

PATRIARCHY AND HADITH IN *TOMBOR MAG*: GENDER POLITICS IN PAPUAN ISLAMIC MARRIAGE LAW

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the patriarchal dimension of living hadith embedded in the Tombor Mag tradition among Muslim Patipi community in Fakfak, West Papua, a Muslim majority regency in eastern Indonesia. The analysis argues that Tombor Mag is not simply a customary form of mahr, but rather a deeply rooted socio-religious institution through which patriarchal power is perpetuated via selective interpretations of hadith. Using a qualitative field-based approach, data were collected through interviews, participant observation, and document analysis, then analyzed through living hadith studies, Foucauldian discourse analysis, and maqāṣid-oriented gender hermeneutics. The results show that Tombor Mag serves as a significant marker of family honor, masculine legitimacy, and inter-clan solidarity, while also imposing economic burdens and reinforcing gender inequality among Patipi Muslim families. Hadiths concerning male responsibility and mahr obligation are selectively emphasized to legitimize customary structures, whereas hadiths promoting simplicity and moderation in marriage are systematically marginalized. The study further demonstrates that interpretive authority is dominated by male religious and customary elites, resulting in patriarchal readings of hadith that reinforce women’s symbolic subordination and constrain their agency within marital negotiations. This article proposes a maqāṣid al-sharī’ah-oriented and gender-sensitive reinterpretation of hadith as a normative framework for reformulating customary marriage practices while preserving cultural continuity and promoting justice, reciprocity, and human dignity in Islamic family law.

Keywords: *Islamic Family Law, Living Hadith, Maqāṣid al-Sharī’ah, Patriarchy, Tombor Mag*

INTRODUCTION

Among Muslim Patipi community in Fakfak, West Papua, *Tombor Mag* plays a central role within marriage negotiations, family honor, and the social construction of gender relations. *Tombor Mag* refers to a customary system of mobilizing valuable indigenous wealth—including Timor textiles, beads, porcelain plates, and other traditional objects—provided by the groom’s family as a prerequisite for marriage (Abza et al., 2024; Rahim, Bahamba, & Kabes 2021; Satiti, 2022). More than a customary exchange, *Tombor Mag* constitutes a deeply embedded socio-cultural institution through which masculinity, kinship prestige, women’s symbolic value, and communal authority are continuously negotiated and reproduced. Within Patipi society, marriage is not merely a private contract between two individuals but a collective arena in which *adat*, religion, gender hierarchy, and social legitimacy intersect.

Discussions concerning *Tombor Mag* permeate everyday family life among Patipi Muslims. From an early age, daughters are frequently imagined in relation to the future customary value attached to their marriages. As one customary elder explained, “A woman carries the great name of her family. Her worth is not something that can be given lightly” (Salim Garamatan, 2023). In many informal gatherings among senior male figures, women are often discussed in relation to the amount of *Tombor Mag* expected from prospective husbands. Such conversations indicate that women’s social value is symbolically linked to the quantity and prestige of customary wealth exchanged during marriage rituals. In this context, women are framed not merely as marital partners but as symbolic bearers of collective honor whose value is measured through customary exchange.

At the same time, *Tombor Mag* imposes substantial economic and moral pressures upon men. Marriage frequently

requires years of labor, debt, and collective fundraising among extended kinship networks. As one young Patipi man stated, “If you want to marry, you must be ready to fall and rise. *Tombor Mag* is not a joke. But if it is not fulfilled, we are ashamed as men” (Umar Iba, 2023). Masculinity is thus assessed through economic capability and customary compliance. Yet this symbolic elevation of women simultaneously produces ambivalence among women themselves. One Patipi woman remarked, “We follow the custom—it is an obligation. But sometimes it feels like we are being exchanged” (Patipi woman, 2023). These narratives indicate that *Tombor Mag* operates not only as cultural heritage but also as a gendered institution that regulates women’s bodies, male authority, and familial prestige through symbolic mechanisms of power.

The persistence of *Tombor Mag* among Muslim Patipi communities becomes even more significant as the tradition is continuously legitimized through Islamic discourse, particularly Prophetic hadith. During marriage negotiations and customary rituals, *adat* leaders and village *imams* frequently invoke Qur’anic verses and hadith concerning *mahr*, male responsibility, and family leadership. Among the most frequently cited traditions is the hadith: “The best among you are those who are best to their wives” (al-Tirmidzi, 1975). Similarly, references to Qur’anic verses regarding men’s obligation to provide *mahr* serve to underscore the expectation that a man must be both committed and financially prepared before entering into marriage (Qur’an, al-Nisā’ [4]: 4; 4:24). However, these textual references do not function neutrally. Rather, hadith becomes selectively mobilized within an already established customary structure that privileges patriarchal authority and collective honor. This article argues that the case of *Tombor Mag* reflects what may be termed

“patriarchal living hadith”: a social condition in which hadith traditions are not merely received, practiced, or transmitted within everyday Muslim life, but are selectively reproduced to stabilize patriarchal structures embedded within local customary systems. Existing scholarship on living hadith in Indonesia has demonstrated that hadith operates as a lived social phenomenon beyond textual transmission (Hasbillah, 2019; Qudsy et al., 2024; Qudsy & Dewi, 2018; Suryadilaga, 2013). Recent studies similarly emphasize that hadith acquires meaning through ritual practices, local wisdom, and communal performance rather than solely through textual authenticity (Gasmelsid, Jamil, & Nasution, 2026; Shadra, Saddriana, & Tajuddin, 2025). However, the majority of living hadith studies are primarily descriptive and celebratory, emphasizing reception, transmission, and cultural adaptation while ignoring critical analysis of how living hadith may perpetuate gender hierarchy and symbolic domination.

The Patipi case demonstrates that the reception of hadith is inseparable from relations of power. Hadith traditions that emphasize male responsibility and authority are repeatedly circulated, normalized, and ritualized within *Tombor Mag* practices, while Prophetic teachings encouraging simplicity in *mahr*, reciprocity, and the removal of hardship are marginalized or treated as socially impractical. For example, the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud stating that “*The best mahr is the one that is easiest*” (Abu Dawud, 2025:2117) is rarely foregrounded in customary discourse. When asked about this tradition, one village imam responded: “*That teaching is good, but it does not fit our custom*” (Abdul Kadir Patipi, 2023). Such responses indicate that the reception of hadith within Patipi society is shaped more by socio-cultural utility than by adherence to textual hierarchy. Specific hadiths gain authority due to their role in

preserving adat, sustaining inter-clan harmony, and reinforcing masculine authority.

This phenomenon aligns closely with Michel Foucault’s conceptualization of discourse and power relations. Foucault (1980, 2002) argues that truth is socially constructed through discursive mechanisms regulated by institutions and power structures. Religious interpretation does not occur in isolation; it is consistently embedded within authority relations that determine which forms of knowledge are legitimized and which are marginalized. In Patipi society, male religious figures, customary elders, and clan authorities dominate interpretive spaces, whereas women are largely excluded from the production of religious meaning. As a result, hadith interpretation functions as a form of social regulation enacted through ritual, repetition, moral pressure, and symbolic legitimacy, rather than through explicit coercion.

Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic power further clarifies how *Tombor Mag* reproduces patriarchal domination through cultural normalization (Bourdieu, 1991). Symbolic domination operates precisely when social hierarchies appear natural, honorable, and unquestionable. Within *Tombor Mag*, women are symbolically glorified as carriers of family dignity, yet this symbolic elevation simultaneously limits their agency in determining the value, negotiation, and meaning of marriage itself. Men, meanwhile, are disciplined through shame, debt, and moral expectations tied to economic capability. In this sense, *Tombor Mag* constitutes a gendered symbolic economy in which both masculinity and femininity are regulated through customary discourse legitimized by religion.

These dynamics also reflect broader critiques developed by Muslim feminist scholars concerning patriarchal interpretation within Islamic traditions. Moreover, patriarchal culture among

Papuan Muslims remains deeply entrenched and continues to disadvantage women (Harianto & Listyani 2025; Khasanah & Merina 2024; Manoby, Siscawati, & Dewi 2023; Rohman & Utami 2023). Mernissi (1991) shows that hadith traditions have historically been selected and interpreted through political processes that preserve male authority. Asma Barlas (2002) states that patriarchal social structures frequently shape the readings of Islamic texts rather than allowing the ethical spirit of revelation to challenge domination. Similarly, Wadud (1999) emphasizes that Qur'an and hadith must be approached through ethical and contextual hermeneutics attentive to justice, reciprocity, and women's lived experiences. The problem, therefore, lies not in the sacred texts themselves, but in the patriarchal structures controlling interpretation and religious authority.

Within Islamic family law, the Patipi case reveals how local custom mediates the practical operation of *sharī'ah* norms. *Mahr*, which classical Islamic jurisprudence conceptualizes as an individual right belonging to women, undergoes a significant transformation within *Tombor Mag*. Rather than functioning primarily as a woman's legal entitlement, *mahr* becomes collective customary wealth representing family prestige and clan honor. This finding supports broader scholarship on legal pluralism and the negotiation between Islamic law and local custom in Indonesian Muslim societies (Bowen, 2003; Burhanudin & van Dijk 2013; Hasyim, AW, & Mufid 2020). Yet in contrast to previous studies, this article specifically demonstrates how patriarchal living hadith operates within that negotiation process to sustain gendered power relations within Islamic marriage law.

It is precisely at this point that a *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* perspective becomes crucial. Core principles such as justice (*al-'adl*), human dignity (*hifz al-'ird*), reciprocity, public welfare (*al-maṣlahah*),

and the removal of hardship (*raf' al-ḥaraj*) provide an ethical framework for critically evaluating customary practices that generate social inequality (Al-Syātibī, 2004; Auda, 2008; Ibn 'Āshūr, 2006). Excessively burdensome *Tombor Mag* practices contradict the broader objectives of Islamic marriage law, which seek to facilitate marriage, preserve dignity, and establish harmonious family relations. Through a *maqāsid*-oriented and gender-sensitive hermeneutics of hadith (Abdul Kodir, 2019; Islamy, 2020), this study proposes that living hadith should not merely preserve tradition, but also function as a normative instrument for critically engaging and challenging injustice embedded within customary structures.

Against this background, this study addresses four main research questions:

1. How is *mahr* conceptualized and socially practiced within the *Tombor Mag* tradition among Muslim Patipi community?
2. How do patriarchal forms of living hadith operate in legitimizing *Tombor Mag* within Papuan Islamic marriage law?
3. How do customary authority, gender relations, and religious interpretation intersect in reproducing of patriarchal power?
4. How can a *maqāsid*-oriented and gender-sensitive reading of hadith provide a normative framework for reinterpreting customary marriage practices?

This study aims to contribute theoretically to the growing field of living hadith studies by introducing the concept of "patriarchal living hadith" as a critical analytical framework for understanding the relationship between hadith reception, symbolic domination, and gender politics within Muslim customary societies. It further contributes to Islamic family law studies by demonstrating that the implementation of *sharī'ah* norms in local communities is deeply mediated by relations of power, cultural negotiation,

and interpretive authority. Furthermore, the article offers a normative perspective by proposing *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* as a constructive bridge between preserving local identity and realizing gender justice in contemporary Muslim marriage practices.

Literature Review

Studies on bridewealth, *mahr*, and customary marriage traditions in Eastern Indonesia have developed across several major scholarly trajectories. The first body of scholarship primarily approaches bridewealth as a socio-cultural institution embedded within indigenous systems of exchange, kinship, and communal identity. Ethnographic works by Usman (2018) in Skouw Sae, Marpaung (2021) among the Isirawa community, and Lefaan and Lelapary (2016) in Fakfak describe bridewealth as a mechanism of social integration, compensation, inter-family alliance, and symbolic respect toward women. Similarly, Maharani (2018) interprets *Tombor Mag* as a form of local wisdom preserving ancestral honor and communal cohesion. While these studies provide important anthropological insights into the social functions of bride wealth, they largely remain within descriptive cultural frameworks and do not critically interrogate the structures of gendered power embedded within such practices.

A second strand of scholarship examines bridewealth through socio-economic and interdisciplinary perspectives. Satiti (2022), for example, offers an important critique by identifying *Tombor Mag* as part of a broader process of structural impoverishment in Fakfak society, particularly due to the escalating economic burden imposed on men and extended families. Other studies, such as Fredrik et al. (2021) and Pandu and Suwarsono (2020), approach bride wealth traditions through ethnomathematics, analyzing the symbolic numerical structures embedded in customary objects. Meanwhile, Tetelepta et al. (2021) begin to

address gender inequality by highlighting male dominance in Papuan bride wealth systems from a postcolonial feminist perspective. Nevertheless, these studies remain primarily focused on cultural representation, economic exchange, or symbolic identity formation, without systematically analyzing how religious authority and Islamic discourse participate in legitimizing patriarchal customary structures.

Within the field of Islamic family law, numerous studies have demonstrated that *mahr* practices in Indonesian Muslim societies are shaped through continuous negotiation between *sharī'a* norms and local *adat* traditions. Sopyan and Asyraf (2018), Nurhikmah et al. (2025), and Ilmiati et al. (2025) show that marriage payments in Muslim communities often reflect hybrid legal formations in which Islamic legal concepts are reinterpreted through local cultural expectations. Hasyim et al. (2020), in their study of the Walagara marriage ritual among the Tengger Muslim community, further argue that Islamic law in Indonesia frequently operates through accommodation and negotiation rather than rigid textual implementation. Recent research on Muslim Papuan marriage traditions among the Marind and Dani tribes likewise demonstrates that customary law often takes precedence over Islamic legal norms in dowry practices, requiring continuous negotiation to reconcile *adat* authority with *sharī'a* principles within local Muslim societies (Amri et al., 2026).

These studies successfully illuminate the plurality of Islamic legal practice in Indonesia. However, they tend to conceptualize the interaction between Islam and *adat* as a legal-cultural negotiation, without critically addressing the influence of patriarchal authority on the reception and interpretation of Islamic normative texts within customary marriage systems.

