.

Based on research conducted by the researcher in Kemiren Village, Glagah District, Banyuwangi Regency, several findings regarding the formation of family honor through the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* traditional ceremony were discovered. The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition holds profound significance for the Osing community.<sup>68</sup> The honor formed through this tradition is not only a social symbol but also an integral part of local wisdom that functions to protect the family's lineage.<sup>69</sup> This illustrates how the Osing people view and maintain their honor within a cultural framework that has existed since ancient times.

This study discusses the *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition from the perspective of Islamic law, particularly in relation to the concept of '*Urf*'.<sup>70</sup> The literal meaning of '*urf*' refers to a condition, expression, action, or provision that is well-known to people and has developed into a tradition that can either be practiced or avoided. In the broader community context, the term '*urf*' is often used synonymously with custom. There are the Definition of '*urf*':

The Definition of Urf According Abdul Wahab:

مَا تَعَارَفَهُ النَّاسُ وَسَاوُوا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ قَوْلٍ أَوْ فِعْلٍ أَوْ تَرْكِ ، وَيُسَمَّى الْعَادَةُ

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<sup>64</sup> Muhammad Arifin, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, October 29, 2024

<sup>65</sup> Ahmad Afandi and Yeni Afrilianti, "Kasus Masyarakat Bugis Di Desa Teluk Santong," *HISTORIS: Jurnal Kajian, Penelitian & Pengembangan Pendidikan Sejarah* 4, no. 1 (2019): 14–19.

<sup>66</sup> Amrizal Salida and others, "Uang Panai Tradition: Economic Impact Analysis and Its Implications on Bugis Community in Pinrang Regency," *TGO Journal of Education, Science and Technology* 1, no. 2 (2023): 241–249.

<sup>67</sup> Tang, "Tolong-Menolong Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pesta Pernikahan Pada Masyarakat Bugis Di Desa Madello Kabupaten Barru Sulawesi Selatan." *Al-Qalam* 15, no. 2 (2009): 297–316.

<sup>68</sup> Paramita, Taufiq, and Rizal, "Cultural CSR in Perceptions of Cultural Preservation Osing." *SINERGI* 8, no. 11 (2018): 10–20.

<sup>69</sup> Gunarti Dwi Lestari et al., "Parenting Style in Efforts to Maintain the Cultural Values of the Osing Community in Kemiren Village, Banyuwangi Regency, Indonesia," *Journal of Population and Social Studies* 32, no. April (2024): 738–756, <https://doi.org/10.25133/JPSSV322024.043>.

<sup>70</sup> Sunan Autad Sarjana and Imam Kamaluddin Suratman, "Pengaruh Realitas Sosial Terhadap Perubahan Hukum Islam: Telaah Atas Konsep '*Urf*,'" *Tsaqafah* 13, no. 2 (2018): 279, <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i2.1509>.

Means : "Something that is mutually recognized by people and maintained among them, whether in the form of words, actions, or decisions to uphold or abandon something. 'Urf is also known as custom."<sup>71</sup>

According to Wahbah al-Zuhaili:

مَا اعْتَدَهُ النَّاسُ وَسَارُوا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ كُلِّ فَعْلٍ شَاعَ بَيْنَهُمْ، أَوْ لَفْظٍ تَعَارَفُوا إِطْلَاقَهُ عَلَى مَعْنَى خَاصٍّ لَا تَأْلِفُهُ اللَّغَةُ

Means : "An act or deed that has become a habit among people, continually practiced among them, encompassing actions that have become traditions or words that are specifically recognized, not just in terms of language."<sup>72</sup>

According to Hasby as-Shiddiqiey:

مَا يَعْتَدُهُ النَّاسُ دَوَّ الطَّبَائِعِ السَّلِيمَةِ مِنْ أَهْلِ قَطَرٍ إِسْلَامِي بِشَرِطٍ أَنْ لَا يُخَالِفُ نَصًّا شَرْعِيًّا

Means : "Something that has become a habit among people, accepted by individuals with good character, and has become customary in the society of a particular region, provided that it does not contradict the principles of Islamic law (Sharia)."<sup>73</sup>

The three definitions share similar concepts, but different in their expression. The most comprehensive and general definition is presented by Abdul Wahab Khallaf and Wahbah al-Zuhaili, both of whom emphasize practices that have become habitual, regardless of whether they are considered good or bad.

