

TEGANAI HEGEMONY BASED ON ISLAMIC FAMILY LAW IN MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS IN TANJUNG MUDA VILLAGE, HAMPARAN RAWANG DISTRICT

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Abstract. This study confirms that *teganai* is a central element in the social system of the matrilineal community in Tanjung Muda Village which has social, moral, and symbolic functions in maintaining family honor and social balance. Its authority is culturally legitimized and reflects a form of cultural hegemony that society accepts voluntarily. In the perspective of structural functionalism theory, the role of *teganai* contributes to strengthening solidarity and social stability. However, when such authority goes beyond the boundaries of Islamic law, there is a potential structural dysfunction between customs and religious norms. From the point of view of Islamic family law, the role of *teganai* is acceptable as long as it does not replace the position of the marriage guardian as the legal pillar of marriage. The tension between customary and Islamic law is not in conflict, but rather shows a complementary relationship between living law and divine law. Therefore, harmonization between customary values and Islamic legal principles is needed to maintain balance, justice, and social order in indigenous peoples based on Islamic values.

Keywords: *Teganai*, Islamic Family Law, Cultural Hegemony

I. INTRODUCTION

In the social structure of indigenous peoples of Indonesia, the kinship system plays an important role in shaping patterns of social interaction, cultural values, and family life governance. Kinship relationships are not just biological bonds, but also function as social mechanisms that govern the rights, obligations, and roles of individuals within the community. In the context of social anthropology, the kinship system is one of the social institutions that plays a role in maintaining social stability, cultural continuity, and the legitimacy of power in the family. [1]

One form of kinship system that still exists and has a strong influence in several regions of Indonesia is the matrilineal system, which is a system that draws lineage and inheritance through the maternal line. In this system, the male on the mother's side, or known as the *tegane*, has a high social and symbolic authority in the extended family. Its role is not only limited to economic and social aspects, but also includes important decision-making, including in terms of arranging and approving the marriage of female family members. [2]

This phenomenon is evident in Tanjung Muda Village, Hamparan Rawang District, where the social structure of the community is still strongly influenced by strong matrilineal patterns. In this local context, *teganai* often plays the role of an

authoritative figure who has the authority to assess the feasibility of the prospective husband, determine the time of marriage, and even give a blessing that is considered more decisive than the marriage guardian according to Islamic law. Thus, the position of *teganai* not only functions culturally, but also reflects the institutionalized form of social hegemony in the lives of indigenous peoples.

The social reality in Tanjung Muda Village shows that there is tension between religious norms and customary practices. In many cases, the decision of marriage is more determined by the *teganai* authority than the guardian of the *nasab* as regulated in Islamic jurisprudence. This phenomenon shows how customary values form cultural dominance or hegemony over normative norms of Islamic law. This concept of hegemony, as explained by (Antonio Gramsci), is a form of power that is not only coercive, but also ideological in which the dominant group maintains its influence through the internalization of social values that are voluntarily accepted by society. In this context, *teganai* plays a role as a representation of hegemonic customary power, whose legitimacy is recognized through the cultural and symbolic construction of local communities. [3]

A social-structural theoretical approach can help to understand this phenomenon more comprehensively. According

to (Émile Durkheim), society is a system that is composed of interconnected parts and functions to maintain social order. The social function of the existence of tegani, can be seen as one of the social integration mechanisms that aims to maintain the harmony of the extended family and the continuity of traditional values. However, when these functions intersect with religious legal norms, structural imbalances arise that have the potential to shift the authority of Islamic law in social practice. [4]

Talcott Parsons. Through the theory of structural functionalism, it is explained that each element in the social system has a certain function to maintain social balance and stability. In indigenous peoples such as in Tanjung Muda Village, the role of teggani can be understood as an element that functions to maintain the stability of social relations between extended families and communities. When this function goes beyond the normative boundaries set by Islamic law, there is a so-called structural dysfunction, which is when the social structure no longer supports the values of a higher legal system (in this case Islamic law). [5]

The study of the relationship between customary and Islamic law in the context of marriage regulation has attracted a lot of attention from researchers in Indonesia, considering that both systems have strong social and moral legitimacy in people's lives. A number of studies show that customary often functions as a living norm system in society, while Islamic law is a source of religious values that provide spiritual and normative legitimacy. The two are often in a complementary position, but in certain contexts they can also cause tension, especially when there is an overlap of authority between customary norms and the provisions of sharia law. [6]

M. Syarifuddin (2018) in the Journal of Islamic Law entitled "The Transformation of Islamic Law in the Tradition of Customary Marriage in Indonesia" emphasized that Islamic law and customary law are not always opposites. In practice, both often undergo a dynamic accommodation process, in which customary elements that are in line with the sharia are maintained, while those that are contrary are modified or abandoned. This research became an important theoretical basis for Satia's work, because in Ternate there was also a form of compromise of this kind — the custom was still maintained, but adjusted to sharia principles.