At the same time, scholarship on gender and Muslim family law has

increasingly emphasized that patriarchal domination within Muslim societies often operates through religious interpretation and institutional authority rather than through scripture itself. Works by Mernissi (1991), Wadud (1999), Barlas (2002), and Mir-Hosseini (2013) demonstrate that Islamic texts, including hadith, are frequently interpreted through male-centered epistemologies that normalize gender hierarchies while marginalizing women's experiences and agency. Faqihuddin (2019) further develops a *mubādalah*-based approach to Islamic family ethics, emphasizing reciprocity, partnership, and mutual dignity in Muslim marital relations. Although these studies provide powerful theoretical critiques of patriarchal interpretation within Islamic discourse, they largely focus on textual hermeneutics, legal reform, or broader Muslim societies, and rarely examine how patriarchal interpretations of hadith become socially embedded within local customary structures such as *Tombor Mag* in Muslim minority regions of Eastern Indonesia.

Parallel to these developments, the field of living hadith studies has significantly expanded in Indonesia over the past decade. Scholars such as Hasbillah (2019), Qudsy and Dewi (2024, 2018), and Suryadilaga (2013) have shown that hadith functions not merely as textual doctrine preserved in canonical collections, but as a lived social phenomenon embodied in ritual, communal practice, oral transmission, and everyday Muslim behavior. More recent international discussions on living hadith and vernacular Islam (Ernas, Dp, & Kilderak 2021; Gasmelsid et al., 2026; Shadra et al., 2025) likewise emphasize that hadith acquires meaning through social performance, local authority, and cultural negotiation. This scholarship has made a major contribution by shifting hadith studies from textual authentication toward lived reception and social embodiment.

However, despite these important advances, existing living hadith scholarship still tends to remain descriptively celebratory, focusing on reception, transmission, and localization without sufficiently interrogating the politics of interpretation operating within lived hadith practices. Very few studies examine how living hadith may function as a mechanism of patriarchal legitimation, particularly within customary marriage systems where male authority, *adat* hierarchy, and religious discourse intersect. Existing studies generally explain how hadith "lives" in society, but rarely ask whose interests are served by particular hadith interpretations, which hadith are selectively circulated or marginalized, and how relations of gendered power shape the social authority of hadith within everyday Muslim life.

It is precisely at this point that the present study positions its analytical contribution. This article argues that *Tombor Mag* represents not merely a form of local bridewealth tradition, but a site of what may be termed patriarchal living hadith, namely the selective social activation of Prophetic traditions to legitimize and stabilize patriarchal customary authority within Islamic marriage law. Unlike previous studies that treat living hadith primarily as a form of cultural reception, this study conceptualizes living hadith as a political process of discursive selection, symbolic legitimation, and gendered power reproduction. In the Patipi Muslim context, hadiths emphasizing male obligation, financial responsibility, and family leadership are repeatedly mobilized to reinforce *Tombor Mag*, while hadiths advocating ease, moderation, and reciprocity in mahr are marginalized because they potentially disrupt established customary hierarchies.

This study discusses three significant gaps in existing scholarship. First, it responds to the limited critical attention paid to the relationship between

living hadith and patriarchal power relations within customary Muslim societies. Second, it advances scholarship on Islamic family law by demonstrating that mahr practices are shaped not only by negotiation between Islam and *adat*, but also by struggles over religious authority and gendered interpretation. Third, it contributes to living hadith studies by introducing a critical framework of patriarchal living hadith, in which hadith functions not only as a lived religious tradition but also as a symbolic technology of power embedded within local structures of domination.

To analyze these dynamics, this study employs Michel Foucault's theory of power relations, particularly his concepts of discourse, normalization, and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980, 2002), alongside Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power and symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1991). These perspectives are integrated with *maqāsid*-oriented and gender-sensitive hadith hermeneutics developed by Wadud (1999), Kodir (2019), and Auda (2008). Through this interdisciplinary framework, the article demonstrates how patriarchal authority within *Tombor Mag* is reproduced not only through *adat* structures, but also through the selective circulation and social authorization of hadith within Papuan Islamic marriage practices.

Conceptual Framework

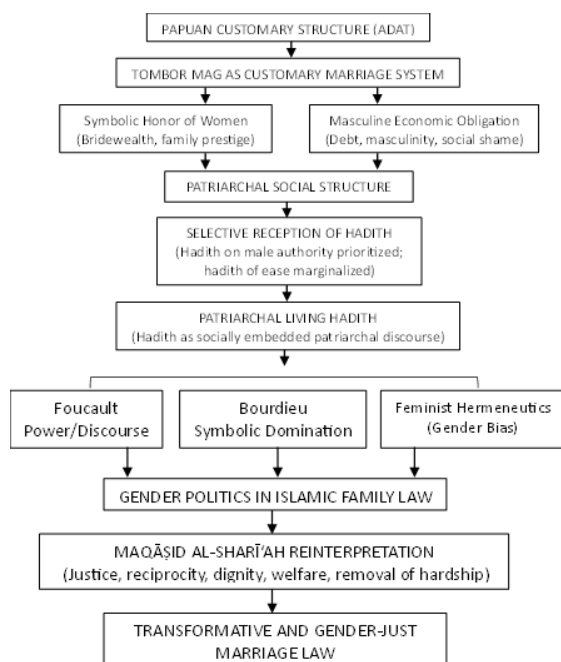
This study develops an interdisciplinary conceptual framework to analyze *The Patriarchal Living Hadith in Tombor Mag* as an intersection between customary authority, religious interpretation, symbolic domination, and gender politics within Papuan Islamic marriage law. Drawing on living hadith studies (Gasmelsid et al., 2026; Hasbillah, 2019; Qudsy & Dewi 2018; Suryadilaga, 2013), this study conceptualizes hadith not merely as a canonical text, but as a socially negotiated discourse reproduced through ritual, sermons, customary deliberation,

and everyday practices within Muslim Patipi society. At the center of this framework lies the concept of "Patriarchy and Living Hadith," namely the selective reception and social activation of Prophetic traditions concerning *mahr*, male responsibility, and marriage ethics in ways that reinforce patriarchal customary structures.

To explain this process, the study employs Michel Foucault's theory of power relations and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980, 2002) to show how religious authority operates through discourse, ritual, shame, and normalization, alongside Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1991), which explains how *Tombor Mag* becomes naturalized as a legitimate marker of masculine honor, family prestige, and women's symbolic value.

This framework combines feminist and gender-sensitive hermeneutics advanced by Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas, Fatima Mernissi, and Faqihuddin to critically assess the influence of patriarchal structures on hadith interpretation, particularly regarding the exclusion of women from religious authority and interpretive domains. Additionally, the study positions *Tombor Mag* within the anthropology of Islamic law and legal pluralism (Bowen, 2003; Burhanudin & van Dijk 2013), arguing that Islamic marriage law in Papua is shaped through negotiation with *adat* rather than strict textual application. *Maqāsid al-sharī'ah*, as articulated by Jasser Auda, Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, and Muhammad al-Tahir Ibn Ashur, serves as a normative-critical framework that prioritizes justice (*al-'adl*), dignity (*hifẓ al-'ird*), reciprocity, public welfare (*al-maṣlahah*), and the alleviation of hardship (*raf' al-ḥaraj*) to reinterpret *Tombor Mag* in pursuit of a more gender-equitable and ethically grounded Islamic marriage practice.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Patriarchal Living Hadith in Tombor Mag



