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Lompek Paga Money in Minangkabau Custom: A Social Study and an Islamic Legal Perspective

Azma Ulya[1], Azizah Fitrah[2]

[1] State Islamic University Imam Bonjol, Padang, Indonesia; 2420040012@uinib.ac.id
[2] State Islamic University Imam Bonjol, Padang, Indonesia; azizahfitrah@uinib.ac.id

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Abstract

The *lompek paga* tradition in Lunto Village emerged during the youth migration of the 1980s as a customary compensation required from men marrying women from outside the village, typically in the form of five sacks of cement or an equivalent payment. This study aims to analyze the social meaning and legal status of *lompek paga* within the framework of Islamic law using the concept of *'urf* (custom). Using a descriptive qualitative field approach with ethnographic techniques, data were collected through interviews with *niniak mamak* (customary elders), community leaders, and residents. The data were analyzed thematically and triangulated to ensure validity. The findings show that *lompek paga* serves as a customary mechanism to maintain the social authority of *niniak mamak* and strengthen communal attachment to the homeland amid shifting marriage patterns caused by migration. From an Islamic legal perspective, this tradition may be categorized as *'urf ṣāḥiḥ* (valid custom) as long as it is not imposed as a marriage requirement or enforced coercively. The study demonstrates how the authority of *niniak mamak* has been sustained through the *lompek paga* institution, offering insights into the evolving relationship between customary practice and Islamic law in Minangkabau society.

Keywords

Lompek Paga; Authority of Niniak Mamak; 'Urf Ṣāḥiḥ; Marriage Fiqh; Minangkabau

Corresponding Author
Azizah Fitrah
State Islamic University Imam Bonjol, Padang, Indonesia; azizahfitrah@uinib.ac.id

1. INTRODUCTION

In the Minangkabau cultural heritage, customs play a central role in regulating various aspects of community life, including marriage, which not only unites two individuals but also involves social, economic, and cultural dimensions (Huda & Evanti, 2018). One unique custom found in Lunto Village, Lembah Segar District, is the *lompek paga* tradition, which involves the obligation to pay five sacks of cement or an equivalent amount of money for Lunto men who marry women from outside the village. This tradition emerged in the 1980s, coinciding with an increase in youth migration out of the area and a shift in marriage preferences that are no longer limited to relatives within the village.

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Similar traditions can be found among various ethnic groups in Indonesia. In Bugis custom, there is uang *panaik*, which is a sum of money given by the male prospective bride to the female party as a form of respect and fulfillment of local customary needs, the amount of which is determined by the social status, educational level, and physical condition of the female prospective bride(Putri et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in Toba Batak custom, there is the tradition of uang *sinamot*, which is a sum of money or goods given by the male party to the female party as a sign of serious respect, and a symbol of the self-worth of the female family, the amount of which is influenced by the social background, educational level, and economic status of the female family, and becomes an important requirement for the validity of a Toba Batak customary marriage. (Saly et al., 2023)

In Minangkabau custom, there is also the *rompak paga* tradition, which is an obligation for men from outside *nagari* or luhak who wish to marry women from Luhak Lima Puluh Kota to give a sum of money, gold, or other valuable items to the woman's *niniak mamak* as a form of fulfilling custom (Salma & Burhanuddin, 2017). However, to date, there has been no scientific study on the *lompek paga* tradition in Lunto Village with the *'urf* approach from the perspective of Islamic law.

As stated by Haviland (1995), culture is a system formed through enculturation, social role differences, and symbolic expressions that live within society. Culture is dynamic, constantly changing in response to social conditions, new values, and external influences. Therefore, society needs to maintain a balance between individual and group interests to prevent cultural damage. This framework of thought is crucial as a foundation for understanding the *lompek paga* tradition within the continuously evolving Minangkabau cultural system.

Based on this, this research is focused on answering two main questions:

1. What is the social meaning of the traditional *lompek paga* tradition in Nagari Lunto?
2. What is its position in Islamic law through the *'urf* approach?

This article attempts to fill the research gap by combining an ethnographic approach to understand sociocultural meaning, as well as a fiqh *'urf* approach to assess its legal position in Islam.