A. Rohman and S. Hidayati (2020) in Al-Ahkam: Journal of Sharia Science and Islamic Law researched "Islamic Law and Local Wisdom: A Case Study of Traditional Marriage in Java and Maluku." They found that Islamic law could not be separated from the cultural context of the local community. In many cases, customary actually strengthens the implementation of Islamic law, such as in the procedure for choosing a marriage guardian and giving dowry. This study provides empirical evidence that syncretism of Islamic law and customary law is not a form of deviation, but rather a cultural strategy to maintain a balance between religion and tradition.

Nomay, Usman, and Warwefubun (2021) in the Fuaduna Journal entitled "Hadarat in Tual City Maluku: The Role of Arab

Al-Katiri in Integration of Islam and Local Culture" show that the Islamization process in the Maluku region takes place with a pattern of assimilation of local values. Islam was accepted not by replacing customs, but by adapting them through religious figures and sultanates. Satia's research shows a similar pattern in Ternate, where the integration between customary and Islamic law takes place organically and continuously, with the important role of traditional leaders and scholars in maintaining a balance between the two.

Although various studies have examined the relationship between customary law and Islamic law in marriage practice in Indonesia, most of the research still focuses on the normative harmonization aspect between the two. These studies tend to see customs as a static value system and do not deeply analyze the dimensions of power that work behind these social practices. In particular, there has not been much research that examines how traditional actors such as tegane play a role as hegemonic agents who shape the decision structure in marriage through social and cultural legitimacy mechanisms.

Therefore, this research presents novelty by integrating the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory, Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, and the Islamic family law approach in analyzing the role of tegane. This research not only sees customary as a social norm, but also as an arena of power relations that affects the legal legitimacy in the marriage practice of indigenous peoples. . [7]

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a socio-normative type (socio-normative research), because it not only examines textual Islamic legal norms, but also examines the social, cultural, and customary dimensions of life in society. This approach allows for an in-depth analysis of the interaction between Islamic legal norms (fiqh al-usrah) and customary practices that apply in society, so that this research is not only descriptive of legal provisions, but also analytical of the social realities that surround it. Thus, this study seeks to comprehensively describe the dynamics between Islamic law and customary law in the context of indigenous peoples' lives.

The research was carried out in Tanjung Muda Village, Hamparan Rawang District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province, which was chosen purposively because this area still maintains a strong matrilineal kinship system. In this system, the teganai (maternal uncle) has significant social authority in the marriage decision-making process. This condition makes Tanjung Muda Village a representative research location to examine the relationship between customary authorities and Islamic legal norms in family law practice, as well as to understand the social and religious dynamics that affect the legitimacy of customary roles in society.

The data source consists of primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through direct interviews with traditional leaders (ninik mamak and teganai), religious leaders

(ulama, penghulu, and KUA officers), and the community of traditional marriage actors. Secondary data were obtained from literature studies, such as classical and contemporary fiqh books, the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, previous research, scientific articles, and local customary documents. Data collection was carried out through three main methods, namely in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and documentation studies, with the aim of obtaining comprehensive and valid empirical data.

Data analysis was carried out in a descriptive-analytical and interpretive manner by following the analysis model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2018) which includes three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawn. To strengthen the analysis, this study uses three main theories, namely the theory of structural functionalism (Durkheim and Parsons) to explain the social function of tegai as a mechanism of social integration, the theory of hegemony (Gramsci) to understand the ideological dominance of tegai in customary systems, and the theory of habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu) to interpret the symbolic legitimacy of tegai's role in the social structure of society. Data validity is maintained through triangulation of sources and methods as well as member checking to key informants. Through this approach, the research is expected to reveal in depth the mechanism of teganai hegemony in the regulation of customary marriage, assess its conformity with Islamic family law, and make an academic contribution to the development of the study of Islamic law and local culture in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Social Structure and Kinship System of Tanjung Muda Village Community