Source: Author's elaboration

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative, critical ethnographic approach to examine patriarchy and the living hadith embedded within the *Tombor Mag* tradition among Muslim Patipi communities in Fakfak, West Papua. A qualitative approach is considered appropriate because *Tombor Mag* cannot be adequately understood merely as a material dowry system or a formal legal institution; rather, it represents a lived socio-religious practice shaped by ritual performance, symbolic exchange, customary authority, gender relations, and religious interpretation operating within everyday Muslim life (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). The study was conducted through field-based ethnographic research in Patipi Village and surrounding Muslim communities where *Tombor Mag* remains actively practiced within customary Islamic marriage rituals. Data were collected through participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and textual documentation. Participant observation

was undertaken during marriage deliberations, customary meetings, dowry negotiations, and *Tombor Mag* rituals to capture symbolic actions, ritual language, and interaction patterns reflecting relations of patriarchal authority and religious legitimacy (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw 2011; Spradley, 1980). Interviews involved customary elders, village imams, religious figures, married women, young unmarried men, and family members directly engaged in *Tombor Mag* negotiations. The inclusion of women participants was particularly important for recovering perspectives often marginalized within customary and religious interpretive spaces. In addition, this study analyzes Prophetic hadiths concerning *mahr*, male responsibility, guardianship, and women's dignity that are frequently invoked within local religious discourse, positioning hadith not merely as textual doctrine but as socially lived and culturally negotiated religious practice (Hasbillah, 2019; Qudsy & Dewi 2018; Suryadilaga, 2013).

Data analysis was conducted through an interdisciplinary framework integrating thematic analysis, critical discourse analysis, symbolic power theory, and *maqāṣid*-based gender-sensitive hermeneutics of hadith. Thematic analysis was employed to identify recurring patterns related to patriarchy, masculinity, family honor, women's agency, customary legitimacy, and marriage obligations (Braun & Clarke 2021). Critical discourse analysis drawing upon Michel Foucault was used to examine how religious narratives, customary discourse, and ritual language surrounding *Tombor Mag* function as mechanisms of social regulation and disciplinary power (Foucault 1980, 2002). Meanwhile, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic domination was applied to analyze how customary wealth, male economic responsibility, and family prestige operate as symbolic capital reproducing patriarchal hierarchy through culturally normalized practices (Bourdieu 1991). The

religious dimension of the study was further analyzed through a *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*-oriented and gender-sensitive hermeneutical approach emphasizing justice (*al-'adl*), reciprocity, public welfare (*al-maṣlahah*), protection of dignity (*hifz al-'ird*), and the removal of hardship (*raf' al-ḥaraj*) as ethical objectives of Islamic marriage law (Al-Syātibī 2004; Auda 2008; Ibn 'Āshūr 2006). In addition, the study draws upon the gender hermeneutics of Amina Wadud (1999), Asma Barlas (2002), and Faqihuddin (2019) to critically examine how masculine interpretive authority shapes the reception of hadith within Papuan Islamic marriage law. The validity of the findings was enhanced through source triangulation, method triangulation, reflexive field notes, and member checking with key informants to strengthen interpretive credibility and contextual accuracy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

DISCUSSION

The respondents in this study were selected from Muslim communities in Fakfak Regency, West Papua, particularly within the broader socio-cultural environment of Patipi Bay, where the *Tombor Mag* tradition continues to shape marriage practices and kinship relations. The demographic profile of Fakfak is significant because it reflects the social environment in which Islamic norms, customary authority, and gender relations intersect in everyday marital life.

According to BPS-Statistics Fakfak Regency (2024), the regency had an estimated population of 93,963 people in mid-2024, consisting of 48,070 males and 45,893 females. Islam is the majority religion, practiced by approximately 57.8% of the population, while Christianity (Protestant and Catholic) accounts for around 42.2%.

This demographic composition is important because it situates *Tombor Mag* within a Muslim-majority social setting

where Islamic authority and *adat* coexist as mutually reinforcing normative systems. Meanwhile, higher education attainment remains relatively low at approximately 8.53%, indicating that customary authority and inherited social structures continue to play a dominant role in shaping communal perceptions of marriage, gender, and religious legitimacy.

Table 1. Demographic Profile of Fakfak Regency (Context for Research Area, 2024)

Variable	Statistic (Fakfak Regency)
Total Population	93,963 (mid-2024 est.)
Male	48,070
Female	45,893
Religious Composition (Islam)	~57.8 %
Religious Composition (Christianity)	~42.2 %
Higher Education Attainment	~8.53 %

Source: BPS-Statistics Fakfak Regency, 2024.

The informants in this study were purposively selected from within this socio-religious environment and included village imams, *adat* elders, male participants involved in marriage negotiations, and Patipi women directly affected by the social and economic consequences of *Tombor Mag* tradition. Although district-level ethnic and linguistic data for Patipi Bay are unavailable in official statistical reports, Fakfak's demographic composition provides an important contextual foundation for understanding the interaction between Islamic interpretive authority, customary obligations, and patriarchal structures in Muslim marriage practices. The predominance of Islam in the region helps explain why *Tombor Mag* is not viewed solely as a cultural tradition but is also legitimized through Islamic legal and moral discourses.

***Tombor Mag* as a Social Structure Regulating Honor and Gender Roles**

The findings show that *mahr* in the *Tombor Mag* tradition is conceptualized

not solely as an individual marital gift mandated by Islamic law, but as a collective customary institution rooted in social honor, masculine authority, and kinship prestige. In Muslim Patipi communities, *Tombor Mag* serves as a socio-cultural mechanism that ensures marriage is publicly recognized, morally validated, and socially legitimized. The process generally commences with negotiations between the extended families of the bride and groom to determine the scale, timing, and composition of the customary dowry. On the designated day, the groom's family arrives in a ceremonial manner, presenting various forms of indigenous wealth, including porcelain plates, *kain timur* (traditional eastern textiles), beads, gold jewelry, food supplies, and symbolic sums of money, all arranged according to customary protocol. These items are displayed before *adat* elders and religious figures who supervise the ritual process and publicly affirm the legitimacy of the marriage.

After the presentation ceremony, the bride's family evaluates whether the *Tombor Mag* fulfills customary expectations regarding completeness, symbolic value, and family dignity. The ritual concludes with communal prayers, collective meals, and the reaffirmation of inter-family alliances. Although the practice is outwardly framed as an expression of respect toward women and their families, the findings reveal that *Tombor Mag* simultaneously operates as a social structure regulating gender hierarchy, family honor, and masculine legitimacy (Abza et al., 2024). In practice, marriage is not considered fully honorable unless the customary obligations attached to *Tombor Mag* are adequately fulfilled.

This conception was explicitly articulated by Salim Garamatan (2023), a customary leader, who explained:

"Tombor Mag is not merely about money. It represents the honor of the man's family. If it is not fulfilled, people will say that the man is not yet ready to become the head of a household."

This statement illustrates that *mahr* within *Tombor Mag* is socially transformed from an individual right of women into a symbolic instrument for measuring male worthiness and social maturity. The dowry no longer functions solely as a marital obligation grounded in Islamic jurisprudence, but as symbolic capital that determines masculine honor within communal life. From Pierre Bourdieu's perspective (1991), this mechanism reflects the operation of symbolic power, whereby economic obligations are converted into moral and social standards that appear natural, legitimate, and unquestionable. Through ritual repetition and collective recognition, *Tombor Mag* reproduces patriarchal authority not through coercion, but through normalization.