2. METHOD

This research employs a descriptive, qualitative approach with an ethnographic method, aiming to understand the symbolic meaning and social function of the *lompek paga* tradition within the indigenous community of *Nagari* Lunto. Data was collected through in-depth interviews and participant observation. Informants were selected purposively, considering their involvement and knowledge of the *lompek paga* practice. Interviews were conducted with five main informants: two *niniak mamak* who directly play a role in the implementation of the custom, one Chairman of the *Nagari* Customary Community (KAN),

and two community members (one of whom is a practitioner of *lompek paga*). In addition to interviews, the researcher also conducted direct observation of the community's social practices related to the *lompek paga* tradition.

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis, which involved data reduction, coding, and grouping of themes (including *niniak mamak* authority, social functions, and Islamic legal perspectives), as well as concluding. Data validity was maintained through source triangulation (with the village head, Niniak Mamak) and technique triangulation (through interviews and observations). From a research ethics perspective, the researcher obtained permission from *Niniak Mamak* and the head of the customary law community (KAN) prior to data collection, maintained the confidentiality of informant identities, and reflected on the researcher's position as an outsider not directly affiliated with the customary community.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Overview of Lunto Village

Nagari Lunto is located in Lembah Segar District, Sawahlunto City, West Sumatra, with a population of approximately 2,689 people. Before regional expansion, *Nagari* Lunto was part of Sawahlunto/Sijunjung Regency (Firdaus, 2024). However, after the enactment of Indonesian Government Regulation Number 44 of 1990 concerning Sawahlunto City, the status of this area changed to a village located in Lembah Segar District, which was divided into two villages: Lunto Timur Village and Lunto Barat Village (Indonesia, 1990).

The majority of the community works as songket weavers, farmers, breeders, traders, and employees. One of the natural attractions is the vast and beautiful rice field known as *Sawah Pulau*. This term refers to rice fields shaped like islands located on the hillside and divided by the clear flow of the Batang Lunto River (Firdaus, 2024). The entire community of Nagari Lunto adheres to Islam, with a relatively low level of religious knowledge. (Yudhiani & Fitrah, 2019)

In social life, the community adheres to the Minangkabau kinship system that places *niniak mamak* as the customary holders. The authority of *niniak mamak* is very strong in regulating customary affairs, ancestral wealth, and marriage, as reflected in the proverb "*kemenakan seperintah mamak*," which indicates the *mamak*'s authority in guiding and directing their clan members. The relationship between *mamak* and *kemenakan* is understood as a social responsibility that demands wisdom. This value is reflected in the proverb: *"anak dipangku, kemenakan dibimbing, orang kampung dipertenggangkan, negeri dijaga jangan binasa, adat pun harus dipelihara*." This proverb highlights the pivotal role of *the mamak* in safeguarding the family, promoting social harmony, and upholding customs. (Gafar & Syahrum, 2021)

3.2. The Meaning of Uang Lompek Paga in the Lunto Customary Community

In the Minangkabau language, the term *lompek paga* consists of two word elements, namely lompek (to jump) and paga (fence). Symbolically, this term describes an action of someone who "jumps over the fence," that is, crossing the social and cultural boundaries established by their community. As a consequence, they are required to pay five sacks of cement or an equivalent amount of money to the *niniak mamak*. An informant, Syahril (*niniak mamak*), explains: "If a man from Lunto marries a woman from outside Lunto Village, he must pay the *lompek paga* money."

Fitra, one of the residents of Lunto, stated that: "This tradition emerged in the 1980s, when there was a migration of youth from Lunto village to seek new lives, such as trading and continuing their education outside the region. Those migrants generally maintained connections with their hometown and often asked fellow villagers to help find spouses from their own village. Conversely, educated youth began to tend to choose partners based on the principle of *sekufu*, especially in terms of education and perspective, thus more often marrying women from outside the village."