The social structure of the Tanjung Muda Village community reflects a collective life pattern that is firmly rooted in the matrilineal traditional kinship system, which is a system that attracts lineage through the mother's side. In this system, women occupy a central position in the genealogical line and inheritance of inheritance, while men on the maternal side, known as tegane, hold social, moral, and symbolic authority in the extended family. Teganai acts as a mediator, advisor, as well as decision-maker in various family affairs, including in the arrangement and implementation of marriage. [8]

The matrilineal kinship system in Tanjung Muda Village not only functions as a genealogical structure, but also as a social institution that forms patterns of social relations, division of roles, and distribution of responsibilities between family members. Kinship is seen not as just a blood relationship, but as a social mechanism that regulates the rights, obligations, and position of individuals within indigenous communities. Thus, each member of the family is bound in a social network that demands collective involvement and responsibility for the well-being of the extended family. [9]

In this context, teganai plays an important role as an extension of the maternal lineage who has the moral authority to maintain the good name of the family and ensure that every decision taken is in accordance with traditional values. She not only functions as an advisor in social and economic affairs, but also becomes a normative authority in determining strategic decisions, including in the process of choosing a mate, determining the time of marriage, and giving blessings to the bride-to-be. The position of teganai is often seen as superior to that of the guardian of the nasab in the social aspect of customs, as it is considered to represent the collective honor of the family. [10]

The social structure of the Tanjung Muda community is built on the principle of collectivity and deliberation, where important decisions are not taken individually, but through a consensus mechanism among family members and ninik mamak. This pattern shows that the social system of society is communal and integrative, where individual interests are always placed within the framework of common interests. This pattern of relationships strengthens social solidarity and creates order in social life, as Émile Durkheim explained that social order is the result of a collective consciousness internalized in people's social behavior. [11]

The matrilineal system in Tanjung Muda Village also has a clear social and economic function. Inheritance, family responsibilities, and management of customary resources are generally handed over to women as heirs of the lineage, while men (teganai) play the role of protectors and managers of extended family interests. This pattern of division of roles creates a social balance that is maintained through traditional norms and symbols that are inherited from generation to generation. In practice, this system strengthens social cohesion and ensures the continuity of cultural values that are the basis of the identity of the Kerinci community in general. [12]

Sociologically, the social structure of the Tanjung Muda community shows that kinship not only functions in the realm of the nuclear family, but also regulates inter-ethnic, inter-household, and inter-generational relationships. Each individual is positioned in an interdependent social network, where a person's position in society is determined by his or her role and responsibilities towards the extended family. Thus, the kinship system in this village functions as a normative structure as well as a social control mechanism that ensures the maintenance of order, honor, and solidarity in the lives of indigenous peoples. [13]

Such a social structure makes the role of tegagii not only administrative or ceremonial, but also ideological and symbolic, because its existence contains historical values that represent the cultural heritage of our ancestors. Its authority is recognized not because of formal power, but because of the moral legitimacy and social beliefs that have been embedded in the collective consciousness of society. Therefore, the dominance of tegai in the Tanjung Muda social system cannot be separated from the concept of cultural hegemony as explained by Antonio Gramsci, that social power can survive if the underlying values are

voluntarily accepted by the community as part of the legal order. [14]

Thus, the social structure and kinship system of the people of Tanjung Muda Village can be understood as a complex and dynamic system, where customs, symbols, and moral values combine to form social identity and family life governance. Although this system serves to maintain social stability and the continuity of traditions, at the same time it also has the potential to create normative tensions when it comes into contact with the principles of Islamic law, particularly in terms of the authority of marriage guardians. This phenomenon is the central point in the analysis of tegane's hegemony in marriage arrangements, which shows the interaction between customary power and religious legal norms in the context of the matrilineal society in Kerinci. [15]

2. The Role and Function of Teganai in Customary Wedding Arrangements

In the social structure of the indigenous people of Tanjung Muda Village, the role of teggani occupies a very important position in the matrilineal kinship system. Teganai, as a brother on the mother's side, not only functions as a family figure, but also has a high social, moral, and symbolic authority in traditional life. Its existence represents an extension of the maternal lineage who has the responsibility of maintaining honor, balance, and social order in the extended family. In the context of customary marriage arrangements, teganai plays a central role that makes its position very influential in the decision-making process and social legitimacy of marriage (Dewi et al., 2018).