At the same time, women have very limited authority in determining either the amount or the form of *Tombor Mag*. Negotiations are conducted almost entirely by male relatives and *adat* authorities, while women are positioned primarily as symbolic recipients rather than active participants. One female informant, E. Jainab Patipi (23 years old), stated:

"When I got married, I was only told that my family would receive Tombor Mag. I did not know how much it was or what items were included. That was considered the business of my parents and male relatives."

This testimony demonstrates that women's experiences and voices remain largely excluded from the process through which *mahr* is socially constructed and negotiated. Although *Tombor Mag* is culturally presented as honoring women, the practice simultaneously marginalizes women from the sphere of decision-making authority. Consequently, women become symbolic objects within a patriarchal exchange system governed by male kinship structures. In this context, the lived practice of *mahr* within *Tombor Mag* reveals how Islamic marriage law is socially mediated through *adat*, resulting

in the transformation of women from legal subjects with marital rights into symbolic markers of collective family prestige.

These findings reinforce Ziba Mir-Hosseini's argument (2013) that Islamic family law frequently becomes a strategic site for the reproduction of gender inequality through the interaction between religious interpretation, social authority, and patriarchal custom. Within Patipi society, *Tombor Mag* demonstrates that gender politics in Islamic marriage law does not operate solely through formal legal doctrine, but through the lived interaction between customary structures, symbolic honor, and religiously legitimized social expectations.

Economic Burden and Social Effects: *Tombor Mag* as a Mechanism of Male Control

The findings further reveal that *mahr* within the *Tombor Mag* tradition carries substantial economic consequences that significantly affect marital life and masculine identity. Interviews with Patipi families indicate that fulfilling *Tombor Mag* frequently requires substantial financial resources, sometimes reaching tens or even hundreds of millions of rupiah. The process commonly involves mobilizing support from extended kinship networks across villages and urban areas, while many families incur long-term debt that may remain unpaid for years after marriage. Muhammad Raja (2023), one of the male informants, explained:

"I got married in 2018, but the Tombor Mag installments were only fully paid in 2023. We had to collect contributions from many relatives. Sometimes it is embarrassing to admit that it is not yet paid off, because here a man is judged by that."

This statement demonstrates that *Tombor Mag* functions not only as a customary obligation but also as a disciplinary mechanism regulating masculine morality and social recognition. A man's worth is measured through his ability to fulfill the economic expectations

attached to marriage. Masculinity is therefore constructed through financial endurance, customary compliance, and the capacity to preserve family honor. In Michel Foucault's framework (1980), this reflects disciplinary power operating through shame, moral pressure, and social surveillance rather than direct coercion. Men internalize customary expectations and regulate themselves according to communal standards of masculine respectability.

For women, however, the social effects of *Tombor Mag* are deeply ambivalent. Although women are symbolically elevated through the high value attached to the dowry, this symbolic valuation simultaneously intensifies patriarchal control over their behavior and bodily conduct. The larger the *Tombor Mag*, the greater the expectation that women must preserve the dignity of the husband's family and conform to *adat*-based moral expectations. One female informant, identified as M. (41 years old) explained:

"When the Tombor Mag is large, people say the woman must be more respectful and careful in her behavior. Sometimes it feels as if I was bought at a high price."(Female Informant M, 2023).

This testimony reveals that the symbolic value of *mahr* becomes closely tied to the regulation of women's conduct within marriage. Women's bodies, speech, and social behavior become morally monitored through the logic of customary exchange. In this sense, *Tombor Mag* does not merely symbolize respect for women, but also reproduces a patriarchal structure in which women become socially accountable to the economic value attached to them. Patriarchal control thus operates structurally through *adat*, kinship expectations, and moral discourse rather than through overt domination alone.

Accordingly, the conceptualization of *mahr* within *Tombor Mag* tradition reflects a significant transformation of Islamic marital principles into a patriarchal

customary institution. Rather than functioning solely as a legal right intended to honor women and facilitate marriage, *mahr* becomes embedded within a symbolic economy of honor, masculine prestige, and social control. The lived practice of hadith concerning *mahr* is therefore inseparable from local structures of power that continuously shape how marriage, gender, and religious obligation are socially understood within Muslim Patipi communities.

Hadith of Dowry in the Legitimation of Custom: Patriarchal Living Hadith between Text, Authority, and Power

The findings of this study demonstrate that patriarchal forms of living hadith within the *Tombor Mag* tradition operate through the selective circulation, interpretation, and social reproduction of Prophetic traditions that reinforce masculine authority, economic responsibility, and customary legitimacy within Papuan Islamic marriage law. In the Muslim Patipi community, hadith does not function merely as a sacred textual doctrine preserved within canonical collections, but as a lived social discourse embedded in ritual performance, communal negotiation, and *adat*-based authority structures. Interviews with religious leaders reveal a recurring interpretive pattern in which Qur'anic verses and hadith concerning *mahr*, male guardianship, and economic responsibility are repeatedly invoked to justify the continuation of *Tombor Mag* as a morally legitimate customary obligation. Among the texts most frequently cited are the following Qur'anic verses:

“Give women ‘you wed’ their due dowries graciously” (Qur'an n.d., Sūrat al-Nisā' 4: 4), and *“Give those you have consummated marriage with their due dowries. It is permissible to be mutually gracious regarding the set dowry”* (Qur'an n.d., Sūrat al-Nisā' 4: 24).

Religious figures also consistently refer to the Prophetic tradition narrated in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī:

“All of you are guardians and are responsible for your wards. The ruler is a guardian, and a man is a guardian of his family” (al-Bukhari, 1993, Hadith No. 5200).

These texts are interpreted as normative foundations demonstrating that male responsibility in marriage must be materially expressed through the fulfillment of *Tombor Mag*. However, the operation of patriarchal living hadith becomes visible precisely in the selective nature of this interpretive process (Amri et al., 2026). When the researchers raised hadith traditions advocating moderation and simplicity in *mahr*, religious figures often responded hesitantly or subordinated such teachings to customary expectations. One village imam explained:

“That teaching is good, but it does not fit our custom. It is true that the Prophet allowed mahr to be light, but if it is too light, the bride’s family may feel disrespected. So we follow a heavier form, so that family relations remain good.” (Abdul Kadir Patipi, 2023)

This statement demonstrates that hadith within *Tombor Mag* operates not as a neutral ethical authority, but as a socially filtered discourse negotiated through prevailing structures of patriarchal *adat*. In Foucauldian terms, this reflects the operation of a “regime of truth” in which communities determine which forms of religious knowledge are publicly legitimized and which are marginalized (Foucault, 1980, pp. 131–33). Hadiths compatible with customary hierarchy are repeatedly circulated through sermons, rituals, and family deliberations, while traditions potentially challenging patriarchal structures remain socially muted.