This change in marriage patterns prompted the *niniak mamak* to establish new customary rules as a social response. According to Zainal, one of the *niniak mamak* in *Nagari* Lunto, the existence of the uang *lompek paga* is inseparable from the changing marriage patterns of the village's children who increasingly marry outside the village. Irwan, the Head of *Kenagarian* Lunto, stated: "In 1989, the *niniak mamak* in Lunto agreed to establish a customary provision requiring the payment of uang *lompek paga* by men from Lunto who marry women from outside the village. The funds collected from these payments are utilized for the construction of public facilities, such as the traditional *nagari* hall and other social facilities." This is reinforced by the acknowledgment of Zikri, a *lompek paga* practitioner: "As nephews, we must follow what has been agreed upon by the *niniak mamak*."

Payment is typically made before the woman's side receives the engagement proposal. This means that before the formal proposal stage is accepted according to custom, the man from Lunto village must first fulfill this obligation. This becomes one of the unwritten requirements for the marriage process to continue, according to tradition.

Customary law itself is a legal system that has long grown and developed among Indonesian society. It is based on values that are part of the community. Generally, customary law is not written because its existence is embedded in community practice and is passed down orally from one generation to the next (Apriyani, 2018). In Minangkabau, a harmonious coexistence between custom and Islam has existed for a long time. Muchtar Naim states that this acculturation was possible because Minangkabau customs are rational and do not adhere to a cosmological system (Asniah, 2023).

In the framework of customary law, sanctions function to enforce social norms. Violations of customary provisions are regarded as a form of social deviation that can disrupt community harmony

(Sandy, 2016). Fitra adds that in Lunto Village, if there is a violation of customary provisions, such as not paying *lompek paga*, then the *niniak mamak* from the male family will not handle the wedding procession. Haviland (1993) notes that social sanctions are divided into two forms: formal ones, which are regular, such as legal provisions, and informal ones, which are generally vague and appear as a form of spontaneous agreement or condemnation from the community. This division demonstrates that social control extends beyond written legal instruments to encompass social pressure within communities.

Functionally, *lompek paga* strengthens the authority of the *niniak mamak* as traditional leaders responsible for safeguarding the members of the clan, tribe, and *nagari* (Putra & Supanggah, 2017). This aligns with the theories of Van Vollenhoven and Soepomo, who view customary law as a binding social norm supported by sanctions, even if unwritten. (Siombo, 2019)

Similar traditions exist in various *nagari* (traditional villages) in West Sumatra. In *Nagari* Situjuah, there is a *tradition of wearing a rompek paga*, which is worn by men from outside the nagari who wish to marry local women (Salma & Burhanuddin, 2017). In Sijunjung, inter-*nagari* marriage is called *manikah malangkahi paga* (marriage that jumps over the fence), where the sialek (bride's family) is required to pay a fine of Rp. 5,000,000 to the *balai adat* (traditional hall). Meanwhile, *Nagari* Salo in Agam Regency implements the *lompat pagar* (jumping the fence) tradition as a marriage prohibition for children of *Nagari* Salo with children from other *nagari*; violators are sanctioned with a fine of two gold coins or two million rupiah (Thayyibun, 2016). These variations show the diversity of customary regulations, yet they all share the same purpose: to maintain honor and social order.

The Minangkabau community views marriage as a matter of kinship, not merely a bond between two individuals. A customary proverb states, "Minangkabau marries with the *niniak mamak,* weds the woman," indicating that the marriage process must involve the consent and guidance of the *niniak mamak* (Gusmi, 2024). The principle of "*Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah*" illustrates the harmonious relationship between custom and Islamic law in Minangkabau. Custom and Islamic law complement each other like a woven mat composed of horizontal and vertical strands, thus neither weakens the other. In practice, there are areas regulated by custom, while matters related to halal, haram, valid, invalid, as well as sin and reward are entrusted to Islamic law. (Hukum Adat Minangkabau, n.d.)

Marriage law in Minangkabau custom refers to the principles of Islamic sharia and is considered valid according to the applicable laws in Indonesia (Amin, 2022). Marriage can take place according to custom or religious law, and both are recognized as long as they meet their respective requirements. In a matrilineal society, *the mamak* plays a dominant role in managing family affairs, including marriage (Asmaniar, 2018). In terms of sanctions, customary law tends to focus on restoration and maintenance of social relationships, while Islamic law prescribes punishment based on sharia provisions. This difference

necessitates a nuanced and context-sensitive approach to cultural integration, ensuring that the integration of both systems does not create imbalance or injustice (E. Hidayat et al., 2023).