The role of tegageai in marriage arrangements is not only normative-cultural, but also manifest in the social practices of society. Sociologically, teganai functions as a mediator as well as a determinant of the direction of social relations between families. He ensured that the marriage process not only met the personal aspects of the bride-to-be, but was also in harmony with the traditional values and honor of the extended family. Decisive decisions related to the eligibility of the prospective husband, the timing of the wedding, and the form of traditional processions have high moral weight, even in many cases considered more decisive than the decision of the marriage guardian according to Islamic law (Nayumetan, 2025).

This is strengthened by empirical findings based on the results of field interviews that show the dominance of tegai in marriage decision-making. One of the informants stated:

"If here, before the guardian speaks, the first thing that is decisive is the one who decides. If you don't agree, usually the marriage is postponed or canceled." (Interview, 2025)

This statement shows that in practice, the position of the teggani is not only a negotiator, but has become the main actor in determining the sustainability of the marriage. This authority is dominant and is collectively recognized by the community as part of a customary value system that must be respected.

The findings were also corroborated by the testimony of local religious leaders who stated:

"Religiously, it is indeed a legal guardian, but in practice we cannot ignore the decision of teggani because it is part of a very respected custom." (Interview, 2025)

This statement shows that there is a negotiation process between religious authorities and customary forces in the social practices of the community. Normatively, the marriage guardian has a legitimate position in Islamic law, but in practice the authority cannot be separated from the influence of tegageai as a representation of customary power. Thus, it can be concluded that there has been a shift in authority from normative guardians to cultural authority tegane. This shift does not take place through open conflict, but rather through mechanisms of social acceptance that have become rooted in the culture of society.

Culturally, the function of tegai is closely related to the preservation of traditional values that are inherited from generation to generation. It is a symbol of honor and family wisdom that has moral legitimacy to maintain the good name and social order of the community. In the view of the people of Tanjung Muda, the involvement of tegai in marriage affairs is a form of collective responsibility to maintain the continuity of ancestral values. Therefore, teganai not only functions as a traditional symbol, but also as a living social institution that regulates, balances, and preserves the value system in a matrilineal society (Adibah, 2017).

In terms of customary normativity, teganai has the authority to assess the suitability of the prospective groom based on various criteria such as family origin, social reputation, economic ability, and suitability of moral values (Wafiq, 2024). In addition, he also determines the time and procedures for carrying out traditional processions such as bamudo, batunang, and cihai. In many cases, the blessing of the teggani is a social requirement that must be met before the marriage can be performed, both religiously and stately. This shows that the role of teggani is not only symbolic, but also has a practical dimension in maintaining the order and legitimacy of customs.

From the perspective of socio-structural theory, the role of tegai reflects an integrative mechanism in maintaining the social balance of society. Based on the theory of structural functionalism, every element in society has a function to maintain social order. Teganai acts as a stabilizing agent that connects traditional values with family life practices, so that every social action remains within the corridor of applicable norms. However, when the role of teggani goes beyond normative boundaries and shifts the authority of the guardian in Islamic law, a condition of structural dysfunction arises, that is, when a social element no longer supports a higher value system, in this case the principles of Islamic sharia.

From the perspective of hegemony, tegai dominance can be understood as a form of ideological power that is voluntarily accepted by society. Its authority is not built through coercion, but through the internalization of cultural values that have taken root in the collective consciousness. Thus, customary hegemony operates through a mechanism of social consent (consent), not through coercion (coercion). This explains why the dominance of

tegai in the marriage arrangement is not considered an aberration, although it is normatively different from the provisions of the guardian in Islamic law.

Through the perspective of habitus and cultural capital, the dominance of teganai is formed through symbolic structures that have been institutionalized for a long time. The habitus of society places teganai as an honorary figure who has moral and symbolic legitimacy. This power is strengthened by cultural capital in the form of customary knowledge, traditional wisdom, and social reputation that are inherited from generation to generation. Thus, the position of tegani is not only based on the formal structure of the custom, but also on the symbolic capital that is collectively recognized by the community.