This selective process becomes particularly evident in relation to the hadith narrated by Abu Dawud: *“The best mahr is the one that is easiest”* (Abu Dawud, 2025, Hadith No. 2117). Although this hadith is recognized by many classical scholars as Hasan and clearly emphasizes the ethical principle of facilitating marriage rather than burdening it, the text

is rarely foregrounded within Patipi religious discourse. Classical jurists such as al-Nawawī (Al-Nawawi, 2009, Vol. 17, p. 213) similarly categorized excessively burdensome mahar as *makrūh* because it contradicts the social objectives of marriage and obstructs human welfare. Yet field findings reveal that such traditions are considered socially impractical rather than theologically invalid. One customary elder explained:

“If we apply a light mahr, the bride’s family will feel undervalued. That is not how we do things here.” (salim Garamatan, 2023)

This response reveals that within the patriarchal living hadith of *Tombor Mag*, *adat* effectively governs the hierarchy of textual meaning. Religious texts are accepted only insofar as they reinforce social honor, inter-clan stability, and masculine prestige. Hadith therefore becomes subordinated to customary logic rather than functioning as a normative mechanism capable of critically evaluating social injustice. As Foucault (Foucault, 2002, pp. 27–29) argues, discourse always operates within relations of power, and religious interpretation is inseparable from the social interests embedded within communal authority structures.

Within this framework, patriarchal living hadith functions through a broader process of cultural filtering in which only those Prophetic traditions perceived as useful for preserving inherited social structures are normalized within communal consciousness. The findings resonate with Fauzi et al. (2025), who demonstrate that Islamic institutions in Papua historically developed through negotiation with local culture rather than through rigid textualism. In the Patipi context, hadith concerning male obligation, economic responsibility, and guardianship acquires authority because it supports the continuity of *Tombor Mag* as a customary institution regulating masculine legitimacy and family honor. Consequently, the authority of hadith is located not merely in textual authenticity

but in its social utility within the local structure of *adat*.

This finding strongly aligns with contemporary scholarship on living hadith, which emphasizes that hadith functions not only as written doctrine but also as lived social practice embedded within ritual, symbolic behavior, and communal authority (Gasmelsid et al., 2026; Hasbillah 2019; Shadra et al., 2025). Al Hamid (2020) refers to this form of authority as a “local strongman.” Within the *Tombor Mag* tradition, hadith is lived through sermons delivered by village imams, customary negotiations conducted by male elders, and everyday conversations concerning male responsibility and marriage honor. The circulation of these texts continuously reproduces patriarchal meanings because the process of selecting, repeating, and legitimizing hadith remains controlled by male-dominated authority structures. The Patipi case therefore extends existing living hadith studies by demonstrating that the social reception of hadith is never ideologically neutral; rather, it reflects ongoing negotiations of gender, power, and cultural authority within Muslim societies.

The findings further confirm Fatima Mernissi’s argument in *The Veil and the Male Elite* (1991) that throughout Islamic history certain hadith traditions have frequently been mobilized by male elites to preserve existing gender hierarchies and social arrangements beneficial to patriarchal authority. The Patipi case illustrates precisely such a mechanism. Hadiths emphasizing male guardianship, provision, and authority are repeatedly mobilized to legitimize *Tombor Mag*, while traditions advocating ease, reciprocity, and mutual dignity remain largely absent from public religious discourse. Similarly, Mir-Hosseini (2013, pp.7–9; Orr, 2020) argues that patriarchal interpretations emerge not because Islamic texts are inherently oppressive, but because religious interpretation is often

monopolized by social structures dominated by male authority. In Patipi society, this dynamic is clearly visible: *adat* leaders, village imams, and male family elders collectively determine which hadiths are socially authoritative and which are considered culturally irrelevant.

As a result, patriarchal living hadith within *Tombor Mag* functions through three interconnected mechanisms. First, hadith is selectively chosen to reinforce masculine responsibility and the symbolic obligation of men to prove honor through material sacrifice. Second, texts advocating moderation and the alleviation of hardship are marginalized because they threaten the symbolic prestige attached to customary exchange. Third, the authority to interpret and circulate hadith remains concentrated within male-controlled religious and customary institutions, ensuring the continued reproduction of patriarchal meanings across generations.

From the perspective of hadith hermeneutics, this configuration represents an inversion of the ethical function of Prophetic traditions. Ideally, hadith should provide moral guidance capable of critically evaluating social practices that generate hardship, inequality, or the restriction of women's agency. Yet within the *Tombor Mag* system, the opposite occurs: customary structures determine the social meaning of hadith. Religious interpretation becomes subordinate to *adat*, and textual authority is reconstructed according to the interests of patriarchal social stability. Several customary leaders explicitly stated that *adat* existed before religion, thereby positioning Islamic texts as supplementary rather than transformative sources of authorities.

This phenomenon is not unique to Patipi. Anthropological studies of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago consistently demonstrate that communities frequently negotiate religion and *adat* in pragmatic ways, allowing social interests such as family prestige, kinship alliances, and

symbolic honor to shape the interpretation of Islamic norms (Burhanudin & van Dijk, 2013). However, the Patipi case highlights with particular clarity that patriarchal living hadith is fundamentally political, operating through the selective production of religious meaning in ways that normalize gender hierarchy while simultaneously preserving customary authority within Islamic marriage law.

Interpretive Bias, Customary Authority, and Patriarchal Power: The Intersection of Adat, Gender Relations, and Religious Interpretation

The findings of this study demonstrate that patriarchal power within the *Tombor Mag* tradition is reproduced through the intersection of three mutually reinforcing structures: customary authority (*adat*), gendered social relations, and masculine religious interpretation. In the Muslim Patipi community, hadith interpretation does not emerge independently as a purely theological activity; rather, it is socially produced through everyday negotiations of authority, cultural legitimacy, and patriarchal interests. Field observations conducted in stilt houses in Patipi village reveal that discussions concerning religion, marriage, and *Tombor Mag* were conducted predominantly by village imams, *adat* elders, and senior male figures. Sitting collectively on household verandas while holding inherited religious texts received from previous teachers, these men explained what they understood to be Islamic teachings regarding marriage obligations, male responsibility, and the legitimacy of *Tombor Mag*. Religious interpretation therefore operates within explicitly male-controlled social spaces where customary authority and Islamic discourse merged into a single structure of communal legitimacy.

Women, by contrast, were largely absent from these interpretive spaces. While male elders discussed *adat* and occasionally cited hadith within the

communal living room, women remained physically separated in domestic spaces, preparing food, and serving guests. This spatial division reflects a deeper social hierarchy concerning authority over religious meaning itself. The production of religious interpretation is controlled by those who occupy positions of symbolic authority within *adat* and who simultaneously benefit most from the patriarchal social order embedded in *Tombor Mag* (Amir, 2016). Consequently, the interpretation of hadith concerning *mahr* and marriage becomes inseparable from masculine interests and male-centered experiences.

This intersection between religious authority and patriarchal custom became particularly visible when a village imam (2023) stated:

“If a man cannot pay Tombor Mag, he is not yet fit to marry. That is also a religious teaching.”

This statement is significant because it demonstrates that the imam was not merely transmitting the substantive ethical meaning of hadith but reproducing a broader collective ideology in which *adat* functions as the primary measure of masculine worthiness. Within this framework, religion and custom appear naturally intertwined, yet the apparent harmony between the two is produced through male authority structures that control both customary legitimacy and religious interpretation. Wadud (1999, pp. 32–37) describes this phenomenon as a patriarchal reading, namely an interpretation of religious texts shaped primarily through male perspectives and interests rather than through the broader ethical objectives of Islam. Thus, interpretive bias does not originate from the text itself, but from the patriarchal social structures that determine how texts are selected, explained, and socially circulated.