Minangkabau customs are dynamic and adapt to societal development. The principle *"Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah"* serves as a filter against the influence of social change and globalization (Hude et al., 2022). The *merantau* tradition, which has long been part of Minangkabau youth culture, also influences cross-regional marriage patterns. Mochtar Naim noted that it is the younger generation that most frequently engages in *merantau*, usually after completing secondary school. For Minangkabau youth, *merantau* is often undertaken before marriage and is considered an informal form of education toward adulthood (Angelia & Hasan, 2017). In this context, traditions such as *lompek paga* function to maintain a balance between social change and inherited customary provisions.

3.3. Lompek Paga Money in the View of Islamic Law

From an Islamic legal perspective, marriage is a sacred contract mandated to build a family based on *mawaddah wa rahmah* as affirmed in Q.S. Ar-Rum: 21 (Nazaruddin, 2020). This contract has clear pillars and requirements, namely the presence of a guardian for the prospective spouses, two witnesses, and *ijab qabul* (Hasanuddin, 2017). Islam does not restrict marriage based on the regional origin or ethnicity of the prospective partners. Therefore, prohibitions or sanctions against cross-village or cross-ethnic marriages are absolutely not recognized in Islamic law.

As a form of caution in building a household, Islam emphasizes the process of selecting a life partner. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) advised his community, especially men, to first see their prospective wife before proposing. This aims to avoid decision-making mistakes that could negatively affect household harmony in the future. This recommendation not only applies to men, but women are also allowed to see their prospective partner. (Fauzan et al., 2023)

In addition, in marriage jurisprudence, the concept of *kafâ*'ah is recognized, which refers to the compatibility between a prospective husband and wife in terms of religion, social status, and equality of personal values. The purpose of *kafâ'ah* is to realize harmony and happiness in the family. In the Islamic view, women are married for four reasons: for their wealth, lineage, beauty, and religious strength. (Mushthofa & Aminah, 2020)

Islam also views culture, traditions, or customs that exist within society as an important part of the social structure that has legal force. As in one of the fiqh rules often used in answering various questions about customary law in society, namely *al-'adah muhakkamah*, which means that customary law can serve as a legal basis as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia (Setiyawan, 2012). In other words, Adat not only becomes a passive external factor but also helps shape and influence the content of the law in proportion.

Islamic law is flexible and capable of adapting to diverse sociocultural dynamics. This characteristic demonstrates that Islamic law is inclusive and accommodating of local traditions, in line with its function as a universal religion. The face of Islam in various societies worldwide need not be uniform, yet it remains within the framework of unity known as *wihdat al-manhaj*, namely the Nabawiy Muhammadiy method. (Zionis, 2011)

In the study of usul al-fiqh, the term *'urf* is often equated with adat, especially after being absorbed into the Indonesian language. Abdul Wahab Khallaf explains that, according to Islamic law, there is no principal difference between the two. Etymologically, adat comes from the word *'ada*, which means repetition, so an action is called adat only if it is done repeatedly. Meanwhile, *'urf* does not depend on the frequency of repetition, but on how far a statement or action is known and accepted by the community. Thus, adat relates to repeated habits, while *'urf* refers to something that has been generally known. (Jannah, 2023)

Data is divided into four main groups:

a) Old customs that bring benefits,
b) Customary practices that are essentially good and do not contain harm, but their implementation is not in accordance with Islamic values; such customs can still be accepted, but require adjustment.
c) Data containing elements of harm that are rejected by Islamic law.
d) Data that has long been practiced and accepted by the community does not contradict shari'ic

Terminologically, *'urf* has a meaning equivalent to *'adah* and is rooted in the word *al-ma'rūf*, which means something known or considered good. In a technical sense, '*urf* is understood as a habit that has become ingrained in human nature, accepted by sound reason, and recognized by social instinct. This concept aligns with Allah's command to enjoin what is good, as stated in His verse Q.S. Al-a'raf verse 199:

خُذِ ٱلۡعَفۡوَ وَأۡمُرۡ بِٱلۡعُرۡفِ وَأَعۡرِضۡ عَنِ ٱلۡجَٰهِلِينَ

It means: "Be forgiving, command what is right, and do not concern yourselves with the ignorant."