Thus, the role and function of tegui in the arrangement of customary marriage must be understood in the relationship between customary, social, and religious law. In the social context, teganai functions to maintain family order and honor; in the cultural context, he plays the role of the guardian of tradition; Meanwhile, in the context of Islamic law, the dominance of its role needs to be critically studied so as not to cause distortions of the normative principles of sharia, especially related to the position of the marriage guardian. Therefore, reinterpretation and harmonization efforts are needed so that the role of teganai still has a place in the social order of indigenous peoples without negating the legitimacy of Islamic law. Conceptually, teganai can be positioned as a socio-cultural actor that is complementary, not a substitute for the marriage guardian. The synergy between customary authorities and sharia norms will create a balance between social and spiritual values in marriage, so that customary practices remain sustainable as cultural heritage while being in line with the principles of Islamic family law that emphasize justice (*al-'adl*), welfare (*al-maslahah*), and harmony (*as-sakinah*).

3. Hegemony and Social Legitimacy Teganai in the Perspective of Social Theory

The concept of tegani hegemony in the indigenous people of Tanjung Muda Village reflects a form of social and cultural dominance that is institutionalized through the structure of the matrilineal kinship system. In this context, teganai not only functions as a kinship figure, but also as a symbol of social power that has ideological and moral legitimacy in society. Tegani's authority is not formed through formal power mechanisms, but through the internalization of cultural values and collective social acceptance that have been firmly rooted in public consciousness (Muda, 2025). This phenomenon can be understood through classical and contemporary social theory approaches, especially the thought of Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, as well as the perspective of structural functionalism.

In the view of Antonio Gramsci (1971), hegemony is a form of ideological power that is not coercive in nature, but is built through the dominance of values and meanings that are voluntarily accepted by society. Hegemonic power takes place when the values of the dominant group are accepted as common sense. In the Tanjung Muda society, the hegemony of teganai is formed through the dominance of traditional values that place the

maternal uncle as a moral figure and the main decision-maker in family affairs, including marriage. This dominance is not forced, but rather accepted because it has been internalized as part of a value system that is considered legitimate and ideal.

The reinforcement of this concept can be seen from empirical findings in the field. The results of the interviews show that in practice, marriage decisions are more influenced by the teganai than by the guardian of the nasab. One of the informants stated:

"If here, before the guardian speaks, the first thing that is decisive is the one who decides. If you don't agree, usually the marriage is postponed or canceled." (Interview, 2025)

This statement shows that customary values have transformed into common sense in society, where the authority is placed as the main reference in decision-making. Obedience to teganai is not based on coercion, but on the collective belief that teganai is a representation of customary honor and wisdom. Thus, the hegemony of tegai is not only conceptual, but also empirically confirmed through social practice. Customary power works through a mechanism of social consent (*consent*), not through coercive pressure or sanctions. This shows that the legitimacy of tegai is cultural and ideological, which is firmly embedded in the structure of public consciousness.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) perspective provides a deeper understanding of the mechanism of reproduction of legitimacy. Through the concepts of habitus, cultural capital, and symbolic power, Bourdieu explained that social structures are reproduced through social practices that are considered reasonable (taken for granted). In the matrilineal society of Tanjung Muda, the collective habitus has formed a mindset that places teganai as an authoritative and obedient figure. This legitimacy is strengthened by symbolic capital in the form of honor, wisdom, and traditional knowledge that are inherited from generation to generation. The legitimacy process is symbolic and cultural, not legal-formal. Although the role of teganai is not explicitly regulated in state law or Islamic law, the community still recognizes its authority as a legitimate power. This shows that social legitimacy can be formed from cultural constructions that institutionalize and reproduce through traditional education, rituals, and daily social interactions.

In the perspective of structural functionalism, as explained by Émile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, the existence of tegai has an integrative function in maintaining social balance and stability. Durkheim viewed society as a system consisting of interdependent parts to maintain social order. In this case, teganai plays a role as one of the elements that maintains the harmony of the extended family and regulates social relations through customary mechanisms. Meanwhile, Talcott Parsons emphasized that every social institution has a manifest and latent function. Teganai performs a manifest function as a decision-maker in marriage, as well as a latent function as a guardian of moral and social stability. Thus, the dominance of tegai is not just individual

power, but part of the social system that functions to maintain the balance of matrilineal society.