Within Patipi society, nearly all forms of religious authority are monopolized by men. Village imams, preachers, Qur’anic teachers, and

moderators of *Tombor Mag* rituals are overwhelmingly male, while women possess extremely limited access to formal spaces of hadith interpretation or systematic religious learning. Women are not involved in determining the religious meaning of marriage obligations, nor are they positioned as authoritative interpreters of Islamic norms within communal gatherings. This exclusion directly shapes the content and orientation of interpretation itself. Male experiences concerning responsibility, honor, and economic capability become the dominant framework through which hadith about *mahr* and marriage is understood. Consequently, hadith emphasizing seriousness in paying *mahr* is interpreted primarily as proof of masculine capacity and male moral worth.

What becomes absent from interpretation, however, are women’s lived experiences within *Tombor Mag* itself. The effects of customary dowry on women—social pressure, restricted autonomy, and the experience of being symbolically valued through material exchange—rarely enter religious discourse because women are systematically excluded from interpretive authority. One female informant, Fatimah (2023) explained:

“We rarely know how the process works. Suddenly, the Tombor Mag has already been decided. We simply accept it.”

This testimony illustrates how women become objects of interpretation without becoming subjects within the interpretive process itself. Their experiences remain socially invisible because patriarchal authority determines whose voices are considered religiously legitimate. Wadud (1999, p. 32) argues that when religious authority is monopolized by men, interpretation becomes not only male-centered but fundamentally male-serving. The Patipi case clearly reflects this dynamic, where hadith interpretation functions to legitimize and stabilize an already established patriarchal social order.

The reproduction of patriarchal power is further reinforced through the dominant position of *adat* within communal consciousness. Customary leaders repeatedly asserted:

“*Adat existed here before religion.*” (Salim Garamatan, 2023)

This statement reveals a collective worldview in which *adat* is treated as the foundational source of communal identity, while religion functions as a secondary complement that must adapt itself to pre-existing customary structures. Such a perspective creates what Barlas (2002, pp. 23–26) describes as an interpretive hierarchy, namely a process in which religious texts are filtered through dominant social values before being accepted as authoritative. Within Patipi society, those dominant values are deeply patriarchal: women are positioned as symbols of family honor, while men are positioned as economic providers responsible for maintaining customary prestige. As a result, hadiths promoting reciprocity, facilitation, and moderation in mahar are marginalized—not because they lack theological validity, but because they fail to reinforce the patriarchal logic underlying *Tombor Mag*.

The findings also indicate that the intersection between customary authority and religious interpretation is strengthened by the absence of critical-contextual hadith scholarship at the local level. Most religious figures approach hadith through literal and inherited readings without contextual analysis, *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* considerations, or reflection on the socio-historical context of Prophetic teachings. Although classical scholars such as al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥajar explicitly emphasized that *mahr* should be facilitated rather than made burdensome, these perspectives remain largely unfamiliar within Patipi religious discourse. Al-Nawawī (2009), for example, categorized excessive mahar as *makrūh* because it obstructs the facilitation of marriage and

creates unnecessary hardship. Yet such critical perspectives are absent from local interpretive practice. Instead, inherited interpretations continue to be reproduced without theological reassessment.

In Foucauldian terms, this reflects the operation of a “regime of truth” constructed through relations of power (Foucault, 1980, p. 132). What becomes socially accepted as “true” is not necessarily what is most ethically aligned with Islamic principles, but rather what existing structures of *adat* permit and normalize. Hadiths reinforcing masculine authority, family honor, and economic obligation are continuously reproduced because they sustain the stability of the patriarchal customary system. Conversely, hadiths advocating ease, reciprocity, and gender-sensitive interpretation are rendered socially irrelevant because they threaten the symbolic foundations of *Tombor Mag*.

Overall, the findings reveal that patriarchal power within *Tombor Mag* is reproduced through the continuous intersection of *adat* authority, gender hierarchy, and selective religious interpretation. Patriarchy does not operate solely through individual male domination, but through a broader social mechanism in which men control customary legitimacy, monopolize religious interpretation, and determine which forms of hadith are publicly circulated and normalized. The selection of hadith therefore functions less as a scholarly theological process and more as a social process shaped by power relations and patriarchal interests. Hadiths promoting ease in *mahr* are not rejected because they are weak, but because they fail to support inter-clan prestige, masculine honor, and customary authority. Consequently, hadith is transformed from an ethical instrument of social facilitation into a symbolic mechanism for reproducing patriarchal custom. Ultimately, the findings demonstrate that within the living practice of *Tombor Mag*,

it is not the text alone that governs religious meaning, but the social structure that determines who possesses authority to speak, interpret, and define Islam within Papuan Muslim marriage practices.

A Maqāṣid-Oriented and Gender-Sensitive Reinterpretation of *Tombor Mag*

The findings of this study show that a *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*-oriented reading of hadith offers a significant normative framework. This approach allows for reinterpretation of *Tombor Mag* in ways that preserve cultural continuity. At the same time, it addresses gender injustice and excessive social burden. Field data suggest that the Patipi Muslim community does not reject Islamic teachings. Instead, this community seeks a religiously legitimate framework that mediates between *adat* and Islam without diminishing ancestral honor.

In this context, the *maqāṣidī approach* focuses on ethical objectives, human welfare (*maṣlahah*), social justice, and ease in human affairs. It emerges as a persuasive theological and socio-cultural alternative. Interviews reveal that religious figures consistently maintain that *adat* may continue "as long as it does not contradict Islam." However, they admit that modifying *Tombor Mag* requires strong religious justification.

This finding is significant because it shows that the issue is not resistance to Islam itself, but the absence of a theological paradigm capable of reformulating customary practices without creating social rupture. *Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* provides precisely such a paradigm by shifting the emphasis from preserving the external form of tradition toward safeguarding the ethical objectives of Islamic law (Fasiha et al., 2023). Within classical *maqāṣid* discourse, the principles of removing hardship (*raf' al-haraj*) and promoting facilitation (*al-taysir*) occupy a central place, as reflected in the Qur'anic verse:

"Allah intends for you ease and does not intend for you hardship" (Qur'an 2: 185).

Ibn 'Ashūr (2006, pp. 77–84) further explains that the objectives of *Sharī'ah* include preserving family stability, preventing social harm, and ensuring that cultural practices adopted by Muslim societies do not create unnecessary burdens. When applied to *Tombor Mag*, here principles clearly reveal how excessive mahr demands often delay marriage for years and trap men in long-term debt after marriage for years and trap men in long-term debt after marriage. Empirical findings show that some couples remain religiously married while their customary marriage obligations remain incomplete because *Tombor Mag* installments have not yet been fully paid. Such conditions directly contradict the *maqāṣidī* objective of facilitating marriage and preserving social harmony.

Crucially, these burdens do not affect only men. Women also experience the consequences of this system through heightened social expectations and intensified moral control. As one female informant, Fatimah (2023) explained:

"When the mahr is expensive, people say we must be more obedient and respectful. It feels like we are being paid to comply."