Thus, *'urf* that aligns with moral values can serve as a legal basis. The diversity of *'urf* reflects the identity and distinctive character of a community. (Harisi et al., 2024)

In this context, the tradition of uang *lompek paga* practiced in the Lunto community can be understood as a form of social contribution in customary marriage. As long as this practice is not made a condition for the validity of the marriage and does not cause harm to either party, it can be categorized as *'urf sahih* (valid custom) as long as it does not become an obstacle to the marriage contract or is coercive in nature that harms one party. '*Urf shahih* is a custom that has been known and accepted by the community as long as it does not contradict the provisions of sharia. This tradition does not render something haram halal, nor does it eliminate established religious obligations. (Rizal, 2019)

Most scholars consider *'urf* as a basis for legal consideration. The Hanafi school utilizes it when no provision is found in the Qur'an, Hadith, ijma', or *istihsan* (Nasution, 2023). Especially if the money is used for public interests, such as building a traditional hall or village social facilities, its status can be *mubah* (permissible) and even *mustahab* (recommended) if intended as charity or a form of social loyalty to one's hometown.

However, field findings show that the implementation of *lompek paga* in *Nagari* Lunto is not voluntary, but rather a customary obligation that must be fulfilled by every male from Lunto who marries a woman from outside the village. Based on interviews with informants, all men, without exception, are required to pay the *lompek paga* fee, including those from families with limited financial means. One informant explained: "Because this is a custom, no matter what, you still have to pay. No one does not pay, unless he marries outside the village and his *mamak* does not participate in arranging the marriage." This fact shows that socially, *lompek paga* has become a customary rule of a coercive nature, even though it is not formally regulated in writing.

In the review of *'urf* fiqh, custom is categorized as *'urf shahih* if it meets the requirements, namely:

a. Not in conflict with the Qur'an and Sunnah,
b. Contains beneficial values and is acceptable to common sense,
c. Generally applicable and recurring in society,
d. Already existed and was known before the legal event that became the basis occurred,
e. Not overridden by agreement of the parties concerned; if they agree to reject the custom, then the agreement shall prevail (Hamzawi, 2018).

This tradition meets some requirements, but the element of "not causing harm" is not fulfilled, because for low-income families, this obligation becomes an unavoidable economic burden. Social pressure to continue paying makes this custom potentially shift from *'urf shahih* to *urf fasid*, contradicting the principle of *al-masyaqqah tajlibu at-taysir* (that every difficulty must be removed with ease).

History shows that scholars accepted *'urf* as long as it did not contradict *nash*. This is evident in the ijtihad methods of scholars; for example, Imam Malik made the *'amal ahl al-Madinah* the basis of law, while Imam Syafi'i differentiated between *qaul qadim* and *qaul jadid* as a form of adjustment to differences in *'urf* based on spatial and temporal context (Sucipto, 2015). It is essential to emphasize that the principles of Sharia, derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah, hold the highest authority as a legal reference in Islam. Therefore, if a custom contradicts Sharia, then Sharia takes precedence. (Aziz, 2023)

Thus, it can be said that *lompek paga* is considered permissible (*mubah*) as long as it is carried out voluntarily and does not become burdensome. However, if it causes difficulty and discrimination, it contradicts the principles of Islamic justice. Islamic principles affirm that a person's dignity is not

determined by their origin or ethnicity, but by their piety, as stated by Allah SWT in Q.S. Al-Hujurat verse 13:

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقۡنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٖ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلۡنَٰكُمۡ شُعُوبٗا وَقَبَآئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوٓاْۚ إِنَّ أَكۡرَمَكُمۡ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتۡقَىٰكُمۡۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٞ

Meaning: O humanity, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted.