From the perspective of Islamic law, hegemony raises normative tensions. In Islamic law, wali nasab is a legal pillar of marriage that has irreplaceable legal authority. When marriage decisions are more determined by the tegana, then sociologically there is a shift in authority from legal authority to socio-cultural legitimacy. This condition reflects the overlap between the customary law system and Islamic law. However, these tensions are not always open conflicts, but rather take place in the form of adaptive and negotiable relationships. Islamic customs and laws interact dynamically in people's lives. In this context, hegemony shows how local value systems are able to form strong and enduring social legitimacy, while influencing people's religious practices. Therefore, the analysis of tegane's hegemony is not only important to understand the social structure of the indigenous people of Tanjung Muda, but also provides a conceptual contribution to the interdisciplinary study of the sociology of law, cultural anthropology, and Islamic family law. Hegemony is a concrete example of how customary power works through a mechanism of deep cultural legitimacy, and shows that the relationship between customary and Islamic law is not always contradictory, but can be understood as complex and interdependent social dynamics.

4. Functional Structural Analysis of the Role of Tegana

The role of tegana in the social structure of the indigenous people of Tanjung Muda Village can be comprehensively understood through the functional structural approach developed by Émile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons. In this perspective, society is seen as a social system that is composed of interrelated parts and has a certain function in maintaining social balance and order. The matrilineal kinship system embraced by the Tanjung Muda community places tegana as one of the important elements in the social structure, which not only has a cultural role, but also carries out a significant social function in maintaining the integration and stability of the extended family.

Structurally, the existence of teganes is an inherent part of the matrilineal kinship system that places the lineage on the mother's side, so that the male of the line acquires symbolic and moral authority in the family. In this context, tegana functions as a social relations regulator, conflict mediator, and strategic decision-maker in the family, especially in marriage arrangements. This function is in line with Durkheim's view which emphasizes that every element in society contributes to the creation of social order through the internalization of collective values and norms. Tegana, in this case, acts as an agent that ensures that every social practice, including marriage, remains within the corridor of traditional values that have been passed down from generation to generation.

Within Parsons' framework of thought, the role of tegana can be analyzed through the concepts of manifest functions and latent functions. The function of the tegana manifest can be seen in its involvement as a decision-maker in the marriage process,

such as determining the feasibility of the prospective partner, the time of implementation, and providing social legitimacy to the relationship to be formed. Meanwhile, the latent function of tegana lies in its role in maintaining moral stability, strengthening social solidarity, and maintaining the continuity of cultural values in society. Thus, tegana not only functions as a social actor, but also as a cultural institution that plays a role in the reproduction of values and norms in the social system of indigenous peoples.

Functional structural analysis also reveals potential dysfunction in the role of tegana, especially when its authority exceeds the normative boundaries set by Islamic law. In practice, the dominance of the ruler in making marriage decisions often shifts the position of the guardian of the nasab who according to sharia has the main authority in the marriage contract. This condition indicates a structural imbalance, in which one element in the social system no longer performs its function in proportion to the broader value system. In Parsons' terminology, this situation can be categorized as structural dysfunction, that is, when a social institution no longer supports the integration of the system as a whole, especially in its relationship to religious legal norms.

Empirical findings in the field strengthen this analysis, where people collectively prioritize the consent of the guardian over the tegana in determining the sustainability of the marriage. The informant's statement that "before the tegana spokesman, tegana first determines" shows that the customary social structure has a dominant force in shaping the social practices of the community. From a functional structural perspective, this phenomenon shows that customary systems have a very strong integrative function, but at the same time have the potential to create tension when dealing with another norm system, namely Islamic law.

If associated with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, tegane's dominance can also be understood as a form of cultural power that is legitimized through the internalization of indigenous values in the collective consciousness of society. The hegemony of tegana works not through coercion, but through social consent formed from the belief that tegana is a representation of customary honor and wisdom. Meanwhile, through habitus, people unconsciously reproduce a mindset that places tegana as an authoritative figure that must be obeyed. Thus, the legitimacy of tegana is not only structural, but also symbolic and cultural. In this context, the role of tegana shows a dualistic character, namely as an integrative element that maintains social stability as well as a potential source of dysfunction when dealing with Islamic legal norms. Therefore, efforts are needed to reinterpret the role of tegana in a more proportional framework, by placing them as socio-cultural actors that are complementary, not substitute for the marriage guardian. Harmonization between customs and Islamic law is important to ensure that the social system continues to run in a balanced manner without sacrificing the normative principles of sharia. Thus, a functional structural analysis of the role of tegana not

only provides an understanding of its social function, but also opens up space for critical reflection on the dynamics of the relationship between customs, power, and law in indigenous peoples of Indonesia.