This statement reveals that the symbolic elevation of women through expensive dowry practices does not necessarily produce empowerment; rather, it often transforms women into objects of social regulation. From the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, such a condition conflicts with the principle of preserving human dignity (*hiḏ al-karāmah al-insāniyyah*). Al-Syātibī (2004, II: 302-310) emphasizes that Islamic law seeks to dignify human beings, not reduce them to symbolic commodities whose value is measured solely in material terms. Consequently, a *maqāṣid*-based reinterpretation of *Tombor Mag* requires shifting the meaning of honor away from material excess and toward relational ethics, mutual respect, and family well-

being. Consequently, a *maqāṣid*-based reinterpretation of *Tombor Mag* requires shifting the meaning of honor away from material excess and toward relational ethics, mutual respect, and family well-being.

The findings further demonstrate that *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* does not demand the abolition of *adat*, but rather its ethical recalibration. Customary leaders repeatedly stressed that *Tombor Mag* was originally intended “not to burden but to beautify marriage.” This point becomes crucial because it opens space for reinterpretation from within the logic of *adat* itself. Through a *maqāṣidī* framework, the legitimacy of *Tombor Mag* can be preserved while its excessive material demands are reduced. As one customary leader stated:

“If the items are simple but complete, the *adat* still works. What matters is sincere intention and respect” (Salim Garamatan, 2023).

This statement demonstrates that the symbolic function of *Tombor Mag* does not inherently depend upon high monetary value, but rather upon the maintenance of kinship relations, mutual respect, and social recognition between families. In this regard, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* functions not as an anti-tradition discourse, but as a mediating ethical instrument capable of harmonizing Islamic norms with changing socio-economic realities.

This argument resonates with Bowen's (2003) analysis that cultural transformation in Muslim societies often occurs gradually through negotiation between religious ethics and local social values. Furthermore, gender-sensitive hermeneutics developed by Amina Wadud (1999, p. 55–56) and Faqihuddin (2019) further strengthens this *maqāṣidī* framework by emphasizing reciprocity (*mubādalah*) as the moral foundation of Muslim family relations. Marriage, therefore, should not be understood as a hierarchical relationship in which men prove worth through economic sacrifice while women function as symbols of

exchange value. Rather, marriage must be understood as a partnership between two equal moral agents who cooperate in building family stability and welfare.

Applied to *Tombor Mag*, this principle dismantles patriarchal assumptions that position women as customary assets and men as sole economic bearers of legitimacy. Several young couples interviewed acknowledged that the financial burden of *Tombor Mag* delayed economic independence, home ownership, and long-term family planning. From a *maqāṣidī* perspective, such consequences undermine the Sharī'ah's objectives of promoting welfare (*maṣlahah*), preventing harm (*daf' al-mafsadah*), and preserving family resilience. Consequently, this study concludes that *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* offers a middle path capable of reconciling custom and justice simultaneously.

Reinterpreting *Tombor Mag* through a *maqāṣid*-oriented and gender-sensitive reading of hadith is therefore not an attempt to eliminate Papuan Muslim tradition, but an effort to preserve it in a form that remains ethically meaningful, socially sustainable, and compatible with Islamic principles of justice, dignity, reciprocity, and human welfare. Similar reform trajectories have also been identified in broader Indonesian Muslim societies, where customary practices continue to survive through adaptive reinterpretation rather than rigid preservation (Burhanudin & van Dijk, 2013). In the Patipi context, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* ultimately functions as a normative bridge that allows *Tombor Mag* to remain culturally respected while simultaneously reducing its patriarchal and economically burdensome dimensions for both men and women.

CLOSING

This study concludes that *Tombor Mag* among Muslim Patipi communities is not merely a customary form of mahr, but

a socio-religious institution through which honor, masculinity, kinship, and religious legitimacy are collectively constructed and maintained.

The findings indicate that *mahr* within *Tombor Mag* is socially conceptualized not simply as a marital gift but as a symbolic marker of masculine status, family prestige, and inter-clan dignity. Consequently, *Tombor Mag* serves as a customary mechanism that regulates gender roles by positioning men as economic and moral providers and women as symbolic bearers of family honor. Within this structure, the practice of *mahr* becomes inseparable from broader patriarchal expectations embedded in Papuan Muslim marriage culture.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that patriarchal forms of living hadiths are perpetuated through the selective mobilization of religious texts that reinforce customary authority and masculine responsibility. Hadiths that emphasize male guardianship, financial obligation, and the duty to provide *mahr* are consistently reproduced in sermons, marriage rituals, and customary deliberations, whereas hadiths promoting ease, moderation, and facilitation of marriage are largely marginalized. In this context, hadith functions not as a neutral textual authority but as a socially negotiated discourse shaped by local power relations. These results confirm that, within the Patipi context, living hadith serves both as a form of religious practice and as a mechanism for maintaining patriarchal customary structures through selective interpretation and cultural legitimation.

The findings also demonstrate that patriarchal power is reproduced through the intersection of three mutually reinforcing elements: customary authority, gender hierarchy, and male-centered religious interpretation. Because *adat* leadership and religious authority are predominantly controlled by men, interpretive authority over marriage and

mahr remain inaccessible to women. As a result, the interpretation of hadith concerning marriage is framed through masculine experiences, interests, and social priorities. The authority of *adat* ultimately determines which hadiths are socially acceptable and which are rendered impractical or irrelevant. In this regard, interpretive bias emerges not from the text itself, but from the patriarchal social structure that governs religious authority and controls the production of meaning.

Finally, this study argues that a *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*-oriented and gender-sensitive reading of hadith provides a constructive normative framework for reinterpreting *Tombor Mag* without abolishing *adat* itself. Through principles such as the removal of hardship (*raf' al-ḥaraj*), public welfare (*maṣlahah*), human dignity (*hifz al-'rad wa al-karāmah*), and reciprocity (*mubādalāh*), *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* enables the ethical reorientation of customary marriage practices toward greater justice and social balance. Such an approach allows *Tombor Mag* to preserve its symbolic and relational functions while reducing excessive economic burdens and patriarchal control over women. In this sense, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* functions as a mediating bridge between the preservation of Papuan Muslim customary identity and the realization of Islamic ethical ideals within contemporary Islamic family law.

The implications of this study extend beyond the Patipi context, particularly for the development of Islamic family law, living hadith studies, and gender-sensitive Islamic legal reform in Indonesia. This study recommends that institutions such as Religious Courts, Offices of Religious Affairs (KUA), *pesantren*, and Islamic higher education institutions promote gender-sensitive approaches in interpreting *mahr* and customary marriage practices. Future studies should also conduct comparative analyses of living hadith and patriarchal customary structures in other Muslim indigenous communities across Eastern

Indonesia to strengthen contextual, inclusive, and socially transformative approaches to Islamic family law.

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Interview :

- Interview with Abdul Kadir Patipi (Village Imam), 2023.
- Interview with E. Jainab Patipi (Homemaker), 2023.
- Interview with Fatimah (Homemaker), 2023.
- Interview with M. (Homemaker), 2023.
- Interview with Muhammad Raja (Fisherman), 2023.
- Interview with Salim Garamatan (Traditional Elder), 2023.
- Interview with Umar Iba (Patipi youth), 2023.