In QS. al-Hujurat verse 13, it is emphasized that all humans originate from one source and one soul, namely Adam and Eve. Because they share the same lineage, there is no reason for someone to be proud of their ancestry or to look down upon other groups. Allah created humans with diverse tribes and nations so that they may come to know one another and build harmonious relationships. The measure of excellence is not lineage, but piety. Maliki scholars also use this verse as a basis for the argument that *kafâ'ah* (compatibility) in marriage is not required except in terms of religion. (Am, 2015)

Furthermore, *'urf* or *al-'adah* is dynamic and can change over time along with the development of society and social conditions. Therefore, customs such as *lompek paga* need to be evaluated to ensure they remain aligned with public welfare. A judge or mufti must understand the customs that exist within society so that the decisions made remain in harmony with public welfare. (A. D. Hidayat et al., 2023)

Comparison Table of Custom and Islamic Law:

Unsur Tradisi *Lompek Paga*	**Field Facts**	**Islamic Legal Perspective**	**Status**
Actor	A man from Lunto who marries a woman from outside the village is required to pay the *lompek paga* before his proposal is accepted, according to customary practice.	In Islam, there is no prohibition against marrying someone from a different region; what matters is that the pillars and valid conditions of marriage are fulfilled.	Acceptable
Object	The payment of five sacks of cement or an equivalent amount of money serves as a form of respect for the rules established by the groom's home village.	It can be categorized as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* as long as it is not made a condition for the validity of marriage and does not cause any harm.	Acceptable as long as it does not cause harm

Value	Maintaining the authority of the *niniak mamak* and providing funds for public facilities.	It aligns with the principle of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* when practiced voluntarily.	Acceptable
Sanction *Kafaah* (social equality)	If the payment is not made, the *niniak mamak* will refuse to administer the marriage, and the family will be considered to have violated social norms.	Islam permits social sanctions to preserve public welfare, as long as they do not involve injustice and do not infringe upon legitimate Islamic rights.	Conditionally acceptable (as long as it does not cause injustice or obstruct legitimate rights.
Kafā'ah (social compatibility)	The *lompek paga* helps maintain social balance between village residents and outsiders, ensuring that marriages remain harmonious and stable.	The principle of *kafâ'ah* in Islam emphasizes social and moral compatibility, regardless of regional or ethnic background.	Acceptable
'Urf (local custom)	It has been accepted and practiced across generations since the 1980s, is widely observed, and does not contradict Islamic law.	*Urf ṣaḥīḥ* refers to customary practices that are widely observed, do not conflict with scriptural texts, and bring about public benefit.	It is acceptable (and considered *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*) as long as it does not cause injustice to any party and does not obstruct a valid marriage.

4. CONCLUSION

This research concludes two main points. First, the *lompek paga* tradition serves as a customary institution that affirms the authority of *niniak mamak* and maintains community ties to the homeland amid shifts in marriage patterns resulting from migration. Second, from an Islamic legal perspective,

lompek paga is considered *'urf shahih* as long as it is not made a condition for marriage validity and is not coercive, but becomes problematic when it causes discrimination or obstructs valid marriages.

This study provides an academic contribution by demonstrating that *lompek paga* serves as a social mechanism for maintaining customary authority following youth migration, while affirming the flexibility of *'urf* in responding to the sociocultural changes of the Minangkabau community.

Recommendation:

1. The amount of the down payment is adjusted according to the family's economic ability,
2. Customary funds are used transparently for social interests,
3. Islamic legal counseling is needed so that the community understands that the *lompek paga* payment is not a requirement for the validity of marriage.

4.1. Research Limitations & Recommendations

This research has limitations due to its single location and relatively small number of informants, specifically five people (two *niniak mamak*, one KAN chairman, and two residents). This condition makes the findings not yet fully representative of the diversity of views in *Nagari* Lunto society. Nevertheless, through a purposive approach and source triangulation, this research still provides a credible picture of the social meaning and legal status of the *lompek paga* tradition.

Further research is recommended to involve more informants, including women and religious figures, as well as conducting comparative studies with similar traditions in other Minangkabau regions to enrich the analysis of the relationship between custom, migration, and Islamic law.

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