5. Tension between Adat and Islamic Law

The relationship between customary and Islamic law in Indonesian society, especially in communities with matrilineal kinship systems such as in Tanjung Muda Village, shows complex and not always linear dynamics. Islamic customs and law both have strong social and moral legitimacy, but they rest on different normative foundations. Customary is rooted in local cultural values that are inherited from generation to generation and functions as a living legal system, while Islamic law is sourced from revelation that is normative, universal, and binding according to sharia. This difference in character creates tension when flexible and contextual customary principles are confronted with more fixed and prescriptive provisions of Islamic law. In this context, the tension is not just a difference in rules, but an epistemological difference regarding the source of legal legitimacy and social authority in society.

In the practice of arranging marriages in Tanjung Muda Village, the tension is evident in the issue of decision-making authority between the *teganai* and the guardian of the marriage. Traditionally, *tegane* as an uncle from the mother's side has the highest authority in determining the eligibility of the partner, the time of implementation, and the giving of blessings that are considered socially valid. However, from the perspective of Islamic law, *wali nasab* is a legal pillar of marriage that cannot be replaced except under certain conditions. When customary authorities give a more dominant position to *teganai* than *wali*, there is a shift in authority from sharia law to customary social law. This condition shows the overlap of authority between two legal systems that are equally recognized, but have different bases of legitimacy. These normative tensions are further strengthened by empirical findings in the field. The results of the interviews show that the decision of *tegai* has a very decisive influence on the sustainability of the marriage. One of the informants stated, "If you don't agree, usually the wedding is postponed or canceled." This statement indicates that the social legitimacy of marriage in society is determined more by customary consent than by the provisions of Islamic law. In fact, information from local religious leaders emphasized that even though the *shari'i* guardian has full authority, the decision of the guardian remains the main consideration in practice. This shows that customary power is not only symbolic, but also operational in determining social reality.

Analytically, this condition shows the existence of a dualism of authority in society, namely normative authority represented by guardians in Islamic law and cultural authority represented by guardians in customary systems. Nevertheless, in social practice, cultural authority tends to be more dominant. This dominance reflects a shift from legal authority to cultural authority, which is the main characteristic of a society that is still strong in maintaining the living law system. In the perspective of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory, this phenomenon can be

understood as a form of ideological domination in which customary values have been internalized as common sense by society. Thus, obedience to *tegane* is not born from coercion, but from a collective consciousness that considers customary as a legitimate and meaningful source of legitimacy.

From the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law, this phenomenon shows that law does not always operate textually, but rather through a process of social interpretation influenced by cultural context. The existence of customary as a living law makes Islamic law undergo a process of adaptation in practice, so that its application is not always identical to the formal norms written in *fiqh*. Thus, the tension between customary and Islamic law cannot be understood as a destructive conflict, but rather as a form of dynamic and evolving social dialectic. Customary functions to maintain social harmony and community cohesion, while Islamic law provides a normative framework that guarantees the validity and sanctity of the institution of marriage. Therefore, the relevant solution is not to negate one system, but to build harmonization between customs and Islamic law through a reinterpretive and contextual approach. The role of *teganai* can still be maintained as a representation of cultural values and local identity, but it needs to be positioned proportionately so as not to replace the guardian authority that has a basis in sharia law. This harmonization is important to create a balance between social legitimacy and normative legitimacy, so that the practice of marriage in indigenous peoples still reflects cultural values while being in line with the principles of Islamic law that emphasize justice, benefit, and social order.

6. Islamic Family Law Perspective on the Role of Teganai

In the perspective of Islamic family law (*fiqh al-usrah*), marriage is a sacred contract (*'aqd al-nikah*) that not only has a social dimension, but also a strong legal and religious dimension. The purpose of marriage in Islam is not only to meet biological needs, but also as a form of worship that aims to protect offspring (*hifz al-nasl*) and create a family that is *sakinah*, *mawaddah*, and *rahmah*. Therefore, Islam stipulates strict provisions related to the harmony and legal conditions of marriage, including the existence of a marriage guardian who has a legal position that cannot be replaced by another party except under certain conditions as stipulated in the jurisprudence of *munakahat*. This provision is strengthened by the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) which states that "marriage without a guardian is invalid," narrated by Abu Dawud, Tirmidhi, and Ibn Majah, thus confirming that *wali* is an essential element in ensuring the validity of a marriage contract according to sharia.