In the science of *Ushul Fiqih*, 'Urf refers to customs or traditions that are recognized, accepted, and commonly practiced by a group of people.<sup>74</sup> In this context, the Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition is classified as part of 'Urf, which holds great significance in the formation and preservation of family honor. Below is the relevance of the Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition in Islamic Law:

#### *Classification of 'Urf Based on Validity*

The Nyadokaken Pengantin is part of the *Panggih Manten* ceremony, which is the handshake between the bride and groom after the marriage contract, held in the evening before *maghrib*. In Islam, handshakes (*musafaha*), are subject to specific rules, namely, they are only allowed between members of the same gender or between non-*mahram* (unrelated) individuals who do not invoke desire. For example, a handshake between a man and a woman, such as with a child or someone who does not induce lust, is not problematic. According to Yusuf Al-Qardhawi,<sup>75</sup> the prohibition on handshakes between men and women is not an absolute haram but is more of a preventive measure to avoid actions that could lead to lustful feelings, with some leniency for those who do not feel such desire.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Abdul Wahab Khallaf, *Ilmu Ushul Fiqh*, (Jakarta: Dar Al-Qalam, 1978), 89.

<sup>72</sup> Wahabah Az-Zuhaili, *Ushul Fiqh Al-Islami*, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2001), 826.

<sup>73</sup> Hasby Al-Shiddiqiey, *Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh*, (Semarang : Pustaka Risky Putra, 1999)

<sup>74</sup> Yamamah, "The Existence of Al-Urf ( Social Tradition) in Islamic Law Theory." *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 21, no. 12 (2016): 43-48.

<sup>75</sup> Acep Dani Ramdani et al., "The Significance of the Handshake Based on Religious and Social Perspectives (Analytical Study of Yusuf al-Qardhawi and Petter L. Berger)," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 10, no. 1 (2022): 1-23, <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2022.10.1.1-23>.

<sup>76</sup> Bagher Riahi Mehr, "The Extent of the Validity of the Custom ('Urf) in the Interpretation of the Qur'an," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Qur'anic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2023): 145-62, <https://doi.org/10.37264/jiqs.v2i1june2023.7>.

### *Classification of 'Urf Based on Source*

'Urf has two main categories: *Urf Qauli* (words) and *Urf Fi'li* (actions). The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition falls into the category of *Urf Fi'li* because it involves actions or deeds performed by the community.<sup>77</sup> In this case, *Nyadokaken* is not just a matter of words or speech but involves a series of actions that must be carried out by both the bride and groom. These include the handshake, a collective prayer, and the recognition of honor conducted by the families in front of the community. As a customary act carried out within the community, this tradition is an integral part of the Osing ethnic wedding ceremony.

### *Classification of 'Urf Based on Scope*

'Urf is further divided into two categories based on its scope: *Urf Am* (general) and *Urf Khash* (specific).<sup>78</sup> *Urf Am* refers to customs that are practiced in nearly all countries or societies, regardless of ethnicity, religion, or race. On the other hand, *Urf Khash* pertains to customs that are specific to particular social groups in specific areas or times. The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition falls under the category of *Urf Khash* because it is only practiced by the Osing community, specifically in Kemiren Village, Banyuwangi. This tradition is not found in other areas or among other ethnic groups, making it a unique practice for the Osing people.

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* tradition serves as an effort to protect the honor of the family. In the Osing community, family honor is highly valued, especially for daughters. This honor is not only seen from a social perspective but also in terms of moral and religious values.<sup>79</sup> If a family does not carry out the *Nyadokaken Pengantin*, there will be a perception that the marriage took place for dishonorable reasons, such as a forced marriage due to a disgraceful act like pregnancy out of wedlock.<sup>80</sup> The *Shari'ah* in this regard is mentioned in the Qur'an, Surah Al-Jatsiyah, verse 18, as follows:

ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاكَ عَلَىٰ شَرِيعَةٍ مِّنَ الْأَمْرِ فَاتَّبِعْهَا

Means : “ Then We have made you (O Muhammad) on a clear way of the matter (religion), so follow it.”