Juridically, this provision is also accommodated in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) which places guardian as one of the pillars of marriage that must be fulfilled. The guardian not only functions as the party who carries out the contract, but also as a protector of the interests of women so that the marriage takes place legally, fairly, and does not cause harm. Thus, within the framework of Islamic law, guardian authority is normative and has clear legal legitimacy, so it cannot be replaced by other authorities that are based solely on social or cultural legitimacy.

However, in the social practices of the indigenous people of Tanjung Muda Village, it was found that there was a dynamic that showed an overlap between the roles of teganaï and the marriage guardian. Teganaï as an uncle from the mother's side has a strong social authority in determining the eligibility of prospective partners, the timing of the marriage, and the giving of customary blessings. Empirical findings from the interview results show that in practice, decisive decisions are often the main determining factor in the survival of a marriage. In fact, there is a tendency that if the teganaï does not give consent, then the marriage can be postponed or canceled. This phenomenon shows that there has been a shift in authority from legal legitimacy to social legitimacy, where the role of teganaï in practice is closer to the function of guardians, and social legitimacy tends to be more dominant than the legitimacy of sharia law.

From the perspective of Islamic family law, this condition needs to be studied critically. Islam does recognize the existence of customs through the concept of 'urf, as formulated in the rules of jurisprudence al-'ādah muhakkamah (customs can be used as the basis of law). However, such recognition is limited, that is, as long as the custom does not contradict the nash and basic principles of sharia. Therefore, when the role of the guardian in social practice goes beyond the limit to resemble or even replace the function of the guardian, it has the potential to cause a problem of legitimacy from the perspective of Islamic law. This shift in authority suggests the dominance of cultural legitimacy over normative legitimacy, which if not controlled can blur the line between social authority and legal authority in marriage.

In this context, efforts are needed to reinterpret the role of teganaï so that it remains in a corridor that is in line with the principles of Islamic law. Teganaï needs to be positioned as a social-complementary authority, not as a substitute for a marriage guardian. Its role can be functioned as a social consideration, guardian of family honor, and guardian of traditional values living in society. However, the determination of whether or not the marriage contract is valid must still be within the authority of the guardian who is valid according to sharia. With this proportional placement, the role of teganaï not only remains relevant in maintaining cultural identity, but also does not contradict the principle of the validity of Islamic law. Thus, harmonization between customs and Islamic law is a necessity in a pluralistic society such as Tanjung Muda Village. Customs can continue to be maintained as part of the social and cultural identity of the community, while Islamic law remains the normative basis for determining the validity of marriage. This harmonized approach allows for the creation of a balance between social legitimacy and legal legitimacy, so that the practice of marriage is not only customarily valid, but also shari'i legal and reflects the values of justice, benefit, and order as taught in Islamic family law

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and discussion, it can be concluded that the social structure of the Tanjung Muda

Village community based on the matrilineal kinship system places teganaï as a central actor in the arrangement of family life, including in the marriage process. The role of teganaï is not only cultural, but also has strong social legitimacy so that it can influence and even determine the sustainability of a marriage. Empirical findings show that the decision is often more dominant than the marriage guardian, which normatively in Islamic law is the legal pillar of marriage. This condition indicates the dualism of authority between normative legitimacy (wali) and cultural legitimacy (teganaï), with a tendency for dominance to be in customary authorities.

Sociologically, teganaï's dominance can be understood as a form of cultural hegemony that works through the internalization of indigenous values in the collective consciousness of society, so that compliance with them takes place voluntarily. From a functional structural perspective, the role of the teganaï functions to maintain social integration and stability, but when it goes beyond normative boundaries, it has the potential to cause structural dysfunction because it shifts the authority of Islamic law. From the point of view of Islamic family law, this practice shows a shift from legal authority to cultural authority which has the potential to cause legitimacy problems if the role of teganaï is not placed proportionately. Therefore, efforts are needed to harmonize customs and Islamic law through the reinterpretation of the role of teganaï as a social-complementary authority, not a substitute for the marriage guardian. Thus, customs can still be maintained as a cultural identity and social mechanism of society, while Islamic law remains the normative basis in determining the validity of marriage. This harmonization is important to create a balance between social legitimacy and legal legitimacy, so that the practice of marriage is not only customarily accepted, but also legally legal in shari'i and reflects the principles of justice, benefit, and order in Islamic family law.

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