Muhammad Arifin, the Head of Kemiren Village, stated that *Nyadokaken Pengantin* is a way for the community to ensure that the marriage is based on mutual love and consent between both parties.<sup>81</sup> The honor of both families will be maintained through this ceremony, which symbolically shows that both brides and grooms are respectable individuals worthy of respect from society. Suhaimi, the customary leader in Kemiren Village, added that this

<sup>77</sup> Yamamah, “The Existence of Al-Urf ( Social Tradition) in Islamic Law Theory.” *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 21, no. 12 (2016): 43-48.

<sup>78</sup> Darmawan Darmawan, “Influences of 'Urf in Islamic Law Compilation Concerning Marriage in Indonesia,” *Al-Daulah Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 11, no. 1 (2021): 149-72, <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2021.11.1.149-172>.

<sup>79</sup> Paramita, Taufiq, and Rizal, “Cultural CSR in Perceptions of Cultural Preservation Osing.”

<sup>80</sup> Novi Anoeграjekti et al., “Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival as Visualization of Tradition: The Policy of Culture and Tradition Revitalization through Enhancement of Innovation and Locality-Based Creative Industry,” *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 5, no. 1 (2018): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2018.1502913>.

<sup>81</sup> Muhammad Arifin, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, October 29, 2024

tradition is not just a ritual, but also reflects the moral values taught by ancestors.<sup>82</sup> This custom functions as a preventive measure to ensure that marriage is carried out with full responsibility, as well as a way to ensure that the families of the bride and groom have a good reputation in the eyes of the community.<sup>83</sup>

Based on the definitions of 'urf previously discussed, the Nyadokaken Pengantin tradition can be classified as '*Urf Khash*' since it is practiced exclusively by the Osing community in Kemiren, Banyuwangi. Also, it falls under '*Urf Fi'li*' as it is practiced through a series of actions rather than words. However, in the author's analysis, this tradition extends beyond a mere cultural practice; it serves a deeper function in preserving family honor, shaping cultural identity, and reinforcing social values that align with Islamic principles.

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* can also be considered '*Urf Shahih*' (a valid custom in line with Islamic teachings) because it does not contradict Islamic law. Instead, it strengthens key Islamic values related to marriage, such as family transparency, parental blessings, and communal prayers for the newlyweds. While this tradition remains unique to the Osing people, its core values resonate with broader Islamic teachings that emphasize family dignity, marital harmony, and the moral foundation of marriage.

## **Conclusion**

The *Nyadokaken Pengantin* is classified as '*urf shahih*' (valid custom) because it aligns with religious principles, does not cause harm, and meets the criteria for acceptance in Islamic law. It also falls under '*urf fi'liyah*' (customary practice through action) and '*urf khash*' (specific custom) since it is unique to the Osing community. This classification highlights how local traditions can be accommodated within Islamic jurisprudence, contributing to the development of Islamic family law by demonstrating the integration of cultural practices within religious frameworks.

Using Bourdieu's habitus theory, this study illustrates how Nyadokaken Pengantin remains a deeply ingrained social practice. The habitus of the Osing people ensures that this tradition is not just a ritual but a way of life, maintained through social expectations. Within the social field of the Osing community, adherence to this tradition preserves cultural identity.

These findings underscore the necessity of incorporating customary marriage regulations within Indonesia's legal framework. Integrating Nyadokaken Pengantin into national frameworks can aid in the preservation of cultural identity while maintaining adherence to Islamic law. To guarantee its persistence, additional research must investigate how this tradition evolves in response to contemporary problems. Awareness efforts aimed at younger generations may strengthen the significance of familial honor, social unity, and cultural conservation. This paper analyzes Nyadokaken Pengantin from artistic and Islamic legal viewpoints, thereby enhancing the broader discussion on Islamic family law and local customs.

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<sup>82</sup> Suhaimi, *author interview*, Banyuwangi, November 7, 2024

<sup>83</sup> Elimartati, "Building a Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah Family (a Family With Tranquility , Love , and Mercy)." *Proceeding IAIN Batusangkar* 1, no. 2 (2020): 31-36.

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